

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS;

CONSISTING OF A

COMPLETE COLLECTION

OF

KINGS SPEECHES,

MESSAGES to PARLIAMENT, ADDRESSES and REPRESENTATIONS of
BOTH HOUSES to the THRONE, SPEECHES of the LORDS
CHANCELLORS, JUDGES, &c. and of the SPEAKERS
of the HOUSE of COMMONS,

From the Restoration in 1660 to the Dissolution of the last Parliament in May, 1796

A

COMPLETE AND CORRECT COLLECTION

OF THE

LORDS PROTESTS,

From the EARLIEST on RECORD in 1242 to 1796.

AN ACCURATE COPY OF THE

STANDING ORDERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

Extracted from, and compared with, the Journals of the said House.

A COLLECTION OF

RULES AND STANDING ORDERS

OF THE

1797

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Relative to the applying for an additional Bill for Inclosing and Draining of Land,
making Roads, Canals, Navigations, Drains, Bridges, Paving and
Licensing Towns, Paying Small Debts, &c.

AN ACCURATE LIST OF THE

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

From the earliest Account to the present Time.

the whole of the above with the Records and Journals of Parliament.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. D. LITTLE, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE,
PICCADILLY.

1797.

P R E F A C E.

IF I were permitted to mention the nobleman who condescended to suggest the publication of these volumes, it would be altogether unnecessary to offer any other recommendation of them. A name which cannot be heard or spoken without a sense of superior talents, of rare sagacity, and political erudition, must, at once, attract the eager and favourable regard of the public to any work, whether original or collective, that may be honoured by its sanction. But though I am not permitted to avail myself of such an authority, I have another, which, if not should not command so universal and immediate an attention, will, I trust, win its way to public estimation; and this is derived from a knowledge of the very important matter which these volumes contain.

The times in which we live have been, and continue to be, so very different from those which have preceded them; the events of the present period are in such direct opposition to whatever has hitherto occurred in the history of the world, that the science of politics seems to have been forced over its former boundary, and to have taken the lead, if it has not, in a great measure, usurped the place, of all others. The spirit of political inquiry, like that of

political enterprise, has grown upon us. It has opened new avenues of information, and introduced itself into those ranks and recesses of life, among which, at no very distant period, the great events of the world alone found their slow way, and produced but a small comparative effect on the opinions and concerns of those who thus read or heard them.

Printed collections of state papers were then exclusively confined, at least as objects of study, to the statesman, the lawyer, and the historian. Publications of this kind also were uncommon, and related to former periods: while the people at large were not only contented with a very general account of national transactions, but were even satisfied with such a knowledge of the business of parliament itself, as was offered in the printed votes and minutes of both houses. It would be not only needless, but almost impertinent, to state at large the change which has since taken place in the character of the English people; while the utility of that change, derived from an advancing spirit of political inquiry, and a diffusion of constitutional knowledge, may be asserted without the risk of contradiction. That these volumes are calculated to assist, enlarge, and direct, that spirit of political inquiry, must be evident to every one who becomes acquainted with their contents. Such a collection of parliamentary papers are essential to the statesman and the senator, and must be highly useful to every man who wishes to know the history and understand the constitution of his country.

The Kings Speeches, which contain a representation of the state of the nation, at the opening and close of every session

session of Parliament, together with the Royal Messages to both Houses, and the Speeches of the Lords Chancellors, and the Speakers of the House of Commons, arising from intermediate circumstances, collected, as they are, from the restoration in 1660, to the dissolution of the Parliament in 1796, must form a very interesting historical series; while the Addresses and Representations of the Lords and Commons to the Throne, may be considered not only as illustrations of them, but as declarations of the ancient rights and privileges of Parliament, and constitutional exertions in support of the liberty of the subject.

To these important records are added the Protests of the Lords from the year 1242, being the 26th year of Henry III. the earliest period when any parliamentary protest is known to have been made, down to the last session of the last Parliament in 1796. When the nature and objects of these Protests are considered, their superior value and importance must receive the ready acknowledgment of every reflecting mind. They are not the works of official or dependent men. They do not proceed from the heat of the moment, the hurry of the occasion, or the impulse of passion. They are not like public speeches, which so often take their colour as well as sentiments from accidental circumstances, and whose effects are not expected to extend beyond their immediate objects. The eloquence of public debate passes, as it were, with the hour that is employed in it. The best remembrance of it is imperfect, and whatever depends for existence on memory alone, is liable to misrepresentation. But protests are the result of cool re-

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fection.

fection, of an investigating spirit, of conscious honour. They contain the solemn, and, as they may be called, from their signatures, the attested justifications of men of the first political rank, for opposing measures which they have opposed in vain; and are channels by which the principles of their parliamentary conduct are communicated to the age in which they live, and will be made known to the ages that are to come.

The subjects of these Protests are of the highest importance to the interests of the nation and the freedom of our constitution. They will be found to possess a large store of political knowledge; while many of them are cloathed with an energy of expression, and a grace of language, which give them a place among the finest compositions of English literature.

But while the greater objects of the constitution, as they appear in Parliament, have been more immediately regarded in the formation of this work, some attention has also been paid to the more minute and occasional transactions which form the ordinary business of Parliament. A complete collection is accordingly given of the Standing Orders of the House of Lords, as also those of the House of Commons, relative to the applying for and passing bills for inclosing and draining of land, making roads, canals, navigations, docks, bridges, paving and lighting towns, paying small debts, &c.

Such are the principal materials that compose these volumes: and if Parliament is the great school of British

politics, these authentic records of its proceedings must be necessary to every man whose duty or wish it may be to become acquainted with those leading branches of political knowledge, the history and legislature of his country.

THE EDITOR.

*Piccadilly,
Jan. 23, 1797.*



A
L I S T
OF THE
S P E A K E R S
OF THE
HONOURABLE HOUSE of COMMONS,
FROM THE
From the earliest Account to the present Time.

P ETRUS DE MOUNTFORD was the first Speaker certainly known; when the Lords and Commons sat either in several Houses, or at least gave their assent severally. He was killed at the battle of Evesham — — — 1260			
Sir JEFFERY SCROOPE	—	—	—
WILLIAM TRUSSIL	—	—	—
Sir HENRY BEAUMONT	—	—	— 1332
— PETER DE LA MARE	—	—	— 1376
— THOMAS HUNGERFORD, first named on record	—	—	— 1377
— PETER DE LA MARE	—	—	— 1377
— JAMES PICKERING	—	—	— 1378
— JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH	—	—	— 1380, &c.
— RICHARD WALGRAVE, the first that made any formal apology for inability. Ancestor of the Earl of WALDEGRAVE	—	—	— 1382
— JAMES PICKERING	—	—	— 1386
— JOHN BUSBY, the first presented to the King by the Commons	—	—	— 1394
			Sir

Sir JOHN BUSBY	—	—	—	1397
Ditto. This Parliament, was held in a large timber-house erected in Palace Yard, Westminster, for the impeachment of the Duke of GLOUCESTER, wherein both Houses met together				
Sir JOHN CHEYNEY.	He growing infirm,	JOHN DORWOOD, Esq.	was chosen.	He desired liberty to correct mistakes in what he should deliver from the Commons
— ARNOLD SAVAGE	—	—	—	1399
— HENRY DE REDEFORD	—	—	—	1400
— ARNOLD SAVAGE	—	—	—	1403
— WILLIAM STURMY.	This was called <i>Parliamentum indolitorum</i> ,	from no lawyers	being permitted to be chosen in it	—
— JOHN TIPTOFT,	signed and sealed the deed of entailing the crown with these words, <i>Nomine totius communitatis.</i>	He was afterwards made Lord Treasurer, and created Earl of WORCESTER	—	1404
THOMAS CHAUCER, Esq.	—	—	—	1405
WILLIAM STOURTON, Esq.	who being shortly after taken ill,	JOHN DORWOOD, Esq.	was appointed in his stead	—
WALTER HUNGERFORD, Esq.	—	—	—	1413
THOMAS CHAUCER, Esq.	—	—	—	1414
RICHARD REDMAN, Esq.	—	—	—	1414
Sir WALTER BEAUCHAMP	—	—	—	1415
ROGER FLOWER, Esq.	—	—	—	1415
ROGER HUNT, Esq.	—	—	—	1416, &c.
THOMAS CHAUCER, Esq.	—	—	—	1420
RICHARD BAYNARD, Esq.	—	—	—	1420
ROGER FLOWER, Esq.	—	—	—	1421
JOHN RUSSEL, Esq.	—	—	—	1421
Sir THOMAS WANTON	—	—	—	1422
RICHARD VERNON, Esq.	—	—	—	1423
JOHN TIRRELL, Esq.	—	—	—	1425
WILLIAM ALLINGTON, Esq.	—	—	—	1426
JOHN TIRRELL, Esq.	—	—	—	1428
JOHN RUSSEL, Esq.	—	—	—	1429
ROGER HUNT, Esq.	—	—	—	1431
JOHN BOWES, Esq.	—	—	—	1432
Sir JOHN TIRRELL	—	—	—	1433
WILLIAM BOERLY, Esq.	—	—	—	1435
WILLIAM TRESHAM, Esq.	—	—	—	1436, &c.
				1439
				1439, &c.

WILLIAM BOERLY, Esq.	—	—	—	1445
WILLIAM TRESHAM, Esq.	—	—	—	1447
JOHN SAY, Esq.	—	—	—	1449
Sir JOHN POPHAM, but excusing himself shortly after,				
WILLIAM TRESHAM, Esq. was again chosen Speaker	—			1450
Sir WILLIAM OLDHALL	—	—	—	1451
THOMAS THORP, Esq. arrested in execution, and adjudged by the Lords not to have privilege. The Commons then chose				
Sir THOMAS CHARLTON	—		—	1453
Sir JOHN WENLOCK	—	—	—	1455
THOMAS TRESHAM, Esq.	—	—	—	1460
JOHN GREEN, Esq.	—	—	—	1461
Sir JAMES STRANGWAIES	—	—	—	1461
JOHN SAY, Esq.	—	—	—	1463, &c.
WILLIAM ALLINGTON, Esq.	—	—	—	1472, &c.
JOHN WOOD, Esq.	—	—	—	1482
WILLIAM CATESBY, Esq. At this time the Speaker was chosen, presented, and approved by the King, according to the present practice				
THOMAS LOVEL, Esq. afterwards Knight and Privy Counsellor	—	—	—	1485
JOHN MORDAUNT, Esq.	—	—	—	1488
Sir THOMAS FITZWILLIAMS	—	—	—	1489
RICHARD EMERSON, an eminent lawyer	—	—	—	1492
Sir REGINALD BRAY	—	—	—	1496
ROBERT DRURY, Esq.	—	—	—	1496
THOMAS INGLEFIELD, Esq.	—	—	—	1497
EDMUND DUDLEY, Esq. afterwards Privy Counsellor				1505
Sir THOMAS INGLEFIELD	—	—	—	1509
— ROBERT SHEFFIELD, Recorder of London, and ancestor of the late Duke of BUCKINGHAM	—	—	—	1510
— THOMAS NEVIL	—	—	—	1514
— THOMAS MORE prayed, that if any of the Commons should in any debate speak more largely than they ought, that he might be pardoned. Afterwards Lord Chancellor				
THOMAS AUDLEY, Esq. Serjeant at Law, afterwards Lord Keeper, and then Lord Chancellor	—			1530
RICHARD RICH, Esq. the first Speaker recorded to have made request for access to the King. Afterwards made Lord Chancellor, and created a Baron: from whom is descended the Earl of WARWICK and HOLLAND				
				1537
				Sir

Sir NICHOLAS HARE, afterwards Master of the Rolls and Lord Keeper	—	—	—	1540
THOMAS MOYLE, Esq. the first that petitioned for freedom of speech on record	—	—	—	1542
Sir JOHN BAKER	—	—	—	1547
— JAMES DYER, Serjeant at Law, afterwards King's Serjeant, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas	—	—	—	1553
JOHN POLLARD, Esq.	—	—	—	1553
CLEMENT HIGHAM, Esq. afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer	—	—	—	1555
JOHN POLLARD, Esq.	—	—	—	1556
WILLIAM CORDELE, Esq. Master of the Rolls, and Privy Counsellor	—	—	—	1558
Sir THOMAS GARGRAVE, the Queen's Counsel	—	—	—	1559
THOMAS WILLIAMS, Esq.	—	—	—	1563
RICHARD ONSLOW, Esq. afterwards Solicitor General	—	—	—	1566
CHRISTOPHER WRAY, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench	—	—	—	1571
ROBERT BELL, Esq. afterwards Lord Chief Baron	—	—	—	1572
JOHN POPHAM, Esq. afterwards Attorney General, and Lord Chief Justice of England	—	—	—	1581
Mr. Serjeant JOHN PUCKERING, afterwards Lord Keeper	—	—	—	1585
Mr. Serjeant THOMAS SNAG	—	—	—	1589
EDWARD COKE, Esq. afterwards knighted, made Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, Privy Counsellor, and Lord Chief Justice of England	—	—	—	1592
Mr. Serjeant CHRISTOPHER YELVERTON, afterwards Judge of the Queen's Bench	—	—	—	1597
— Serjeant JOHN CROOK, afterwards Judge of the Queen's Bench	—	—	—	1601
— Serjeant EDWARD PHILIPS, Master of the Rolls	—	—	—	1603
Sir RANDOLPH CREW, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench	—	—	—	1614
— THOMAS RICHARDSON, Serjeant, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas	—	—	—	1620
— THOMAS CREW, Serjeant	—	—	—	1623
— HENEAGE FINCH, Recorder of London. Ancestor of the Earl of WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM	—	—	—	1626
— JOHN FINCH, afterwards King's Counsel, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Keeper	—	—	—	1628
JOHN GLANVILLE, Esq.	—	—	—	1640
WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq.	—	—	—	1641
FRANCIS ROUS, Esq.	—	—	—	1653

WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq.	—	—	1654
SIR THOMAS WIDRINGTON	—	—	1656
CHALONER CHUTE, Esq. was chosen, but being unable to attend,			
SIR LISLEBONE LONG was elected, but vacated, after seven days possession; and on the 15th of April			
THOMAS BAMFIELD, Esq. was appointed	—	—	1659
SIR HARTBOTTLE GRIMSTONE, afterwards Master of the Rolls. Ancestor of Viscount GRIMSTONE	—	—	1660
— EDWARD TURNER, afterwards Solicitor General, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer	—	—	1661
— JOB CHARLETON	—	—	1673
EDWARD SEYMOUR, Esq.	—	—	1673, &c.
Ditto again chosen in 1678; but the King refusing his consent, the Commons chose			
Mr. Serjeant WILLIAM GREGORY in SEYMOUR'S room	—	—	1678
WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Esq.	—	—	1679
SIR JOHN TREVOR	—	—	1685
HENRY POWLE, Esq. Speaker of the Convention	—	—	1689
SIR JOHN TREVOR, afterwards Master of the Rolls	—	—	1690
PAUL FOLEY, Esq.	—	—	1694
SIR THOMAS LITTLETON	—	—	1698
ROBERT HARLEY, Esq. afterwards Secretary of State, Earl of OXFORD, and Lord Treasurer	—	—	1700, &c.
JOHN SMITH, Esq. afterwards Teller of the Exchequer			1705
The FIRST Parliament of Great Britain constituted by the Union, which commenced on May-day, 1707, was summoned for the 23d of October following, and dissolved the 15th of April, 1708.			
JOHN SMITH, Esq. rechosen Speaker	—	—	1707
SIR RICHARD ONSLOW, Bart. Ancestor of Lord ONSLOW			1708
WILLIAM BRONLEY, Esq.	—	—	1710
SIR THOMAS HANMER, Bart.	—	—	1713
The Honourable SPENCER COMPTON. Ancestor of the Earl of NORTHAMPTON	—	—	1714, &c.
ARTHUR ONSLOW, Esq. Ancestor of Lord ONSLOW			1727, &c.
SIR JOHN CUST, Bart. Ancestor of Lord BROWNLOW			1761, &c.
— FLETCHER NORTON. Afterwards Lord GRANTLEY			1770, &c.
CHARLES WOLFRAN CORNWALL, Esq.	—	—	1780, &c.
Honourable W. W. GRENVILLE. Now Lord GRENVILLE	—	—	1789
HENRY ADDINGTON, Esq.	—	—	1789

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S P E E C H E S,

&c.

Letter of King Charles the Second to the Speaker of the House of Commons, inclosing his Declaration of 14 April, 1660.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. In these great and unsupportable afflictions and calamities, under which the poor nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper remedy, than to resort to those for counsel and advice who have seen and observed the first beginning of our miseries, the progress from bad to worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings which have produced and contributed to inconveniences which were not intended: and after so many revolutions, and the observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by our good subjects to repair the breaches which are made, and to provide proper remedies for those evils, and for the lasting peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom.

We do assure you, upon our royal word, that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem of parliaments, as we have in our judgment, as well as from our obligation: we do believe them to be so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that we

well know neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them: and therefore you may be confident we shall always look upon their counsels, as the best we can receive; and shall be as tender of their privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to ourself, and most necessary for our own preservation. And as this is our opinion of parliaments, that their authority is most necessary for the government of the kingdom, so we are most confident that you believe and find that the preservation of the King's authority is as necessary for the preservation of parliaments; and that it is not the name, but the right constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper remedies for those evils, which are grievous to the people, and which can thereby establish their peace and security: and therefore we have not the least doubt but that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe our honour, or impair our authority, as of your own liberty and property, which is best preserved by preserving the other.

How far we have trusted you in this great affair, and how much it is in your power to restore the nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath undergone, and to make King and people as happy as they ought to be, you will find by our inclosed declaration, a copy of which we have likewise sent to the House of Peers: and you will easily believe, that we would not voluntarily and of our self have reposed so great a trust in you, but upon an entire confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due consideration of us, who have trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of declining other assistance (which we have assurance of), and repairing to you for more natural and proper remedies for the evils we would be freed from, nor sorry that we have bound up our own interest so entirely with that of our subjects, as that we refer it to the same persons to take care of us who are trusted to provide for them. We look upon you as wise and dispassionate men, and good patriots; who will raise up those banks and fences which have been cast down, and who will most reasonably hope, that the same prosperity will again spring from those roots from which it hath heretofore and always grown. Nor can we apprehend, that you will propose any thing to us, or expect any thing from us, but that we are as ready to give as you to receive.

If you desire the advancement and propagation of the Protestant religion, we have, by our constant profession and
prac-

practice of it, given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession (of both which we have had abundant evidence), could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not readily consent: and we hope, in due time, our self to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world, that we have always made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

If you desire security for those who in these calamitous times either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each other's rights, we have left to you to provide for their security and indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think just and reasonable, and by a just computation of what men have done and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied, which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that peace which for the present might seem established. If there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but you will be as solicitous to redeem and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy as we can be.

If you desire that reverence and obedience may be paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and that justice may be equally and impartially administered to all men, it is that which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons in power and authority should be so too.

In a word, there is nothing that you can propose, that may make the kingdom happy, which we will not contend with you to compass: and upon this confidence and assurance, we have thought fit to send you this declaration, that you may, as much as is possible at this distance, see our heart; which, when God shall bring us nearer together (as we hope he will do shortly), will appear to you very agreeable to what we have professed: and we hope that we have made that Christian use of our affliction, and that the observation and experience we have had in other countries hath been such, as that we, and, we hope, all our subjects, shall be the better for what we have seen and suffered.

We shall add no more, but our prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your counsels, and direct your endeavours,

That his glory and worship may be provided for; and the peace, honour, and happiness of the nation, may be established upon those foundations which can best support it. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at *Breda*, this 14th day of April, 1660,
in the twelfth year of our reign.

Superscribed, "*To our trusty and well-beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons.*"

Letter of King Charles II. to General Monk.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. It cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all endeavours, to improve the affections of our good subjects at home, and to procure the assistance of our friends and allies abroad, for the recovery of that right which, by the laws of God and man, is unquestionable, and of which we have so long been dispossessed by such force, and with those circumstances, as we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions, but rather wish that the memory of what is past may be buried to the world: that we have more endeavoured to prepare and to improve the affections of our subjects at home for our restoration, than to procure assistance from abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as manifest to the world: and we cannot give a better evidence, that we are still of the same mind, than in this conjuncture, when common reason must satisfy all men, that we cannot be without an assistance from abroad: we chuse rather to send to you, who have it in your own power to prevent that ruin and desolation which a war would bring upon the nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall enjoy to your virtue, and to acknowledge, that your armies have complied with their obligations, for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, the honour and dignity of the King, the privileges of Parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, and the fundamental laws of the land; and that you have vindicated that trust, which others most perfidiously abused and

1

betrayed.

betrayed. How much we desire and resolve to contribute to those good ends, will appear to you by our enclosed declaration; which we desire you to cause to be published for the information and satisfaction of all good subjects, who do not desire a further effusion of precious Christian blood, but to have their peace and security founded upon that which can only support it, a unity of affections amongst ourselves, an equal administration of justice to all men, restoring Parliaments to a full capacity of providing for all that is ariſe, and the laws of the land to their due veneration. You have been yourselves witnesses of so many revolutions, and have had so much experience how far any power and authority, that is only assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported by justice, is from providing for the peace and happiness of the people, or from receiving any obedience from them, without which no government can provide for them, that you may very reasonably believe, that God hath not been well pleased with the attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased the confusion, by giving all the success that hath been desired, and brought that to pass without effect, which the designers have proposed as the best means to settle and compose the nation: and, therefore, we cannot but hope and believe that you will concur with us in the remedy we have applied, which, to human understanding, is only proper for the ills we all groan under, and that you will make yourselves the blessed instruments to bring this blessing of peace and reconciliation upon King and people, it being the usual method in which Divine Providence delighteth itself to use and sanctify those very means which ill men design for the satisfaction of private and particular ends, and ambition, and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and public ends; and to establish that good, which is most contrary to the designers, which is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a nation that can be given in this world.

How far we resolve to preserve your interests, and to reward your services, we refer to our declaration: and we hope God will inspire you to perform your duty to us and to your native country, whose happiness cannot be separated from each other. We have entrusted our well-beloved servant, Sir *John Greenville*, one of the gentlemen of our bed-chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an account of your reception of it, and to desire you, in our name, that it may be published. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at *Breda*, this 14th of April, 1660,
in the twelfth year of our reign.

Address

Address of the House of Commons to the King, May 2, 1660.

Most Royal Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, do, with all humbleness, present unto your Majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts for those gracious expressions of piety and goodness, and love to us and the nations under your dominion, which your Majesty's letter of April 11th, dated from *Breda*, together with the declaration enclosed in it, of the same date, do so evidently contain; for which we do, in the first place, look up to the great King of Kings, and bless his name, who hath put these thoughts into the heart of our King, to make him glorious in the eyes of his people, as those great deliverances which that Divine Majesty hath afforded unto your royal person from many dangers, and the support which he hath given unto your heroic and princely mind, under various trials, make it appear to all the world that you are precious in his sight.

And give us leave to say, that as your Majesty is pleased to declare your confidence in Parliaments, your esteem of them, and this your judgment and character of them, that they are so necessary for the government of the kingdom, that neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; and therefore say, that you will hearken unto their counsels, be tender of their privileges, and careful to preserve and protect them: so we trust, and will with all humility be bold to affirm, that your Majesty will not be deceived in us, and that we will never depart from that fidelity which we owe unto your Majesty, that zeal which we bear unto your service, and a constant endeavour to advance your honour and greatness.

And we beseech your Majesty we may add this further, for the vindication of Parliaments, and even of the last Parliament, convened under your royal father, of happy memory;—when, as your Majesty well observes, through mistakes and misunderstandings, many inconveniencies were produced which were not intended: that those very inconveniencies could not have been brought upon us by those persons who had designed them, without first violating the Parliament itself; for they well knew it was not possible to do a violence to that sacred person, whilst the Parliament, which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety of that person, remained entire. Surely, Sir, as the persons of our kings have ever been dear unto Parliaments, so we cannot think of that horrid act committed

against

against the precious life, of our late sovereign, but with such a detestation and abhorrency as we want words to express it.

And, next to wishing it had never been, we wish it may never be remembered by your Majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sorrow; as it will never be remembered by us, but with that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves, being the greatest reproach that ever was incurred by any of the English nation; an offence to all the protestant churches abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of religion here at home; though both profession and true professors and the nation itself, as well as the Parliament, were most innocent of it, having been only the contrivance and act of some few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others as by their influence, were misled.

And as we hope and pray that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the evil consequences thereof unto the land, whose divine justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so we cannot but give due praise to your Majesty's goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled and reconciling thoughts; and with them not only meet, but, as it were, prevent your Parliament and people, proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting the Parliament to consider further, and advise your Majesty what may be necessary to restore to the nation what it hath lost, raise up again the banks and fences of it, and make the kingdom happy, by the advancement of religion, the securing our laws, liberties, and estates, and the removing of all jealousies and animosities which may render our peace less certain and durable; wherein your Majesty gives a large evidence of your great wisdom judging aright that, after so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the very foundations, great care must be had to repair the breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatever may disturb and weaken them.

We shall immediately apply ourselves to the preparing of these things; and, in a very short time, we hope, be able to present them unto your Majesty: and, for the present, do, with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your grace and favour, in assuring us of your royal concurrence with us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you, but what you will be as ready to give as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of your Majesty's effectual performance, since your own princely judgment hath prompted unto you the necessity of doing such things; and your piety and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of them to your faithful Parliament.

You

You speak as a gracious king; and we will do what befits dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects, who are yet more engaged to honour, and highly esteem your Majesty for your declining, as you are pleased to say, all foreign assistance, and rather trust to your people; who, we do assure your Majesty, will, and do, open their arms and hearts to receive you, and will spare neither their estates nor their lives when your service shall require it of them.

And we have yet more cause to enlarge our praises and our prayers to God for your Majesty, that you have continued unshaken in your faith: that neither the temptation of allurements, persuasions, and promises, from seducing Papists on the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage from some seduced and misguided professors of the Protestant religion on the other hand, could at all prevail upon your Majesty to make you forsake the rock of *Israel*, the God of your fathers, the true Protestant religion, in which your Majesty hath been bred; but you have still been as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with your and our God, even now expressing your zeal and affection for the Protestant religion, and your care and study for the propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the land, and an assurance to them that God would not forsake you; but, after many trials, which should but make you more precious, as gold out of the fire, restore your Majesty unto your patrimony and people with more splendour and dignity, and make you the glory of Kings, and the joy of your subjects, which is, and ever shall be, the prayer of your Majesty's most loyal subjects the Commons of *England*, assembled in Parliament.

Signed by the order and in the name of your Majesty's subjects the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament,

HAR. GRIMSTON.
Speaker of the Commons House
of Parliament.

Westminster, May 2, 1660.

*Letter of the House of Lords to His Majesty, in answer to his
Letter and Declaration, May 3, 1660.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR loyal subjects, the Peers now assembled, do, with all humility and thankfulness, return their acknowledgments to your Majesty for your gracious letter and declaration; and do esteem it their greatest honour, that your Majesty is pleased to express a confidence of their counsels and endeavours for the composing the sad and unhappy distractions of your kingdoms; and they owe this as their great advantage, that they may now act in discharge of their own duty by your Majesty's command.

Your Majesty's great and many sufferings have long affected their hearts with deep resentments of trouble and sorrow: but the same power that usurped and profaned your sceptre, divested them of their rights and privileges, and kept them under such pressures and difficulties as they were rendered incapable of serving your Majesty, in order to those ends to which their duty and allegiance did engage them. It hath been their constant desire that the nation had continued happy and innocent. But your Majesty's piety and wisdom hath shewed you to what degree your clemency is to be extended. And we hope all your subjects will answer your Majesty's grace and favour to the utmost point of fidelity and obedience. The Peers have a just ground to own a more particular dependence and subservience to the throne of Majesty, not only by the prescriptions of law, but by that affection and duty which is fixed in their hearts upon the foundation of loyalty, which gives them the privilege to style themselves.

Your Majesty's

Most loyal, most dutiful, and most obedient,

Subjects and servants,

Signed in the name and by the command of the said
House of Peers, by

E. MANCHESTER,

Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*.

Westminster, 3d of May, 1660.

For the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

King

*King Charles the Second's Speech to the House of Peers, July 27,
1660.*

My Lords,

WHEN I first came hither to you, which was within two or three days after I came to *Whitehall*, I did, with as much earnestness as I could, both by myself and the Chancellor, recommend to you and the House of Commons the speedy dispatch of the Act of Indemnity, as a necessary foundation of that security we all pray for; I did since, by a particular message to the House of Commons, again press them to hasten that important work; and did likewise, by a proclamation, publish to all the kingdom, that I did with impatience expect that the act should be presented to me for my assent, as the most reasonable and solid foundation of that peace, happiness, and security, I hope and pray for to myself and all my dominions. I will not deny it to you, I thought the House of Commons too long about that work, and, therefore, now it is come up to you I would not have you guilty of the same delay. I thank God I have the same intentions and resolutions now I am here with you which I had at *Breda*, and believe that I owe my being here to God's blessing upon the intentions and resolutions I then expressed to have. I will read to you what I then said.

“ And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is passed, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of King, Peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand to pass, under our great seal of *England*, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof shall lay hold of this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects (excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament): those only excepted, let all our loving subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal Father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endamagement of them,
either

either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects: we desiring and ordering, that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights and their's, in a free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised."

My Lords,

IF you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehensive of safety and security, you keep me from performing my promise; which if I had not made, I am persuaded neither I nor you had been now here. I pray, let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come together. I knew well there were some men who could neither forgive themselves, or be forgiven by us; and I thank you for your justice towards those, the immediate murderers of my father. And I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the benefit you and I have received from that offer; and encourage and oblige all other persons, by not excluding them from the benefit of this act. This mercy and indulgence is the best way to bring them to a true repentance, and to make them more severe to themselves, when they find we are not so to them. It will make them good subjects to me, and good friends and neighbours to you; and we have then all our end, and you shall find this the securest expedient to prevent future mischief. Therefore I do earnestly desire and conjure you to depart from all particular animosities and revenge, or memory of past provocations, and that you will pass this act, without other exceptions than of those who were immediately guilty of that murder of my father. My Lords, I have told you my opinion, and I hope you will be of the same. If any persons appear of such dangerous and obstinate principles that the peace of the kingdom cannot be preserved whilst they have liberty in it, some other course may be taken that they shall not be able to do hurt, and I assure you there is nothing can enable them to do so much harm as the deferring the passing this act.

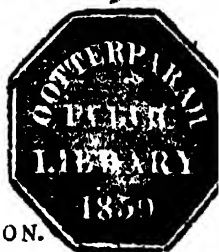
I hope

I hope I need say nothing of *Ireland*, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my mercy. They have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honour and of what I have promised to them. I do again conjure you that you will use all expedition in the dispatch of this bill.

SPELCHILS

KINGS' SPEECHES,

&c.



CHARLES II.'s DECLARATION.

CHARLES REX.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion, which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing, that those wounds, which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up; all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we desire to come hither thereto; and that, as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the possession of that right, which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible. Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted, and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration, both of Kings, Peers, and People, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights; we do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our

* From the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. viii. p. 5.

great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever; who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament: those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights, and theirs, in a free Parliament; by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.

And, because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.

And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles; we are likewise willing, that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and to the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk; and that

that they shall be received into our service, upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our sign manual, and privy signet, at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{4}$ day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, June 18, 1660.

CHARLES REX.

WE have had too ample a manifestation of your affection and duty towards us, the good effect whereof is notorious to the world, to make the least doubt of the continuance and improvement thereof; or, in the least degree, to dislike what you have done; or to complain of what you have left undone: we know well the weight of those affairs, which depend upon your councils, and the time that must unavoidably be spent in debates, where there must naturally be difference of opinion and judgment amongst those whose desires of public peace and safety are the same; and neither we nor you must be over-much troubled, if we find our good intentions, and the unwearied pains we take to reduce those good intentions into real acts, for the quiet and security of the nation, misrepresented and misinterpreted by those who are, in truth, afflicted to see the public distractions, by GOD's blessing so near an end; and by others, upon whose weakness, fears, and jealousies, the activity and cunning of those ill men have too great an influence.

How wonderful and miraculous soever the great harmony of affections between us and our good subjects is, (and that is so visible and manifest to the world, that there scarce appears the view of any cloud to overshadow or disturb it) yet we must not think, that GOD Almighty hath wrought the miracle to that degree, that a nation, so miserably divided for so many years, is so soon and entirely united in their affections and endeavours, as were to be wished; but that the evil consciences of many men continue to awake for mischief; that they are not willing to take rest themselves, or to suffer others to take it: and we have all had too sad experience of the unhappy effects of fears and jealousies, how groundless and unreasonable soever, not to think it very necessary to apply all timely and proper remedies to those distempers; and to prevent the inconveniences and mischiefs, which too naturally flow from thence: we well foresaw, that the great violation, which the laws of the land had for so many years sustained, had filled the hearts of the people with a terrible apprehension of insecurity to themselves, if all they

had said and done should be liable to be examined and punished by those laws, which had been so violated ; and that nothing could establish the security of king and people, but a full provision, that the returning to the reverence and obedience of the law (which is good for us all) should not turn to the ruin of any, who are willing and fit to receive that protection hereafter from the law, and to pay that subjection to it that is just and necessary ; and therefore we made that free offer of a general pardon, in such manner as is expressed in our declaration : and how ready and desirous we are to make good the same, appears by our proclamation, which we have issued out upon, and according to, your desire.

However, it is evident, that all we have or do offer, doth not enough compose the minds of our people ; nor, in their opinions, can their security be provided for, till the act of indemnity and oblivion be passed ; and we find great industry is used by those, who do not wish that peace to the kingdom they ought to do, to persuade our good subjects, that we have no mind to make good our promises ; which, in truth, we desire to perform for our own sake as well as theirs : and we do therefore very earnestly recommend it to you, that all possible expedition be used in the passing that most necessary act, whereby our good subjects generally will be satisfied, that their security is in their own hands, and depends upon their future actions ; and that they are free for all that is past : and so all the endeavours of ill men will be disappointed, which would persuade them not to do well, because they have heretofore done amiss. And we are the more engaged to this our recommendation, because, upon the reflection of your eminent zeal and affection for our service, and hearty concurrence with us in all we have desired from you, men are apt to persuade others, (though they do not believe it themselves) that the passing the act is therefore deferred, because we do not enough press the dispatch of it ; which we do desire from our heart ; and are confident you will the sooner do, upon this our earnest recommendation.

*His Majesty's Message to both Houses of Parliament, July 30,
1660.*

CHARLES REX:

HIS Majesty is very well informed of the value of those concessions which are to pass in the act of indemnity, which relate entirely to his Majesty's profit, and which have little or no relation to the war. He knows well, that the
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arrears of the wards, the licenses of alienation, and alienations without license, purveyance, respite of homage, the arrears of rent still in the hands of the tenants, and the other particulars, amount to a great and vast sum; all which are released and discharged by this act: but his Majesty is so well satisfied of the good affection of his House of Commons, and of their intentions and resolutions to settle such a revenue upon his Majesty, as may preserve the crown from want, and from being undervalued by his neighbours; that he is resolved not to insist upon any particulars, which the House of Commons desired his Majesty should release. And therefore, as his Majesty thanks the House of Peers for the information they have given him, and for the care they have expressed of his Majesty's profit; so he is well contented, that that clause shall pass in such manner as the House of Commons hath set down; and continues his earnest desire, that all expedition be used in passing the said act, in the manner he hath formerly expressed.

Given at our court at Whitehall, this thirtieth day of July, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

• EDWARD NICHOLAS,

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, September 13, 1660.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IF my presence here had not been requisite, for the passing these many bills, I did always intend to see you together before your adjournment, that I might again thank you for the many good things you have done for me and the kingdom: and, in truth, I do thank you more for what ye have done for the public, than what you have done for my own particular; and yet I do thank you for that, with all my heart: but, I confess to you, I do thank you more for the provision you have made to prevent free quarter, during the time the army shall be disbanding, (which I take to be given for my satisfaction) than I do for the other present you have made me, for my own particular occasions: and I do promise you (which is the best way I can take to gratify you) I will not apply one penny of that money to my own particular occasions, what shift soever I make, till it is evident to me, that the public will not stand in need of it: and if I do, every penny of it

* This and the Chancellor's speech have been compared with the originals bound up in the Journals of the House of Lords.

shall be disbursed that way; and, I dare say, I shall not be the poorer for it. I cannot but take notice of one particular bill I have passed, which may seem of an extraordinary nature, that concerning the Duke of Somerset: but, you all know, it is for an extraordinary person, who hath merited as much of the king my father, and myself, as a subject can do: and I am none of those who think that subjects, by performing their duties in an extraordinary manner, do not oblige their princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner: there can be no danger from such a precedent: and, I hope, no man will envy him; because I have done what a good master should do to such a servant.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I will not deny to you, that I had some inclination, when I consented, upon your desire, to your recess, to have made a session; which I thought most agreeable to the ancient order of Parliaments: and, I hope, you will all join with me, in reducing the proceedings of Parliament to the ancient rules and orders of Parliaments; the deviations from which hath done us no good: and, I think, there were never so many bills passed together, as I have this day given my assent to, without a session: but, upon the desire and reasons given by the House of Commons, for an adjournment without a session, I did very willingly depart from that inclination; and do as willingly give you leave, and direct you, that you adjourn yourselves till the sixth of November: when, I hope, you will all meet again; and, in the mean time, that you will be all welcome to your countries, and do much service there. I have many other particulars to say, and recommend to you; in which I cannot enough trust to my own memory: and, therefore, I shall command the Chancellor to say the rest to you.

After his Majesty had ended his speech, the Lord Chancellor said as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE King tells you, that he hath commanded me to say many particulars to you: and the truth is, he hath charged me with so many, that I have great reason to fear, that I shall stand in much need of his mercy, for omitting many things he hath given me in command; at least, for delivering them in more disorder and confusion, than matters of such moment and importance ought to be to such an assembly; for which the King himself hath even a kind of reverence, as well as
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an extraordinary kindness. I am to mention some things he hath done already, and many things he intends to do, during this recess, that you may see (how well content soever he is, that you should have ease, and pleasure, and refreshment) he hath designed work enough for himself.

The King hath thanked you for the provision you have made, that there may be no free quarter during the time the army shall be disbanding; and hath told you what he will do with that money you have given him, if there should be want, wherewithal to disband it.

And now, I hope, you will all believe, that his Majesty will consent to the disbanding.

He will do so; and yet he does not take it unkindly at their hands, who have thought that his Majesty would not disband this army: it was a sober and a rational jealousy: no other prince in Europe would be willing to disband such an army; an army to which victory is entailed; and which (humanly speaking) could hardly fail of conquest wheresoever he should lead it: and, if God had not restored his Majesty to that rare felicity, as to be without apprehension of danger at home, or from abroad, and without any ambition of taking from his neighbours what they are possessed of; himself would never disband this army; an army, whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manners, whose courage and success, hath made it famous and terrible over the world; an army of which the King, and his two royal brothers, may say, as the noble Grecian said of Æneas;

— *Stetimus tela aspera contra,*

Contulimusque manus: experto credite, quantus

In clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.

They have all three, in several countries, found themselves engaged, in the midst of these troops, in the heat and rage of battle; and if any common soldier (as, no doubt, many may) will demand the old Romans' privilege for having encountered princes single, upon my conscience, he will find both favour and preferment. They have all three observed the discipline, and felt, and admired, and loved, the courage of this army, when they were the worse for it: and I have seen them, in a season, when there was little else of comfort in their view, refresh themselves with joy, that the English had done the great work; the English had got the day; and then please themselves with the imagination, what wonders they should perform in the head of such an army. And therefore, when his Majesty is so entirely possessed of the affection and obedience of this army, and when it hath merited so much from

him, can it be believed, or imagined, that he can, without some regret, part with them?

No, my Lords and Gentlemen: he will never part with them: and the only sure way to part with them, is to disband them. Should it be otherwise, they must be exposed to the daily importunity of his great neighbours and allies: and how could he refuse to lend them his troops, of which he hath no use himself?

His Majesty knows they are too good Englishmen, to wish that a standing army should be kept up in the bowels of their own country: that they who but *in bello pacis gerere negotium*, and who, whilst an army, lived like good husbandmen in the country, and good citizens in the city will now become really such; and take delight in the benefit of that peace they have so honestly and so wonderfully brought to pass.

The King will part with them, as the most indulgent parents part with their children, for their education and for their preferment: he will prefer them to disbanding, and prefer them by disbanding: and will always retain such a kindness for them, and such a memory of the service they have done him, that both officers and soldiers, after they are disbanded, shall always find such countenance, favour, and reward, from his Majesty, that he doubts not but, if he should have occasion to use their service, they will again resort to him, with the same alacrity as if they had never been disbanded: and if there be any so ill amongst them (as there can be but very few, if any) who will forfeit that favour and protection they may have from him, by any withstanding his Majesty's commands, and the full and declared sense of the kingdom, his Majesty is confident they will be as odious to their companions, as they can be to any other honest men.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am, in the next place, by the King's command, to put you in mind of the act of indemnity: not of any grants, or concessions, or releases, he made to you in that act; I have nothing of that in charge; no prince hath so excellent a memory, to forget the favours he does: but of what he hath done against you in that act: now you may be undone by that act, if you are not very careful to perform the obligations he hath laid upon you in it. The clause I am to put you in mind of, is this: "And to the intent and purpose, that all names and terms of distinction may be likewise put into utter oblivion, Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons, within the space of three years next ensuing,

ensuing, shall presume maliciously to call, or alledge, or object, against any other person or persons, any name or names, or other words of reproach, any way tending to revive the memory of the late differences, or the occasion thereof; that then every such person, so, as aforesaid, offending, shall forfeit, &c." It is no matter for the penalty; it is too cheap a one: the King wishes it had been greater; and therefore hath, by his just prerogative, (and it is well for us he hath such a prerogative) added another penalty, more insupportable, even his high displeasure, against all who shall swerve from this clause in the act.

Give me leave to tell you, that, as any name or names, or other words of reproach, are expressly against the letter, and punishable accordingly; so evil and envious looks, murmuring and discontented hearts, are as directly against the equity of this statute; a direct breach of the act of indemnity, and ought to be punished too; and, I believe, they may be so. You know Kings are, in some sense, called gods; and so they may, in some degree, be able to look into men's hearts; and God hath given us a King, who can look as far into men's hearts as any prince alive; and he hath great skill in physiognomy too. You would wonder what calculations he hath made from thence; and, no doubt, if he be provoked, by evil looks, to make a farther inquiry into men's hearts, and finds those corrupted with the passions of envy and uncharitableness, he will never chuse those hearts to trust and rely upon.

He hath given us a noble and princely example, by opening and stretching his arms to all who are worthy to be his subjects, worthy to be thought Englishmen; by extending his heart, with a pious and a grateful joy, to find all his subjects at once in his arms, and himself in theirs: and shall we fold our arms towards one another, and contract our hearts with envy and malice to each other, by any sharp memory of what hath been unneighbourly and unkindly done heretofore?

What is this but to rebel against the person of the King, against the excellent example and virtue of the King, against the known law of the land, this blessed act of oblivion?

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King is a suitor to you; makes it his suit very heartily, that you will join with him in restoring the whole nation to its primitive temper and integrity, to its old good manners, its old good-humour, and its old good-nature; good-nature! a virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated to God Almighty, to this nation, that it can be translated into no other language; hardly practised by any other people: and that you will, by
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your example, by the candour of your conversation, by your precepts, and by your practice, and by all your interests, teach your neighbours, and your friends, how to pay a full obedience to this clause of the statute, how to learn this excellent art of forgetfulness. Let them remember, and let us all remember, how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly, the insolence, the fierceness, the brutishness, of their enemies appeared to them : and we may piously and reasonably believe, that God's indignation against them, for their want of bowels, for their not being Englishmen, (for they had the hearts of pagans and infidel) sent a whirlwind in a moment to blow them out of the world ; that is, out of a capacity to do more mischief in the world : except we practise their vices, and do that ourselves, which we pretend to detest them for. Let us not be too much ashamed, as if what hath been done amiss proceeded from the humour, and the temper, and the nature of our nation.

The astrologers have made us a fair excuse ; and truly, I hope, a true one : all the motions of these last twenty years have been unnatural, and have proceeded from the evil influence of a malignant star ; and let us not too much despise the influence of the stars : and the same astrologers assure us, that the malignity of that star is expired ; the good genius of this kingdom is become superior, and hath mastered that malignity ; and our own good old stars govern us again : and their influence is so strong, that, with our help, they will repair in a year, what hath been decaying in twenty ; and they only shall have no excuse from the star, who continue their malignity, and own all the ill that is past to be their own, by continuing and improving it for the time to come.

If any body here, or any where else, be too much exalted with what he hath done, or what he hath suffered, and from thence thinks himself warranted to reproach others, let him remember the story of Nicephorus : it is an excellent story, and very applicable to such distempers : he was a pious and religious man ; and for his piety and religion was condemned to the fire. When he was led to execution, and when an old friend, who had done him injury enough, fell at his feet, and asked his pardon, the poor man was so elated with the triumph he was going unto, with the glory of martyrdom, that he refused to be reconciled unto him : upon which he was disappointed of his end ; and, for this uncharitableness, the Spirit of God immediately forsook him, and he apostatized from the faith. Let all those who are too proud of having been, as they think, less faulty than other men, and so are unwilling to be reconciled to those who have offended, take heed of the apostacy of Nicephorus ; and that those

those fumes of envy, and uncharitableness, and murmuring, do not so far transport and intoxicate them, that they fall into those very crimes they value themselves for having hitherto declined.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen,

Whilst we conspire together to execute faithfully this part of the bill, to put all old names and terms of distinction into utter oblivion; let us not find new names and terms to keep up the same, or a worse distinction. If the old reproaches of Cavalier, and Roundhead, and Malignant, be committed to the grave, let us not find more significant and better words to signify worse things: let not piety and godliness grow into terms of reproach, and distinguish between the court, and the city, and the country; and let not piety and godliness be measured by a morosity in manners, an affectation of gesture, a new mode and tone of speaking: at least, let our constitutions and complexions make us be thought of a contrary party; and, because we have not affected austerities in our looks, that we have not piety in our hearts. Very merry men have been very godly men; and, if a good conscience be a continual feast, there is no reason but men may be very merry at it.

You, Mr. Speaker, have this day made a noble present to the King: do you think, that, if you, and your worthy companions, had brought it up, with folded arms, downcast looks, with sighs, and other instances of desperation, it would not have been a very melancholy present? Have not your frank and dutiful expressions, that cheerfulness and vivacity in your looks, rendered it much more acceptable, much more valuable?

No prince in Christendom loves a cheerful giver, so well as God Almighty does; and he, of all gifts, a cheerful heart: and therefore, I pray, let not a cloudy and disconsolate face be the only, or the best, sign of piety and devotion in the heart. I must ask you pardon for misplacing much of this discourse; which I should have mentioned, when I came to speak of the minister's bill: they, I hope, will endeavour to remove these new marks of distinction and reproaches, and keep their auditories from being imposed upon by such characters and descriptions. The King hath passed this act very willingly, and done much to the end of this act before; yet hath willingly admitted you to be sharers and partners with him in the obligation.

I may say confidently, his Majesty hath never denied his confirmation to any man in possession, who hath asked it; and they have all had the effect of it, except such who, upon examination and inquiry, appear not worthy of it; and such who, though they are pardoned, cannot yet think themselves worthy

to be preferred. His Majesty well knows, that, by this act, he hath gratified and obliged many worthy and pious men; who have contributed much to his restoration, and who shall always receive fresh evidence of his Majesty's favour and kindness; but he is not sure, that he may not likewise have gratified some who did neither contribute to his coming in, nor are yet glad that he is in.

How comes it else to pass, that he receives such frequent information of seditious sermons in the city, and in the country; in which all industry is used, to alienate the affections of the people, and to infuse jealousies into them of the King, and his Government?

They talk of introducing popery, of evil counsellors, and such other old calumnies are pardoned by this act of indemnity.

His Majesty told you, when he was last here, what rigour and severity he will hereafter use, how contrary soever it is to his nature, in these cases; and conjured you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to concur with him in this just and necessary severity: which, I am sure, you will do with your utmost vigilance; and that you will believe, that too much ill cannot befall those who do the best they can to corrupt his Majesty's nature, and to extinguish his mercy.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I told you, I was to acquaint you with some things his Majesty intends to do during this recess; that you may see, he will give no intermission to his own thoughts for the public good, though for a time he dispenses with your assistance.

He doth consider the infinite importance the improvement of trade must be to this kingdom; and therefore his Majesty intends forthwith to establish a council of Trade, consisting of some principal merchants of the several companies; to which he will add some gentlemen of quality and experience; and, for their greater honour and encouragement, some of my Lords of his own privy council.

In the next place, his Majesty hopes, that, by a well-settled peace, and God's great blessing upon him and you, this nation will, in a short time, flourish to that degree that the land of Canaan did, when Esau found it necessary to part from his brother; for their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land, wherein they were, could not bear them, because of their cattle.

We have been ourselves very near this pinnacle of happiness; and the hope and contemplation, that we may be so again, disposes the King to be very solicitous for the improvement and prosperity

prosperity of his plantations abroad ; where there is such large room for the industry and reception of such who shall desire to go thither : and therefore his Majesty likewise intends to erect and establish a council for those plantations ; in which persons well qualified will be wholly intent upon the good and advancement of those plantations.

There are two other particulars, which I am commanded to mention, which were both mentioned and recommended to you by his Majesty, in his declaration from Breda : the one for the confirmation of sales, for other recompense for purchasers ; the other, for composing those differences and dissensions in religion, which have too much disturbed the peace of the kingdom : two very weighty particulars ! in which his Majesty knows you have spent much time ; and concerning which, he should have heard from you before this time, if you had not met with great difficulties in the disquisition of either. For the first, his Majesty hath not been without much thought upon the argument, and hath done much towards the accommodation of many particular persons : and you shall not be at your journey's end, before his Majesty will put that business concerning sales, into such a way of dispatch, that he doubts not you will find a good progress made in it, before your coming to ether again : and I believe, the persons concerned will be very much to blame, if they receive not good satisfaction ; and to you, who stay in town, shall be advised and consulted with in that settlement.

The other ; of religion, is a sad argument indeed : it is a consideration, that must make every religious heart to bleed, to see religion, which should be the strongest obligation, and cement of affection and brotherly kindness and compassion, made now, by the perverse wranglings of passionate and froward men, the ground of all animosity, hatred, malice, and revenge : and this unruly and untoward passion, (which, no question, the Divine Nature exceedingly abhors) sometimes, and, I fear, too frequently, transports those who are in the right, as well as those who are in the wrong, and leaves the latter more excusable than the former, when men who find their manners and dispositions very conformable in all the necessary obligations of human nature, avoid one another's conversation, and grow first unsociable, and then uncharitable, to each other, because one cannot think as the other doth : and thus this separation we entitle God to the patronage of, and concernment in our fancies and distinctions ; and purely for his sake, hate one another heartily. It was not so of old, when one of the most ancient fathers of the church tells us, that love and charity were so signal and eminent in the primitive christians, that it even drew
admiration

admiration and envy from their adversaries; *Vide, inquit, ut invicem se diligant.* Their adversaries, in that in which they most agreed, in their very prosecution of them, had their passions and animosities amongst themselves: they were only christians that loved, and cherished, and comforted, and were ready to die for one another. *Quid nunc illi, dicerent Christiani, si nostra viderent tempora?* says the incomparable Grotius. How would they look upon our sharp and virulent contentions in the debates of the christian religion, and the bloody wars that have proceeded from those contentions, whilst every one pretended to all the marks which are to attend upon the true church; except only that which is inseparable from it, charity to one another?

My Lords and Gentlemen,

This disquisition hath cost the King many a sigh, many a sad hour, when he hath considered the almost irreparable reproach the Protestant religion hath undergone, from the divisions and distractions which have been so notorious within this kingdom. What pains he hath taken to compose them, after several discourses with learned and pious men of different persuasions, you will shortly see by a declaration he will publish upon that occasion: by which you will see his great indulgence to those who can have any pretension from conscience to differ with their brethren: and, I hope, God will so bless the candour of his Majesty, in the condescensions he makes, that the Church, as well as the State, will return to that unity and unanimity, which will make both King and People as happy as they can hope to be in this world.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I shall conclude with the King's hearty thanks to you, not only for what you have done towards him, which hath been very signal, but for what you have done towards each other, for the excellent correspondence you have maintained, for the very seasonable deference and condescension you have had for each other; which will restore Parliaments to the veneration they ought to have: and, since his Majesty knows that you all desire to please him (you have given him ample evidence that you do;) so he hath appointed me to give you a sure receipt to attain that good end: it is a receipt of his own prescribing, and therefore is not like to fail: be but pleased yourselves, and persuade others to be so; contrive all the ways imaginable for your own happiness, and you will make him the best pleased, and the most happy prince in the world.

*The Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the King,
Sept. 13, 1660, the Day of their Adjournment.*

Most Gracious and Royal Sovereign,

YOUR Commons, the knights, citizens, and burgesſes, have commanded me to preſent your Maſteſty with the ſacrifices of their hearts, moſt humble thanks for their often and frequent admiſſions unto your royal preſence, and for the freedom you have been pleaſed to allow them, upon all occaſions, of making their wants and deſires known unto your Maſteſty.

SIR,

This royal favour, and fatherly kindneſs, unto your people, hath naturalized their affections to your perſon, and their obedience to your precepts: and as it is their duty, ſo it is their deſires, to manifeſt and evidence the truth and reality thereof, by ſupporting and upholding that grandeur and ſplendor which is due to the Maſteſty of ſo meritorious a prince, as you yourſelf: and therefore they have reſolved, *una ſlatu, et nemine contradicente*, to make up your royal Maſteſty's conſtant and ordinary revenue, twelve hundred thouſand pounds per annum.

But finding, as to ſome part of the ſettlement of that revenue, that there will be a neceſſity of making uſe of the legiſlative power; and that the bills, already brought into the Houſe for that purpoſe, cannot poſſibly be perfected, diſpatched, and made ready for your royal aſſent, until the next meeting of your Houſes of Parliament again; therefore they have taken into their conſideration your Maſteſty's preſent ſupply: and, firſt, how to raiſe it in the moſt expeditious way, to answer your Maſteſty's preſent occaſions; and, then, how to lay it, with the moſt eaſe and equality, upon your people: and, at laſt, wrapped up their affections to your Maſteſty, and the truſt reſoſed in them by the people, in one of theſe bills here in my hand, entituled, An Act for the ſpeedy Raiſing of One hundred thouſand Pounds, for the preſent ſupply of your Maſteſty, to be levied by way of land rate, within the ſpace of one month, to begin the twenty-ninth of this inſtant September, and to be paid into your Maſteſty's Exchequer before the end of October following.

SIR,

They have likewiſe paſſed another bill, with rules and inſtructions, to empower and direct your commiſſioners, how, and in what manner, to diſband your army and garrifons, and to pay off ſome part of your fleet, and to begin with thoſe ſhips now in harbour: but, not knowing for certain, what the monies upon the poll bill, which is deſigned for that purpoſe, will

will be sufficient fully to defray that charge ; and being unwilling that any thing should be wanting, on their parts, to perfect and complete so good a work, so acceptable to your Majesty, and so grateful to all your people ; they have passed another act for raising one hundred and forty thousand pounds, seventy thousand pounds per menssem, to begin the first of November, and to be paid to your Majesty's treasurers, in that bill nominated and appointed, before the twenty-fifth day of December next ensuing : both which bills I am commanded, in the name of your Commons, humbly to present your Majesty withal ; and to pray your gracious acceptance thereof, and your royal assent thereunto.

SIR,

There are other bills likewise, which wait and attend for your royal assent ; one entituled, An Act for regulating the Bay Trade ; which is the only way to keep up the credit of that, which at this time is in some danger to be lost. When the credit of trade begins to decline, the trade itself decays with it, and is never long-lived after it.

SIR,

Many thousands of your people depend wholly upon that trade for their livelihood, and sustenance of them and their families : and as the loss of that trade would be a great damage unto your people, so your Majesty would likewise find the loss of it in your customs ; for that commodity hath its vent in Spain and Portugal, from whence we have always rich and quick returns : and to prevent the loss of both, both prince and people, that bill is humbly tendered to your Majesty.

SIR,

There is another bill, entituled, An Act for encouraging and increasing Shipping and Navigation : which will enable your Majesty to give the law to foreign princes, abroad, as your royal predecessors have done before you : and it is the only way to enlarge your Majesty's dominions all over the world ; for, so long as your Majesty is master at sea, your merchants will be welcome wherever they come ; and that it is the easiest way of conquering, and the chiefest way of making whatsoever is, theirs : and when it is ours, your Majesty cannot want it.

SIR,

There is another bill, entituled, An Act for restoring some Ministers into their Places, out of which they have been long and injuriously ejected and exposed ; and for the confirming others in vacant places. Crazy titles need your Majesty's help, as much as crazy bodies need the help of physicians : and what your Majesty hath already done, in that kind, to this Parliament,

ment, and what you are now about to do, and what you have ever expressed your readiness, if we could be as ready to receive, as your Majesty is to give, we hope to vanish and banish all fears and jealousies out of men's minds for the future; and teach them how, with much confidence and contentedness, to rest, and wholly rely upon your Majesty's grace and goodness, for what may be thought further necessary to be done hereafter, when a fitting opportunity shall be offered, at the next meeting of your Houses of Parliament.

ROYAL SIR,

We humbly beg your pardon for making thus bold with your patience; and therefore, to pretermitt, and pass over, some other such bills, which are not of such public concernment as those I have already mentioned, we most humbly crave your Majesty's favour and leave to conclude all our work, at this time, with that which is our delight, as well as our duty, to pray for your Majesty's long life, and happy, blessed, and prosperous reign over us.

*Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, December 29, 1660.**

Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

THE knights, citizens, and burgeses, now assembled in Parliament, being the representative body of your Commons of England, are as conduit pipes, or quills, to convey the streams of your people's dutiful affections and humble desires into your royal presence; and, that being done, they need no other speaker but yourself; for they know your skill, and they have had experience of your will. And yet, Royal Sir, though they have no cause to complain, they cannot but take notice of your partiality; for, when any thing in point of right, or but conveniency, hath fallen out to be, as we use to say, a measuring cast, a disputable case between yourself and your people, without any regard or respect had unto your own right, or the advantage that might accrue to yourself by asserting the same, if the good of your people hath come in competition with it, you have always cast it against yourself, and given it in on your people's side.

Royal Sir, thus to undo yourself, to do your people good, is not to do as you would be done unto. And what can we do less, than, by way of a grateful retribution, cheerfully to pay

* This Speech is copied from the Lords' Journals, p. 233.

your Majesty the just tribute of our dutiful obedience unto all your royal commands; and upon all occasions readily to sacrifice *se et sua*, all that we have or enjoy, lives and fortunes, in the service of such an incomparable sovereign?

But, Royal Sir, it becomes not me to fill your Majesty's ears with air. *Loquere ut te videam*, is the only rhetoric the people ought to use to such a king of kindness, and a prince so full of good works; and therefore, as I am commanded, I must humbly assure your Majesty, that the many healing expedients propounded by yourself, in your several most gracious declarations, have been the subject-matter upon which your Commons have wrought all this Parliament: and, in the first place, they took into consideration the great and growing charges which then lay upon your people, for the pay of your army and navy: and they conceived it necessary to begin with that part thereof next at hand, wherein your people would receive the most ease, and the greatest security and satisfaction; which was, the disbanding your Majesty's forces by land, and the paying off five and twenty of your ships then in the harbour, and of no use: and this led them to the consideration of such ways and means as were to be used to raise monies for that purpose. And that for poll money being propounded and passed, some were of opinion, that that alone would have overdone the work; others, having had experience of a former bill of the same nature, and upon the like occasion, fearing it might not answer expectation, and being unwilling to be deceived a second time, especially in such a business as this, wherein a mistake was like to prove so penal, moved for a further supply, which after some debate, was agreed upon, of a two months assessment, at seventy thousand pounds a month; and both have not yet fully done the work for which they were designed. But, with the help of two other bills here in my hand, the one entituled, "An Act for the levying of the Arrears of the Twelve Months Assessment commencing the Four and Twentieth of June, One Thousand Six Hundred Fifty and Nine, and the Six Months Assessment commencing the Five and Twentieth of December, One Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty* Nine," and the other entituled, "An Act for the further supplying and explaining certain Defects in an Act for the speedy Provision of Money, for disbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Land and Sea," they hope this account will be fully cleared off at last.

Sir, your Commons have likewise taken into their considerations the charge of your summer fleet; which, besides that

* Deest in Originali.

part thereof your Majesty is pleased to take upon yourself for your ordinary guard of the seas, will amount unto a very great sum. And as it is a great debt, so it is a growing debt; in a few months it doubles. There is a saying, *Qui cito dat, bis dat*. I am sure, 'tis most true in this case, *Qui cito solvit, bis solvit*. To pay this debt readily, is the way to pay it but once; and to take time to pay it, is the sure way to pay it twice. And therefore your Commons, laying aside the sad thoughts of their long sufferings, and those miserable devastations and pressures they have lain under for many years last past, and looking upon the necessity of affairs, which call importunately, and must be answered effectually, have passed another bill, here in my hand, entituled, "An Act for Six Months Assessment, at Seventy Thousand Pounds per Menssem, to begin the First of January, and to be paid in, the One Moiety thereof before the First of February, and the other Moiety, being the remaining Part, by the First of April next ensuing;" which is to be applied wholly to the paying off the arrears of your Majesty's navy and army.

I have three other bills in my hand, which have relation to your Majesty's revenue, and the branches thereof; the one entituled, "An Act for the better ordering the selling of Wines by Retail; and for preventing Abuses in the mingling, corrupting, and vitiating of Wines, and for settling and limiting the Prices of the same:" and this bill is tendered unto your Majesty, for preventing all future disputes touching the legality thereof; for we know it is your Majesty's desire, that nothing might be done, by any of your officers or ministers that act under you, *sine figura justitiæ, et warrantis legis*. Another is entituled, "An Act for erecting and establishing a Post-office:" and this, being likewise legally settled, will be of very great use to all your Majesty's people, and especially your merchants, for holding intelligence with their correspondents, factors, and agents, in foreign parts. *Litteræ sunt indices animi*; and without the safe and speedy dispatch and conveyance of their letters, they will never be able to time their business, nor carry on their trades to an equal advantage with the merchants of other countries. The other bill provides for the increasing your Majesty's ordinary and constant revenue, by the grant of an impost, to be taken upon ale, beer, and other beverages therein particularly mentioned and expressed, to hold to your Majesty for life, which God long continue. And as it is the desire of your Commons that your Majesty might never be necessitated to resort to any extraordinary or unparliamentary ways and means for the raising of money upon your people; so they likewise acknowledge it to be their duties, to support and uphold,

hold, to the utmost of their powers, the honour and grandeur of your Majesty's royal state and dignity.

And, for a further evidence of your Commons dutiful affections to your Majesty's most dear and royal person, they have prayed another bill, for the raising of seventy thousand pounds for your Majesty's further supply; all which bills I am commanded humbly to present your Majesty withal, and to pray your gracious acceptance thereof, and your royal assent thereunto.

There are other bills likewise of public concernment, which have passed both Houses, and do now attend upon your Majesty, waiting for your royal assent. The one is entituled, "An Act for the Attainder of several Persons, guilty of the horrid Murder of His late Sacred Majesty, Your Royal Father, of ever-blessed Memory." There is another act, entituled, "An Act for Confirmation of Leases and Grants from Colleges and Hospitals:" This will tend much to the quieting of many men's estates, that in the late unhappy times were enforced to renew and change their estates much for the worse, were it not for the favour your Majesty intends them in this bill. There is another bill to prohibit the exportation of wool, wool fells, fullers earth, or any other scouring earths, woollen manufactures, besides the duties they pay your Majesty for your customs here at home, have great impositions laid upon them in foreign parts where they are vended: in the Low Countries, sixteen or seventeen per cent. and in Portugal twenty per cent. at the least. But those, who for their own private base, filthy lucre's sake, having no regard or respect unto the public good, that steal over the materials of which those manufactures are made, pay not one penny here or there; and by that means strangers do make those manufactures of our wool upon such easy terms, that they can afford and do undersell your merchants; which is the occasion of a double loss; first, to your Majesty in your customs; and, in the next place, to your people; who are thereby disheartened and discouraged, and in a short time, if not prevented, will be utterly beaten out of that ancient native staple trade, upon which many thousands of families do wholly depend for all their livelihood and subsistence.

There is another bill, entituled, "An Act for prohibiting the planting, setting, or sowing of tobacco in England and Ireland." This climate is so cold, that it never comes to any maturity or perfection; for we find by experience, though it be never so well healed, made up with the greatest art and skill that * pos-

sibly can be, yet it is impossible, after it is made up into the roll, to keep it, and preserve it from putrefying, above three or four months at the most ; and therefore physicians, even those that love it best and use it most, conclude generally, that it is unwholesome for men's bodies. Besides, many other great damages and inconveniences will follow upon it, if it should be permitted : the abatement of your Majesty's custom ; the destruction of your plantations abroad ; the discouraging of navigation ; and so consequently the decay of shipping, which are the walls and bulwarks of your Majesty's kingdom.

There is another bill, entituled, "An Act for the taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, together with Tenures *in Capite*, Knights Service Tenures, and Purveyances." This bill, *ex re nata*, may properly be called, a bill of exchange ; for, as care is therein taken for the ease of your people, so the supply of that part of your Majesty's revenue which formerly came into your treasury, by your tenures, and for your purveyances, is thereby likewise fully provided for, by the grant of another imposition, to be taken upon ale, beer, and other liquors, to hold to your Majesty, your heirs and successors, for ever : and that they should not look upon the considerations mentioned in this bill as a full compensation and recompense for your Majesty's parting with two such royal prerogatives and ancient flowers of your crown, if more were not implied than is expressed. For, Royal Sir, your tenures *in capite* are not only turned into a tenure in soccage (though that alone will forever give your Majesty a just right and title to the labour of our ploughs, and the sweat of our brows,) but they are likewise turned into a tenure *in corde*. What your Majesty had before in your court of wards, you will be sure to find it hereafter in the exchequer of your people's hearts. The King of Spain's mines will sooner deceive him, than this revenue will fail you : for his mines have bottoms : but the deeper your Majesty sinks yourself into the hearts and affections of your people, the greater you find your wealth to be, and the more invincible your strength.

Royal Sir, we have nothing more to offer, or to ask : but must conclude all our work this Parliament with an humble and thankful acknowledgment of God's infinite goodness and mercy, in restoring your Majesty to your royal and imperial crown, throne, and dignity ; and for making you the restorer of that which is dearer unto us than our lives, our religion ; in which, through God's blessing and gracious assistance, we are resolved to live and die ; as likewise for restoring us to our *Magna Charta* liberties, having taken the charge and care of them into

your own heart, which is our greatest security, and more than a thousand confirmations,

Royal Sir, you have denied us nothing we have asked this Parliament. Indeed you have outdone your Parliament, by doing much more for us than we could agree amongst ourselves to ask; and therefore must needs be a happy Parliament: this is a healing Parliament; a reconciling, peace-making Parliament; a blessed Parliament; a Parliament, *propter excellentiam*, that may truly be called *Parliamentissimum Parliamentum*. No man can say, that hath made the most curious search into books or records, that there ever was such a Parliament as this: and it is our unspeakable joy and comfort, that no man can say, so long as your Majesty lives, but we may have such another; for you have set your royal heart upon it, to do your people good.

And, as we have nothing more to say, so we have nothing more to do, but that which will be a-doing as long as we have a being, the pouring out ourselves unto Almighty God, for your Majesty's long, long, long, and most happy, blessed, glorious, and prosperous reign over us.

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, December 29, 1660.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I WILL not entertain you with a long discourse; the sum of all I have to say to you being but to give you thanks. And I assure you I find it a very difficult work to satisfy myself in my own expressions of those thanks. Perfunctory thanks, ordinary thanks for ordinary civilities, are easily given. But when the heart is as full as mine is, it is a labour to thank you. You have taken great pains to oblige me; and therefore it cannot be easy for me to express the sense I have of it.

I will enlarge no further upon this occasion than to tell you, That when God brought me hither, I brought with me an extraordinary affection and esteem for Parliaments. I need not tell you how much it is improved by your carriage towards me. You have outdone all the good and obliging acts of your predecessors towards the Crown; and therefore you cannot but believe my heart is exceedingly enlarged with the acknowledgment.

Many former Parliaments have had particular denominations from what they have done. They have been styled learned, and unlearned; and sometimes have had worse epithets. I pray, let us all resolve that this be for ever called, "The healing and the blessed Parliament."

As

As I thank you, though not enough, for what you have done ; so I have not the least doubt, by the blessing of God, but, when I shall call the next Parliament, which I shall do as soon as reasonably you can expect or desire, I shall receive your thanks for what I have done since I parted with you : for, I deal truly with you, I shall not more propose any one rule to myself in my actions and my councils than this, “ What is a Parliament like to think of this action, or this council ? ” And it shall be want of understanding in me, if it will not bear that test.

I shall conclude with this, which I cannot say too often, nor you too often where you go, That, next to the miraculous blessing of God, Almighty, and, indeed as an immediate effect of that blessing, I do impute the good disposition and security we are all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion ; that is the principal corner-stone which supports this excellent building, that creates kindness in us to each other ; and confidence is our joint and common security. You may be sure, I will not only observe it religiously and inviolably myself, but also exact the observation of it from others. And if any person should ever have the boldness to attempt to persuade me to the contrary, he will find such an acceptance from me, as he would have who would persuade me to burn Magna Charta, cancel all the old laws, and to erect a new government after my own invention and appetite.

There are many other particulars, which I will not trust my own memory with ; but will require the Chancellor to say the rest to you.

After his Majesty had done, the Lord Chancellor came from his place, and kneeled down close by his Majesty's chair ; and received his Majesty's directions what to say further. And being returned to his place, he said as followeth :

My Lords ; and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Bur-
gesses, of the House of Commons,

THERE cannot be a greater manifestation of an excellent temper, and harmony of affections throughout the nation, than that the King and his two Houses of Parliament meet with the same affections and cheerfulness, the same alacrity in their countenance, at the dissolution, as when they met at the convention of Parliament. It is an unquestionable evidence, that they are exceedingly satisfied, in what they have done towards each other ; that they have very well done all the business they came about. This is now your case : you have so

well satisfied your own consciences, that you are sure you have satisfied the King's expectation, and his hope, and the desires and wishes of the country.

It was very justly observed by you, Mr. Speaker, "That you have never asked any one thing of the King, which he hath not with all imaginable cheerfulness granted." And, in truth, his Majesty doth with great comfort acknowledge, that you have been so far from denying him any thing he hath asked, that he hath scarce wished any thing that you have not granted.

And it is no wonder that, having so fully complied with your obligations, and having so well composed the minds of the nation, you are willing to be relieved from this extraordinary fatigue you have submitted so long to, and to return to the consideration of your own particular affairs, which you have so long sacrificed to the public. And this reasonable wish hath brought the King to comply with you; and, which nothing else could do, to part with you with an equal cheerfulness. And he makes no doubt, but, all succeeding Parliaments will pay you their thanks for all you have done; and look upon your actions, and your example, with all possible approbation and reverence.

The King and you have given such earnest to each other of your mutual affection, you have been so exact and punctual in your proceedings towards each other, that you have made no promise, no profession to each other, of the making good and performing of which the world is not witness. You declared, at the adjournment in September last, your resolution to settle a noble revenue on the Crown: you have done it with all the circumstances of affection and prudence. The King promised you to establish a council for trade, a council for the foreign plantations, a commission for composing all difference upon sales: all this he did before your coming together, and with very good effect; and you shall hear that the proceedings in every one of them are more vigorous and effectual after your dissolution. His Majesty then promised you, that he would give up all his endeavours to compose the unhappy differences in matters of religion, and to restore the languishing church to peace, unity, and order. Constantine himself hardly spent so much of his own time in private and public conferences to that purpose. His Majesty in private conferred with the learned men, and heard all that could be said upon several opinions and interests apart; and then in the presence of both parties, himself moderating in the debates (and less care and diligence and authority would not have done the work.) And God hath so blessed his labour, and made his determinations in that affair so generally agreeable, that he hath received thanks from his Houses

Houses of Parliament; that is, from the whole kingdom. If, after all this, his Majesty doth not reap the full harvest he expected from those condescensions; if some men, by their writing, and by their preachings, endeavour to continue these breaches, and very rashly, and I think unconscientiously, keep up the distinctions, and publicly justify and maintain what hath heretofore been done amiss, and for which the Act of Indemnity was the best defence; I shall say no more, than that I hope their want of modesty and obedience will cause them to be disclaimed by all pious and peaceable men, who cannot but be well contented to see them reduced by law to the obedience they owe to law. And his Majesty is confident, that this his beloved city, towards which his heart is so gracious, and so full of princely designs to improve their honour, their wealth, and their beauty, will discountenance all those seditious designs, and, by returning and fixing themselves upon their good old foundations, make themselves the great example of piety, of loyalty, and of hearty affection; to the whole kingdom.

This discourse puts me in mind to say to you, that though the King wonders much more at the many great things you have done, than that you left any thing undone; yet he could have wished, and would have been glad, that your other weighty affairs had given you time to have published your opinion and advice in the business of the militia; that the people, after so many disputes upon that argument, might have discerned that the King and his two Houses of Parliament are as much of the same mind in that as in all other things, as no doubt they are. But, since that could not be done, you may all assure yourselves, that the King will proceed therein with all imaginable care and circumspection, for the ease, and quiet, and security of his people. And as he did before the last recess, by the unanimous advice of his privy council, issue out his commissions of lieutenancy, for the settling the militia in the several counties, to prevent any disorders which many apprehended might arise upon the disbanding the army; so he will now again recommend it to themselves, in such a posture as may disappoint any seditious designs which * are now on foot; and there cannot be too much circumspection and vigilance, to frustrate those designs.

You have heard of many suspected and dangerous persons which have † been lately clapped up; and it was high time to look about. His Majesty hath spent many hours himself in the examination of this business; and some of the principal officers, who, before they came to his Majesty's presence,

* Deest in Originali.

† Deest in Originali.

could not be brought to acknowledge any thing, after the King himself had spoken to them, confessed, that their spirits were insensibly prevailed upon and subdued, and that it was not in their power to conceal their guilt from him. They have confessed, that there is a party of the late disbanded officers and soldiers, and others, full of discontent and seditious purposes, and a resolution to attempt the change of the present government, and to erect the republic. They acknowledge, that they did purpose to have made their attempt for the rescue of those wretches, who were so justly condemned at Newgate, and so worthily executed, and that Ludlow should then have appeared in the head of them ; that they made themselves sure, at the same time, by parties and confederacy, to have surprised the Tower of London, and the Castle of Windsor ; but that they found, or at least apprehended, that their design was discovered, which so broke their spirits, that they concluded they must acquiesce for the present, and stay till the army should be disbanded ; which, they said, was generally debauched, that is, returned to an honest and fast obedience to the King ; and that it was evident they were betrayed by those who were most entirely trusted by them. And they were in the right : the King had notice of all their design, what progress it made, and the night they intended to surprise the Tower and Windsor ; and gave notice to the several governors ; and so, without any noise, that mischief was, by God's goodness, prevented. They acknowledge that they have since recovered their courage and resolution, and were about this time to make their full attempt. They have been promised some considerable rising in the west, under Ludlow ; and in the north, under others. But this place was the scene of greatest hope. They made sure of a body here, I think they say of two thousand five hundred men, with which they resolved, in the first place, to secure (you know what that security is) the person of the general, the Duke of Albemarle, with whom they have so much reason to be angry, and at the same time to possess themselves of Whitehall. You know the method used in such possessing : kill, and take possession. And this insupportable calamity God hath again diverted from us ; though I must tell you, the poor men, who seem to speak honestly, and upon the impulsion of conscience, are very far from being confident that there will not be some desperate insurrections and attempts in several parts of the kingdom within a short time, which all possible care will be taken to prevent. And in truth this very good city so well requires the King's abundant grace and kindness to it, that not only by the unwearied pains and diligence of the worthy Lord Mayor, but by the general temper and constitution of the whole

whole city, the discontented and seditious party (which can never be totally extirpated out of such a metropolis) is like to receive little encouragement to pursue their desperate councils.

The King doth not believe that all those persons who at present are apprehended, and in custody, will be found guilty of this treason. It is a vulgar and known artifice, to corrupt inferior persons, by persuading them that better men are engaged in the same enterprize; and the King will make as much haste as he can to set those at liberty against whom the evidence or suspicion is not too reasonable. In the mean time, they who in truth * are innocent, must confess that the proceeding towards them hath been very natural, and full of clemency; and no man will wonder, if his Majesty be very desirous that in this conjuncture, and in order to prevent or suppress these too visible distempers and machinations, his Majesty in all places be in good order and preparation. And you † may assure yourselves, that in the forming and conduct of it, he will have so great a care of the ease and quiet of his people, that if any person trusted by him shall, through want of skill or want of temper, satisfy his own passion or appetite, in grieving or vexing his neighbours, his Majesty will be so sensible of it, that, if it can be cured no other way, his trust shall be quickly determined. And he is not at all reserved in giving those animadversions and reprehensions when there is occasion, and his ears will be always open to receive those complaints.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You are now returning to your countries, to receive the thanks and acknowledgments of your friends and neighbours for the great things you have done, and to make the burdens you have laid upon them easy, by convincing them of the inevitable necessity of their submitting to them. You will make them see that you have proceeded very far towards the separation, and even divorce, of that necessity from them, ~~to which~~ they have been so long married; that they are now restored to that blessed temper of government, under which their ancestors enjoyed so many hundred years that full measure of felicity, and the misery of being deprived of which they have so sensibly felt; that they are now free from those midnight alarms, with which they have been terrified; and rise out of their beds at their own healthy hours, without being saluted with the death of a husband, a son, and friend, miserably killed the

night or the day before, and with such circumstances killed, as improved the misery beyond the loss itself: this enfranchisement is worth all they pay for it. Your Lordships will easily recover that estimation and reverence that is due to your high condition, by the exercise and practice of that virtue from whence your honours first sprang; the example of your justice and piety will inflame the hearts of the people towards you; and from your practice they will make a judgment of the King himself. They know very well, that you are not only admitted to his presence, but to his conversation, and even in a degree to his friendship; for you are his great council. By your example they will form their own manners, and by yours they will make a guess at the King's. Therefore, under that obligation, you will cause your piety, your justice, your affability, and your charity, to shine as bright as is possible before them. They are too much in love with England, too partial to it, who believe it the best country in the world; there is better earth, and a better air, and a better, that is, a warmer, sun, in other countries: but we are no more than just, when we say that England is an inclosure of the best people in the world, when they are well informed and instructed; a people in sobriety of conscience the most devoted to God Almighty; in the integrity of their affections, the most dutiful to the King; in their good manners and inclinations, most regardful and loving to the nobility; no nobility in Europe so entirely loved by the people; there may be more awe, and fear, and terror of them, but no such love towards them as in England. I beseech your Lordships, do not undervalue this love. They have looked upon your Lordships, and they will look upon your Lordships again, as the greatest examples and patterns of duty to the King, as the greatest security and protection from injury and injustice, and for their enjoying whatsoever is due to them by the law, and as the most proper mediators and interposers to the King, if, by any failure of justice, they should be exposed to any oppression and violence. And this exercise of your justice and kindness towards them will make them the more abhor and abominate that parity upon which a commonwealth must be founded, because it would extirpate, or suppress, or deprive them of their beloved nobility, which are such a support and security to their full happiness.

And you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, you * are now returning to your country, laden with a trust not inferior, or less weighty, than that you brought from thence.

Deest in Originali.

You

You came up their deputies to the King, and he returns you now his deputies to them; his plenipotentiaries, to inform and assure them, that he thinks himself the happiest and the greatest Prince of the world; not from the situation of his dominions and the power of his great navy, with which he can visit his neighbours and keep them from visiting him, or from the noble revenue you have settled upon him, which he will improve with all good husbandry; but from being possessed of the affections and hearts of such subjects; that he doth so entirely love them, and depend upon them, that all his actions and all his councils shall tend to no other end, but to make them happy and prosperous; that he thinks his honour and his interest principally to consist in providing for, and advancing, the honour and interest of the nation. That you may have the more credit in what you say, he will not take it unkindly if you publish his defects and infirmities. You may tell them, that he is so confident in the multitude of his very good and faithful subjects, that he is very hard to be persuaded, that his few ill and unfaithful subjects can do him much harm; that he so much depends upon the affection of honest men, and their zeal for his security, that he is not so solicitous and vigilant for his own safety as he ought to be, amidst so many combinations, of which he is so well informed, that his servants, who with grief and anguish importune him not to take so little care of his own safety, can obtain no other answer from him than what Cæsar heretofore gave to his jealous friends, *Mori se malle, quam timeri*, or *timere*; he will die any death rather than live in fear of his own subjects, or that they should in fear of him. You may tell them, as a great infirmity, that a troubled and discontented countenance so afflicts him, that he would remove it from them at his own charge, as if he himself were in the fault; and when he hath been informed of any less kind or jealous thing said amongst you, as your windows are never so close shut but that the sound of your words goes to the several corners of the town, his Majesty hath been heard to say no more, but, "What have I done?" I wish that gentleman and I were acquainted, that he knew me better." Oh! Gentlemen, you cannot be yourselves, nor cannot make your friends too zealous, or too jealous, for such a Prince's safety, or too solicitous for such a Prince's satisfaction and content; to whom we may very justly say, as the king of Tyre writ to Solomon, "Because God hath loved his people, he hath made thee king over them." Even his very defects and infirmities are very necessary towards the full measure of our prosperity.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

God hath enabled us to invert one argument, which, I hope, may to a good degree repair the much mischief it hath heretofore done. It hath been urged very unreasonably, yet successfully urged, in the worst times, "That it was not faith, but presumption, to expect that God would restore a family, with which he seemed to have a controversy, and had humbled so far; that he would ~~over~~ countenance a party, that he had so much discountenanced, and almost destroyed." We may now much more reasonably, and therefore, I hope, as effectually, press the miracles that God Almighty hath lately wrought for King and People, as an evidence that he will not again easily forsake them. We may tell those who are using all their endeavours to embroil the nation in new troubles, That it is not probable, that a nation against which God seemed these late years to have pronounced his judgment in the very language of the prophet, "Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a nation rooted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled, the Lord hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof;" that he should reduce that perverseness to the greatest meekness and resignation; that he should withdraw his judgments from this nation, and in a moment restore it to all the happiness it can wish; and to no other end but to expose it to the mercy and fury of a few discontented persons, the worst of the nation, is not easy to be believed.

We may tell those who still contrive the ruin of the church, the best and the best-reformed church in the Christian world, reformed by that authority, and with those circumstances, as a reformation ought to be made, that God would not so miraculously have snatched this church as a brand out of the fire; would not have raised it from the grave, after he had suffered it to be buried so many years, by the boisterous hands of prophane and sacrilegious persons, under its own rubbish, to expose it again to the same rapine, reproach, and impiety. That church, which delights itself in being called catholic, was never so near expiration; never had such a resurrection. That so small a pittance of meal and oil should be sufficient to preserve and nourish the poor widow and her family so long, is very little more miraculous, than that such a number of pious, learned, and very aged bishops, should so many years be preserved, in such wonderful straits and oppressions, until they should plentifully provide for their own succession: that after such a deep deluge of sacrilege, prophaneness, and impiety,

had covered, and to common understanding swallowed it up, that that church should again appear above the waters; God be again served in that church, and served as he ought to be; and that there should be still some revenue left, to support and encourage those who serve him; nay, that many of those who seemed to thirst after that revenue till they had possessed it, should conscientiously restore what they had taken away, and become good sons and willing tenants to that church they had so lately spoiled; may make us all piously believe, that God Almighty would not have been at the expense and charge of such a deliverance, but in the behalf of a church very acceptable to him, and which shall continue to the end of the world, and against which the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail.

We may tell those desperate wretches, who yet harbour in their thoughts wicked designs against the sacred person of the King, in order to the compassing their own imaginations, that God Almighty would not have led him through so many wildernesses of afflictions of all kinds, conducted him through so many perils by sea and perils by land, snatched him out of the midst of this kingdom when it was not worthy of him; and when the hands of his enemies were even upon him; when they thought themselves so sure of him, that they would bid so cheap and vile a price for him; he would not in that article have so covered him with a cloud, that he travelled even with some pleasure, and great observation, through the midst of his enemies; he would not so wonderfully have remodelled that army, so inspired their hearts, and the hearts of the whole nation, with an honest and impatient longing for the return of their dear Sovereign, and, in the mean time, have so exercised him (which had little less of Providence in it than the other) with those unnatural, or at least unusual, disrespect and reproaches abroad, that he might have a harmless and an innocent appetite to his own country, and return to his own people, with a full value and the whole unwasted bulk of his affections, without being corrupted or biased by extraordinary foreign obligations. God Almighty would not have done all this, but for a servant whom he will always preserve as the apple of his own eye, and always defend from the most secret machinations of his enemies.

If these argumentations, Gentlemen, urged with that vivacity as is most natural to your own gratitude and affections, recover as many (and it would be strange if it should not) as have been corrupted by the other logic; the hearts of the

whole nation, even to a man, will insensibly be so devoted to the King, as the only conservator and protector of all that is dear and precious to them, and will be so zealous to please him whose greatest pleasure is to see them pleased, that when they make choice of persons again to serve in Parliament, they will not chuse such as they wish should oppose the King; but therefore chuse, because they have, and because they are like to serve the King with their whole hearts; and, since he desires what is best for his people, to gratify him in all his desires. This blessed harmony would raise us to the highest pinnacle of honour and happiness in this world, a pinnacle without a point, upon which King and people may securely rest and repose themselves, against all the gusts, and storms, and tempests, which all the malice of this world can raise against us; and I am sure you will all contend to be at the top of this pinacle.

I have no more to add, but the words of custom, That the King declare this present Parliament to be dissolved. And this present Parliament is dissolved.

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, May 8, 1661.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I WILL not spend the time in telling you why I called you hether. I am sure I am very glade to see you here. I doe valewe myselfe much upon keeping my worde, upon making good whatsoever I promise to my subjects; and I well remember, when I was last in this place, I promised that I would call a Parliament as soone as could be reasonably expected, or desired; and truly considering the season of the yeare, and all that hath ben done since we parted, you could not reasonably expect to meete sooner then now we doe: if it might have ben a week sooner, you will confesse there was some reason to deferr it to this daie; for this daie, we may without ~~superstition~~ love one daie, preffer one daie before another, for the memory of some blessing that befell us that daie, and then you will not wonder, that the memory of the great affection the whole kingdome shewed to me this daie twelve-month made me desirous to meete you againe this daie, when, I dare sweare, you are full of the same spirit, and that it will be lasting in you. I thinke there are not many of you who are not particularly knowne to me: there are few of whom I have not heard soe much good, that, I am as sure as I can

* From the MS. Journals of the House of Peers.

be of any thinge that is to come, that you will all concurr with me, and that I shall concurr with you in all thinges which may advance the peace, plenty, and prosperity of the nation ; I shall be exceedingly deceived else.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You will finde what methode I think best for your proceeding, by two bills which I have caused to be prepared for you, which are for confirmation of all that was enacted at our last meeting ; and above all I must repeate what I said when I was last here.

That next the miraculous blessing of God Almighty, and indede as an immediate effect of that blessing, I doe impute the good disposition, and security we are all in, to the happy act of indemnity and oblivion, that is the principall corner-stone which supports this excellent building, that creates kindnesse in us to each other, and confidence is our joynt and common security.

I am sure I am still of the same opinion, and more, if it be possible, of that opinion then I was, by the experience I have of the benefit of it, and from the unreasonablenesse of what some men say against it, though I assure you not in my hearinge. In God's name provide full remedies for any future mischiefs ; be as severe as you will against new offenders, especially if they be so upon old principles ; and pull up those principles by the rootes. But I shall never thinke him a wise man who would endeavour to undermyne or shake that foundation of our publique peace, by infringing that act in the least degree, or that he can be my friend, or wish me well, who would perswade me ever to consent to the breach of a promise I soe solemnly made when I was abroade, and performed with that solemnity, because, and after I promised it, I cannot suspect any attempts of that kinde by any men of merit and virtue.

I will not conclude without telling you some newes, that I thinke will be very acceptable to you ; and therefore I should thinke myselfe unkinde and ill-natured if I should not impart it to you. I have ben often put in minde by my friendes that it was high time to marry, and I have thought soe myselfe ever since I came into England : but there appeared difficulties enough in the choice, though many overtures have ben made to me ; and if I should never marry, till I could make such a choice, against which there could be no foresight of any inconvenience that may ensue, you would live to see me an old batchelor, which I thinke you doe not desire to doe. I can now tell you not only that I am resolved to marry, but whom

I resolve to marry, if God please; and towards my resolution, I have used that deliberation, and taken that advice, as I ought to doe in an affaire of that importance, and, trust me, with all full consideration of the good of my subjects in generall, as of myselfe: it is with the daughter of Portugal. When I had, as well as I could, weighed all that occurred to me, the first resolution I tooke, was to state the whole overtures which had ben made to me, and in truth, all that had ben said against it, to my privy councell, without hearing whose advice I never did, nor ever will, resolve any thinge of publike importance: and I tell you with great satisfaction and comfort to myselfe, that after many howers debate in a full councell, for I thinke there was not above one absent; and truly I believe, upon weighing all that can be said upon that subject, for or against it, my Lords, without one dissenting voice, yet there were very few satt sylent, advised me with all imaginable chearfulnesse to this marriage, which I looke upon as very wonderfull, and even as some instance of the approbation of God himselfe; and soe tooke my own resolution, and concluded all with the ambassador of Portugal, who is departing with the whole treaty signed, which you will finde to containe many great advantages to the kingdome, and I make all the haste I can to fetch you a Queen hether, who, I doubt not, will bring great blessings with her, to me and you. I will add no more, but referre the rest to the Lord Chancellor.

After his Majesty had finished his speech, the Lord Chancellor, having first conferred with his Majesty, spake as followeth:

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, of the House of Commons,

THE King called you hither by his writ, to assist him, with your information and advice, in the greatest and weightiest affairs of the kingdom; by his writ, which is the only good and lawful way to the meeting of a Parliament; and the pursuing that writ, the remembering how and why they came together, is the only way to bring a happy end to Parliaments. There was no such writ as this, no such presence as this, in the year 1649, when this unhappy kingdom was dishonoured and exposed to the mirth and reproach of their neighbours, in the government of a commonwealth. There was no such writ as this, no such presence as this, in December, 1653, when that infant commonwealth, when the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging,

belonging, were deliver'd up into the bloody and merciless hands of a devouring Protector, and sacrific'd to his lust and appetite. There was no such writ as this, no such presence as this, in the year 1656, when that Protector was more solemnly invest'd and install'd, and the liberty of the three nations submitted to his absolute tyranny by The Humble Petition and Advice. When people came together by such exorbitant means, it is no wonder that their consultations and conclusions were so disproportioned from any rules of justice or sobriety. God be thanked, that he hath reserv'd us to this day, a day that many good men have died praying for; that, after all those prodigies in church and state, we have liv'd to see the King at the opening of the Parliament; that we have liv'd to see our King anointed and crown'd, and crown'd by the hands of an archbishop, as his predecessors have been; and that we are come hither this day in obedience to his writ.

The King tells you, he hath caus'd a bill or two to be prepar'd for the confirmation of all that was enact'd in the last Parliament, and commends the dispatch of those to you with some earnestness. The truth is, it is a great part of the business of this Parliament to celebrate the memory of the last, by confirming or re-enacting all that was done by that Parliament, which, though it was not call'd by the King's writ, may be reasonably thought to have been call'd by God himself, upon the supplication and prayer of the King and the whole nation, as the only means to restore the nation to its happiness, to itself, to its honour, and even to its innocence. How glad the King was of it, appears by what he writ to them from Breda, when he refer'd more to them than ever was refer'd to Parliament: he refer'd in truth (upon the matter) all that concern'd himself, all that concern'd religion, all that concern'd the peace and happiness of the kingdom, to them; and to their honour be it spoken, and to their honour be it ever remembered, that the King, religion, and the kingdom, have no reason to be sorry that so much was entrusted to them, nor they to be ashamed of the discharge of their trust. It would have been a very unseasonable scruple in any man, who should have refus'd to bear his part in the excellent transactions of that Parliament, because he was not call'd thither by the King's writ; and it would be a more unreasonable scruple now in any man, after we have all receiv'd the fruit and benefit of their councils and conclusions, when in truth we owe our orderly and regular meeting at this time to their extraordinary meeting then, to their wisdom in laying hold upon the King's promises, and to the King's justice, in performing all he promis'd, and to the kingdom's submission

and acquiescence in those promises; I say, it would be very unreasonable and unreaſonable now to endeavour to ſhake that foundation, which, if you will take the King's judgment, ſupports the whole fabric of our peace and ſecurity. He tells you what he ſhall think of any who goes about to undermine that foundation; which is a zeal no prince could be tranſported with but himſelf. It might have ſeemed enough for a King who had received ſo many injuries ſo hardly to be forgotten, undergone ſo many loſſes ſo impoſſible to be repaired, to have been willing to confirm, and to re-enact the act of oblivion and indemnity, when you ſhould preſent it to him; but to prepare ſuch an act for you, to conjure you by all that is precious, by your friendship to him, to diſpatch thoſe acts with expedition, is ſuch a piece of fatherly tenderneſs and piety, as could proceed from no heart but ſuch a one in which God hath treaſured up a ſtock of mercy, and juſtice, and wiſdom, to redeem a nation. And truly, my Lords and Gentlemen, for ourſelves, if we'll conſider how much we owe to thoſe who, with all the faculties of their ſouls, contributed to and contrived the bleſſed change, the reſtoring the King to his people, and his people to the King, and then how much we owe to thoſe who gave no oppoſition to the virtuous activity of the other (and God knows a little oppoſition might have done much harm) whether we look upon the public, or upon our own private provocations, there will remain ſo few who do not deſerve to be forgiven by us, that we may very well ſubmit to the King's advice, and his example; of whom we may very juſtly ſay, as a very good hiſtorian ſaid of a very great emperor, and I am ſure it could never be ſo truly ſaid of any emperor as of our's, *Facere recte cives ſuos princeps optimus faciendo docet; cumque ſit imperio maximus, exemplo major eſt*: nor, indeed, hath he yet given us, or have we yet felt, any other inſtances of his greatneſs, and power, and ſuperiority, and dominion over us, *niſi* (as he ſaid) *aut levatione periculi, aut acceſſione dignitatis*; by giving us peace, honour, and ſecurity, which we could not have without him; by deſiring nothing for himſelf, but what is as good for us as for himſelf; and therefore, I hope, we ſhall make no ſcruple of obeying him in this particular.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Though the laſt Parliament did great and wonderful things, indeed as much as in that time they could, yet they have left very great things for you to do: you are to finiſh the ſtructure, of which they but laid the foundation: indeed they left ſome things undone, which it may be thought they had finiſhed:
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you will find the revenue they intended to raise for the King very much short of what they promised : you will find the public debts for the discharge of the army and the navy, which they thought they had provided for sufficiently, to be still in arrear and unpaid : and here I am, by the King's special command, to commend the poor seamen to you, who, by the rules which were prescribed for their payment, are in much worse condition than (without question) was foreseen they would be ; for, by appointing them to be paid but from 1658 (which was a safe rule to the army,) very many are still in arrear for two, three, or four years service ; and so his Majesty's promise to them from Breda remains unperformed. Some other losses, which resulted from other rules given for their payment, have been supplied to them by the King's own bounty. They are a people very worthy of your particular care and cherishing ; upon whose courage and fidelity very much of the happiness, and honour, and security of the nation depends ; and therefore his Majesty doubts not you will see justice done towards them with favour.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You are now the great physicians of the kingdom ; and, God knows, you have many wayward, and froward, and distempered patients, who are in truth very sick, and patients who think themselves sicker than they are ; and some who think themselves in health, and are most sick of all. You must, therefore, use all the diligence, and patience, and compassion, which good physicians have for their patients ; all the cheerfulness, and complacency, and indulgence, their several habits, and constitutions, and distempers of body and mind, may require. Be not too melancholic with your patients, nor suffer them to be too melancholic, by believing that every little distemper will presently turn to a violent fever, and that fever will presently turn to the plague ; that every little trespass, every little swerving from the known rule, must insensibly grow to a neglect of the law, and that neglect introduce an absolute confusion ; that every little difference in opinion, or practice in conscience or religion, must presently destroy conscience and religion. Be not too severe and rough towards your patients, in prescribing remedies, how well compounded soever, too nauseous and offensive to their stomachs and appetite, or to their very fancy. Allay and correct those humours, which corrupt their stomachs and their appetites : If the good old known tried laws be for the present too heavy for their necks, which have been so many years without any yoke at all, make a temporary provision of an easier and lighter yoke, till, by living in
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a wholesome air, by the benefit of a soberer conversation, by keeping a better diet, by the experience of a good and just government, they recover strength enough to bear, and discretion enough to discern, the benefit and the ease of those laws they disliked. If the present oaths have any terms or expressions in them that a tender conscience honestly makes scruple of submitting to, in God's name let other oaths be formed in their places, as comprehensive of all those obligations which the policy of government must exact; but still let there be a yoke: let there be an oath, let there be some law, that may be the rule to that indulgence, that, under pretence of liberty of conscience, men may not be absolved from all the obligations of law and science.

I have besought your good-nature and indulgence towards some of your weak patients, if by it they can be brought to follow and submit to your prescriptions for their health; nor is it reasonable to imagine that the distempers of twenty years can be rectified and subdued in twelve months. There must be a natural time, and natural applications, allowed for it. But there are a sort of patients that I must recommend to your utmost vigilance, utmost severity, and to no part of your lenity or indulgence; such who are so far from valuing your prescriptions, that they look not upon you as their physicians, but their patients; such who, instead of repenting any thing that they may have done amiss, repeat every day the same crimes, for the indemnity whereof the act of oblivion was provided. These are the seditious preachers, who cannot be contented to be dispensed with for their full obedience to some laws established, without reproaching and inveighing against those laws, how established soever; who tell their auditories, that the apostle meant, when he bid them stand to their liberties, that they should stand to their arms; and who, by repeating the very expressions, and teaching the very doctrine they set on foot in the year 1640, sufficiently declare that they have no mind that twenty years should put an end to the miseries we have undergone.

What good Christian can think without horror of these ministers of the gospel, who by their function should be the messengers of peace, and are in their practice the only trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion: how much more Christian was that Athenian nun in Plutarch, and how shall she rise up in judgment against these men, who, when Alcibiades was condemned by the public justice of the state, and a decree made, that the religious, the priests, and the nuns, should revile and curse him, stoutly refused to perform that office, saying, "That she was professed religious, to pray and to bless, not

not to curse and ban." And if the person and the place can improve and aggravate the offence, as no doubt it doth both before God and Man, methinks the preaching rebellion and treason out of the pulpit should be as much worse than the advancing it in the market, as the poisoning a man at the communion would be worse than killing him at a tavern: and it may be, in the catalogue of those sins, which the zeal of some men declares to be against the Holy Ghost, there may not be any one more reasonably thought to be such, than a minister of Christ's turning rebel against his prince, which is a most notorious apostacy from his order; and his preaching rebellion to the people as the doctrine of Christ, adding blasphemy and pertinacy to his apostacy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to know and avoid that sin against the Holy Ghost. If you do not provide for the thorough quenching these firebrands; King, Lords, and Commons, shall be their meanest subjects, and the whole kingdom kindled into one general flame.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

When the King spake last in this place before this day, he said, " When he should call the next Parliament, he should receive their thanks for what he had done since he had dissolved the last; for (he said) he should no more propose any one rule to himself, in his actions or his councils, than this, What is a Parliament like to think of this action, or of that council? And that it should be want of understanding in him, if it would not bear that test:" he told you but now, " That he values himself much upon keeping his word, upon performing all that he promises to his people." And he hath the worst luck in the world, if he hath not complied with this promise, and if his understanding hath failed him in it. It was in a very little time after the dissolution of that Parliament, his Majesty giving himself a few days to accompany his royal mother to the sea side, the only time he hath slept out of this town near these twelve months, that the most desperate and prodigious rebellion brake out in this city, that hath been heard of in any age; which continued two or three nights together, with the murder of several honest citizens. Let no man undervalue the treason because of the contemptibleness of the number engaged in it. No man knows the number; but, by the multitude of intercepted letters from and to all the counties of England, in which the time was set down wherein the work of the Lord was to be done, by the desperate carriage of the traitors themselves, and their bragging of their friends, we may conclude the combination reached very far. And in truth we may reasonably believe,

believe, that if the undaunted courage, and the indefatigable industry of the Lord Mayor, who deserves to be mentioned before King, Lords, and Commons, and to be esteemed by them, had not prevented it ; I say, it is probable this fury would not have been extinguished, before this famous city, or a great part of it, had been turned into ashes.

If you inquire what the King did upon this unheard-of provocation, what vengeance he took upon those whose professed and avowed principle was, not to distinguish between him and another man, nay, to kill him sooner than any other man, you will find (as was said of Cæsar) that *libentius vitam victor jam daret, quam visi acciperent* ; that his mercy hath been no less obstinate than their malice and wickedness ; that few persons have suffered ; and that he hath restrained the law from being severe to many, who at the same time continue their guilt, and undervalue his compassion ; that there hath not been a week since that time, in which there have not been combinations and conspiracies formed against his person, and against the peace of the kingdom, which before this time would have taken effect, if God had not put it into the hearts of some who were trusted in the councils, to discover the design time enough for prevention. And upon all these alarms, and the interception of such letters, as would in all other countries have produced the rack for further discoveries, and under the late government in this would have erected high courts of justice for their punishment, he hath left the offenders to the judges of the law, and those judges to the precise forms and ordinary rules of the law.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

If the new licence and corruption of this time hath exceeded the wickedness of former ages, that the old laws have not enough provided for the punishment of wickedness they could not foresee or imagine ; it will become your wisdoms to provide new remedies for new diseases, and to secure the precious person of our dear sovereign from the first approaches of villany, and the peace of the kingdom from the first overtures of sedition.

If you will not provide laws to do it, the King will not do any thing extraordinary, even towards his own preservation. You see the rule by which he hath walked ; and as he hath made good his promise to you, so, I doubt not, you will make good his prophecy, and that he shall receive thanks for what he hath done since he was last here.

He hath told you now what he hath done ; that he is resolved to marry, and resolved whom to marry ; which, I believe, is the most grateful news that the whole kingdom hath longed for,

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or could receive, from the first day of his landing here. And when they shall know the great deliberation he hath used before that resolution, and the circumstances in resolving it, they will surely have cause to confess, that never King, in the disposal of himself in marriage, took so great care for the good and felicity of his people.

Within a very short time after his landing in this kingdom, he was moved by the ambassador of Portugal to renew a treaty between that crown and the usurper; a treaty in very many respects the most advantageous to this nation that ever was entered into with any prince or people; a treaty by which, at this time, that crown is paying the penalty (which the usurper exacted from it) for the most noble and heroic act of honour and friendship, performed by that King to our master, that ever was performed by any prince towards another prince in distress. And yet the King was nothing forward to ratify this treaty; though it is very true, every article in it but one, was entirely for the benefit of this nation, for the extraordinary advancement of trade, for the good of religion, and for the honour of the crown: yet there was one, one single article, that must oblige the King, as it did the usurper, to supply Portugal with an army for his assistance, when he should require it; that is, Portugal should have power to make levies of ten thousand men for their service. This, the King foresaw might produce a war with Spain,* which he was very unwilling to undergo that engagement; and yet his council represented unto him how heart-breaking a thing it would be to his people, to lose the possession of so great a trade, and those other immense advantages they had by that treaty; and that it would be judged an irrecoverable error in policy, if Portugal should be suffered again to be swallowed up by Spain. However, the King was resolved not precipitately to engage himself in such a treaty as might be attended with such an inconvenience, but to take time fully to consider of it: and this delay the Portugal could not be pleased with, and so the ambassador returned home to his master. About this time, the House of Commons sent up a bill to the Lords, for the annexing Dunkirk and Jamaica to the crown of England, which seemed to have the most universal consent and approbation from the whole nation that ever any bill could be attended with: yet the same consideration which retarded the treaty with Portugal made the King less warm towards the advancing of that bill; and the Spanish ambassador was as solicitous to obstruct it, as he hath been since to obstruct the match with Portugal. This being the case; and the Portugal ambassador returning with such particular overtures to the King for

* Sic.

a marriage with the daughter of that crown, that, both in respect of portion, and many other transcendent advantages, for the advancement of the trade and empire of this kingdom; the like hath not been offered in this age; and his Majesty having received as full information and satisfaction in the beauty and excellency of that renowned princess as can be had without a personal interview (a circumstance very rarely admitted to princes;) it was not in his Majesty's power to be without some approbation and inclination to this alliance: yet even then he would not trust himself in this great affair, which so nearly and so dearly concerns himself, and himself above all others. Though the benefit and advantage could but appear the same upon further consultation, yet there might possibly be some mischiefs, or some inconveniencies be discerned, which he had not foreseen. He resolves, therefore, to call his council; tells them some days before, that he had an affair of great importance to impart to them, and to receive their advice in; and, therefore, appointed an extraordinary day, that they might all appear, (and truly, I think, there was but one Lord absent, who was then indisposed in his health.) In this council he stated the whole matter, all that was offered of benefit and advantage, all that occurred of hazard or inconvenience, without the least discovery of his own inclinations, further than that you would have believed he had seen the picture of his mistress; it having been a speech he hath often accustomed himself to, that he would not marry a woman he had not some reason to believe he could love, though she could bring him the empire of the world. He did not conceal from my Lords what the Spanish ambassador had offered against this marriage, (who is not over-reserved in giving counsel, nor in communicating the counsel he gives,) what proffers he had made of others, what threats of war in one case, what advantage of dowry in another; that he is so solicitous for the advancement of the Protestant religion, that he had offered several Protestant princesses to whom his master shall give a portion, as with the Infanta of Spain; and truly less than the universal monarch could not dispose of so many princesses without the least consent or privity of their own. His Majesty commanded all my Lords to deliver their counsel and advice freely, upon a full prospect of what might appear good and happy for his people as well as for himself; assuring them, as he hath done you now this day, that as he never did, so he never will do, any thing of great importance, without consulting with them. You will believe that my lords of the council are solicitous enough for the advancement of the Protestant religion, upon which the welfare of this kingdom so much depends. But they were very
appre-

apprehensive, that the first Protestant daughter that ever any King of Spain had, would not probably bring so great advantages to it as was pretended. They have no mind to encourage the King to a war ; we have had war enough : but they do not think he should so much fear a war, as, out of the dread of it, to be at the disposal of any other prince ; and that when he hath freed his own subjects from wardships and from liveries, that he should himself become a ware to the King of Spain, and not marry without his approbation and consent. They observed, that in the same memorials, (I do not mean that which he last printed, but a former) in which the Spanish ambassador threatens war if the King marries with Portugal, he presseth very earnestly the delivering up of Dunkirk and Jamaica ; and it is plain enough, he would have that recompense from the portion he would give. And, in truth, whosoever is against the match with Portugal, is for the delivery of Dunkirk and Jamaica ; war being as sure to follow from the latter as the former, and from neither till the King of Spain, find it convenient for himself, which I hope he will not yet do. I will not enlarge upon the many reasons. The King hath told you the conclusion. There was never a more unanimous advice from any council, not any dissenting voice, in the beseeching his Majesty to make this marriage, and to finish it with all the expedition imaginable. Upon this, he sent for the Portugal ambassador, declared his resolution to him, hath writ himself to Portugal, and is preparing his fleet to fetch home our queen. And I hope now he hath deserved all your thanks, both for the matter and the manner ; and that not only ourselves, but the ages that are to succeed us, shall have cause to bless God and his Majesty for this resolution that he hath taken, and that he hath declared to us this day, and hath reserved for this day, having obliged his council to secrecy, that he might himself communicate it to his whole kingdom at once.

There are some other particulars of weight ; but he will not mingle them with this great important one, which must so much fill your hearts and your heads ; but will reserve them till he sees you again after you have chosen your Speaker to him at four of the clock upon Friday.

*Speech by Sir Edward Turner, Speaker of the House of Commons,
May 10, 1661.*

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

THE knights, citizens, and burgessees of the Commons
House of Parliament, being there assembled by virtue of
your

your Majesty's most gracious writ, have been pleased (I dare not say to chuse, but) to name me their Speaker.

It is an undoubted privilege of every member in that House, to be heard speak, much more when he speaks for or against himself. But, Sir, whether more out of favour to me or injury to themselves I cannot tell, they were not pleased to hear, at least they would not accept, my just apology and excuse from this service.

Therefore, from this their judgment, if I must so call it, I do most humbly appeal to your sovereign justice; beseeching your Majesty, for the errors that are too visible and apparent in their proceedings, that you will review and reverse the same.

My inexperience in the custom and orders of the House, my inability to collect their sense, and state the questions rising upon long and arduous debates, do justly render me unfit, and therefore unworthy, of this weighty employment.

Your Majesty well knows, when a ship puts forth to sea, she should be provided with mariners of all sorts. In case a storm doth rise, some must trim and lower the sails, some must watch aloft the decks, some must work at the pump: but he had need be a very good seaman that is the pilot. Sir, I hope I may be useful to this your sovereign vessel in some of these inferior places; but I dare not undertake to be their steersman.

I do most humbly therefore beseech your Majesty, that you will not take us at our first word; our second thoughts are best. Pray, therefore, be pleased to command the members of the House of Commons to return into their House, to recollect themselves, to present your Majesty with a better choice.

After conferring with his Majesty, the Lord Chancellor answereth as followeth:

Mr. Speaker,

YOU have not discredited yourself enough to persuade the King to dissent from his House of Commons in the election they have made. If he had never seen you before, you have now spoke too well against yourself, for his Majesty to suspect you are no good speaker: but you have the honour to be well known to the King; have spoken very often before him; and his Majesty well knows that you are not without any of those parts; of knowing the orders of the House, where you have sat long; or collecting and stating and putting the questions aptly, which must constitute a right good speaker. Therefore his Majesty is so far from thinking the House hath made

made an ill choice; that he believes they could not have made a better; or from admitting your excuse, that he confirms their election, and thanks them very heartily for making it; and requires you to submit to it, and to betake yourself with all alacrity to the service.

His Majesty having thus denied Mr. Speaker's excuse, and approved of the Commons choice of him; Mr. Speaker proceeded, and said,

HE that know his master's will and doth it not, is worthy to be beaten with many stripes. I shall therefore humbly and cheerfully, to the best of my poor skill and knowledge, apply myself to the performance of my duty; not doubting therein to obtain your Majesty's gracious pardon for all involuntary transgressions; for it is a rule in law, and in conscience too, *Actus non facit reum, nisi Mens sit rea*.

And, since I have found this favour in the sight of my Lord the King, pray let me beg your Majesty's patience, for a while, to make a stand, and from this place to look about me. Sir, a weak head is soon giddy; but the strongest brain may here be turned: the presence of this glory, and the glory of this presence, do transport me. Whilst I contemplate the incomparable beauty of this body politic, and the goodly order of this high court of Parliament, where at once I behold all the glory of this nation, I am almost in the condition of St. Paul, when he was taken up into the third heaven. All he could say upon his return was, "he saw things unutterable."

God, that made all things for the use of man, and made him governor over over all his works, thought it not fit to leave him to himself, nor to live without a law and government. The forms and species of governments are various; monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical: but the first is certainly the best, as being nearest to divinity itself.

Aristocracy is subject to degenerate, and run into faction; but democracy naturally runs into confusion. Then every man becomes a tyrant over his neighbour; *homo homini lupus, homo homini dæmon*.

This famous island, historians tell us, was first inhabited by the Britains, then by the Romans, then by the Saxons, then by the Danes, then by the Normans; and during all these successions of ages and variety of changes, though there was sometimes *divisum imperium*, yet every division was happy under a monarchical government.

Since the entrance of the Norman race, twenty-five kings and queens, famous in their generations, from whom your
Sacred

Sacred Majesty is lineally descended, have swayed the royal sceptre of this nation.

The children of Israel, when they were in the wilderness, though they were fed with God's own hand, and eat the food of angels, yet they surfeited, and murmured, and rebelled against Moses.

The same unthankful spirit dwelt in this nation for divers years last past. The men of that age were weary of the government, though it was refined to the wonder and envy of all other nations; they quarrelled with our Moses, because he was the Lord's anointed. *Nolumus hunc regnare*, was their first quarrel; but levelling, parity, and confusion followed; then tyranny and usurpation was the conclusion.

We read of the Emperor Adrian, when he lay a dying, he complained that many physicians had destroyed him; meaning, that their contrary conceits and different directions for his recovery had hastened his death.

So it is with us; we were sick of reformation; our reformers were of all ages, sexes, and degrees; of all professions and trades. The very cobbler went beyond his last. These new statemen took upon them to regulate and govern our governors: this was the sickness and plague of the nation. Their new laws were all written in bloody letters; the cruelty of their tribunals made the judgment-seat little differ from a slaughter-house: the rich man was made an offender for a word; poor men were sold for slaves, as the Turks sell heads twenty for an asper: yet for all this villany there was at length found a protector.

No amendment at length would serve these reformers turns; no concessions, though the most gracious that could be imagined, would satisfy these usurers: but, root and branch, all must go. Our late sovereign lord, of blessed memory, must be offered up a sacrifice to their lust; your sacred person (great Sir) proscribed, and all the royal family exiled. Monarchy itself was voted burthensome, and therefore they must try a commonwealth; and, the better to digest it, the people were intoxicated with a belief that they should all, like themselves, be princes in their turns.

Amongst the Persians, after the death of their governor there was used to be *ἀνομία πέντε ἡμερῶν*, a five days lawlessness, in which time every man might do what he listed: during those five days there was such killing, and robbing, and destroying one another, that, before they were ended, the people longed again for their old government.

After the death of your Majesty's most royal father, here was the like licentiousness; but, alas! it continued more than
twice

twice five years: liberty they called it; but it was *Libertas quidlibet audendi*. Your loyal subjects were a prey to wolves and tygers; and to the most cruel of all beasts, unreasonable men. Every man did what seemed good in his own eyes; for in those days there was no King in our Israel.

But, as the former spirit of reformation at first brought us into this misery, so the spirit of giddiness, which God sent amongst our reformers, at length cured us. The brazen serpent was the best cure for those that were bitten by the fiery serpent. The divisions and subdivisions of those that exercised dominion over us, weakened their own power, and stirred up the hearts, and strengthened the hands, of your loyal subjects, to restore our ancient government, and to bring your Sacred Majesty back to your royal throne in peace, as, to the joy of all our hearts, we see it this day.

This was the work of God, and it is admirable in our eyes. And as we have cause at all times to bless God, that he hath thus brought your Majesty to your people; so we have just cause at this time to return our hearty thanks unto your Majesty, that you have thus brought your people to yourself.

The sun exhales the vapours from the earth, and sends them down again in showers of plenty. So we, to our great joy, do find that our obedience and affection to your Majesty are returned upon our heads, in plenty, peace, and protection.

The last meeting here in Parliament was happy, in healing the bleeding wounds of this nation. They were blessed also, even for their works sake. Your sacred Majesty did bless them, and therefore they shall be blessed to all posterity.

But, Sir, we hope you have a blessing left for us too. That was your Parliament by adoption, but this is your's by birth-right. This Parliament is free-born. I hope this honour will beget in us an emulation to exceed the actions of our predecessors; and not only to meet your Majesty as our sovereign with the duty of subjects, but with the love of sons to a most indulgent father.

Next to the glory of your Majesty's royal throne, I cannot but observe the brightness of this second orb. This firmament is richly deckt with stars of several magnitudes; each star appears like the morning star, and yet each star differs from another in glory.

You cannot want commanders, either by sea or land, to manage your designs, whilst all these sons of Mars stand candidates to serve you in the wars.

You cannot want counsellors, to advise you in the great affairs of the nation, whilst all these statesmen, senators, each fit

to be a consul, contend who shall most ease you in the thorny cares of the government.

Amidst these noble English barons are placed the reverend judges of the land, the sages of the law ; men so learned and expert in the customs and statutes of this land, that if Wat Tyler, or Jack Cade, or the new fanatics of this latter age, had burned our books, they were able to restore our laws in purity and perfection.

And next to these, though in a lower orb, appear the worthy knights, the prudent citizens and burgessees, of the House of Commons, being the third estate of Parliament.

When the fame of Solomon's wisdom had filled the neighbouring nations, the Queen of Sheba could not contain herself at home ; but, with many camels, laded with spices, with gold, and precious stones in abundance, she comes to Solomon, to commune with him of all that was in her heart.

Great Sir, whilst this your native country was unworthy of you, foreign nations were made happy in the knowledge of your person, your piety, and your wisdom. And now the Lord our God hath brought you home, and set you on your throne, your subjects long to see you.

What striving and rejoicing was there, at your first landing, to see our rising sun !

What striving was there, at your coronation, to see the imperial crown set upon your royal head !

What striving hath there lately been, in all the counties, cities, and boroughs of this nation, who should be sent up to hear your wisdom, and confer with you in Parliament !

Royal Sir, these chosen worthy messengers are not come empty-handed ; they are laden, they are sent up to you heavy laden, from their several counties, cities, and boroughs.

If the affections of all Englishmen can make you happy ; if the riches of this nation can make you great ; if the strength of this warlike people can make you considerable at home and abroad ; be assured, you are the greatest monarch in the world. Give me leave, I beseech you, to double my words, and say it again, I wish my voice could reach to Spain, and to the Indies too, you are the greatest monarch in the world.

I fear your royal patience may be tired. I will therefore speak no more my own words ; but, in the name of the Commons of England, humbly present unto your Majesty their accustomed petitions when first they are assembled in Parliament, and so conclude :

First, I do beseech your Majesty, that, for our better attendance on the important service of the House, ourselves,

- selves, and our necessary servants, may be free, in our persons and estates, from all arrests and troubles.
2. That, debate and disputes being necessary to the disquisition of many matters in the House, your Majesty will be pleased to vouchsafe us liberty and freedom of speech; which, I doubt not, we shall use with loyalty and sobriety.
 3. That, if the great affairs require it, your Majesty, upon our humble suit, will vouchsafe us access to your royal person.
 4. That the proceedings of the House may receive a benign interpretation, and be free at all times from misconstructions.

The Speaker's speech being ended, the Lord Chancellor again conferred with His Majesty; and answered,

Mr. Speaker,

THE King is well pleased with your obedience, and that you have so cheerfully submitted to undergo that province the House of Commons hath designed you to: he promises himself and the King as great fruit and benefit from your joint services, as ever any of his progenitors received from a Speaker and a House of Commons. The King did his part, by publishing the very day he intended the Parliament should meet, a good time before the writs were sealed; by sending out the writs much longer than was necessary before the day of meeting, that the country might not be surprised in their elections, but that they might send up such, as he might make a clear view and prospect of the affections and desires of his people; and he is persuaded that the Commons of England were never more exactly represented than they are at present, in you, the knights, citizens, and burgesses. And yet I have a very particular command from his Majesty to tell you, which in truth he meant to have said to you himself the other day, and which he hopes you will not take ill in point of privilege, that his Majesty takes notice, indeed he cannot chuse but take notice, of one ill circumstance in many elections, which he imputes rather to the vice of the times, a vice worthy your severity, than to any corrupt intention; that is, excess of drinking, which produceth that other scandalous excess in the expence. His Majesty doth very heartily recommend it to your wisdom, for the honour and dignity of Parliaments, that you will take some course to prevent this inconvenience for the future; and if you

think fit to call for any help from him towards it, you will be sure to have it.

You have made, Mr. Speaker, a very lively description of the extravagancy of that confusion which this poor nation groaned under, when they would throw off a government they had lived and prospered under so many ages, indeed from the time of being a nation, and which is as natural to them as their food or their raiment; to model a new one for themselves, which they knew no more how to do, than the naked Indians know how to dress themselves in the French fashion; when (as you say) all ages, sexes, and degrees, all professions and trades, would become reformers, when the common people of England would represent the Commons of England; and abject men, who could neither write nor read, would make laws for the government of the most heroic and the most learned nation in the world; for sure none of our neighbours will deny it to have a full excellency and perfection both in arms and letters. And it was the grossest and most ridiculous pageant that great impostor ever exposed to public view, when he gave up the nation to be disposed of by a handful of poor mechanic persons, who, finding they knew not what to do with it, would (he was sure) give it back to him again, as they shortly did, which makes his title complete to the government he meant to exercise; no man undervalues the common people of England, who are in truth the best and the honestest,* aye, and the wisest common people in the world, when he says they are not fit to model the government they are to live under, or to make laws they are to obey. Solomon tells us, there is a time when one man rules over another to his own hurt; we have had abundant instances of such a time. It is the privilege, if you please, the prerogative (and it is a great one) of the common people of England, to be represented by the greatest, and learnedest, and wealthiest, and wisest persons, that can be chose out of the nation; and the confounding the Commons of England, which is a noble representative, with the common people of England, was the first ingredient into that accursed dose, which intoxicated the brains of men with that imagination of a commonwealth; a commonwealth, Mr. Speaker, a government as impossible for the spirit and temper and genius of the English nation to submit to, as it is to persuade them to give their cattle and their corn to other men, and to live upon roots and herbs themselves. I wish heartily that they who have been most delighted with that imagination, knew in truth the great benefit under the government. There is not a commonwealth in Eu-

* Origin. I.

rope, where every man that is worth one thousand pounds doth not pay more to the government than a man of a thousand pounds a year did ever to the crown here before these troubles. And I am persuaded that monster commonwealth cost this nation more, in the few years she was begot, born, and brought up, and in her funeral (which was the best expense of all,) than the monarchy hath done these six hundred years.

You have well done, Mr. Speaker, in taking notice of the great esteem the King hath of the memory of the last Parliament. He takes all occasions himself to do it ; and it deserved it at his hands : but as the wisest father takes joy in the hopes his heir will be wiser than he, and the greatest monarch in the hopes that his successor will be greater than he ; and if the souls departed feel any joy upon what is done in this world, it is in the case of such an heir, such a successor ; so, you may be confident, the ghost of the deceased Parliament will be much delighted, much exalted, to see your actions excel theirs, and your fame exceed theirs. It was a blessed Parliament ; but there are other and greater blessings reserved for you. They began many things which you may have the happiness to finish ; they had not time, nor opportunity, to begin many things which you may have the honour to begin and finish. They invited his Majesty home, restored him to his throne, and monarchy to the nation. It will be your glory, so to establish him in his power and greatness, so as to annex monarchy to the nation, that he and his posterity shall be never again forced to be abroad, that they be invited home, nor in danger to be restored ; so to rivet monarchy to the hearts, and to the understandings of all men, that no man may ever presume to conspire against it. Let it not suffice that we have our King again, and our laws again, and Parliaments again : but let us so provide, that neither King, nor laws, nor Parliament, may be so used again. Let not our monarchy be undermined by a fifth monarchy, nor men suffered to have the protection of a government they profess to hate. Root out all anti-monarchical principles ; at least, let not the same stratagems prevail against us. Let us remember how we were deceived ; and let not the same artifices over-reach us again. Let King, and church, and country, receive more and greater advantages, by the wisdom and industry of this Parliament. Let trade abroad and at home be encouraged and enlarged, all vices and excesses be restrained and abolished, by new laws and provisions ; let profitable arts and industry find so great encouragement, that all thriving inventions may be brought from all parts of the world to enrich this kingdom, and that the inventors may grow rich in this kingdom. And upon this argument of encouraging industry, I have a com-

mand from the King, to recommend to you the encouragement or preservation of a great work of industry, in which the honour and interest of the nation is more concerned than in any work this age hath brought out, it may be in any nation ; and that is, all the drainings in England, which have given us new countries upon our own continent, and brought an inestimable benefit to the King and people, an act of creation making earth, and mending air by wit and industry. Let no waywardness in particular persons, or consideration of private and particular advantage, give disturbance to works of so public a nature, much less destroy such works ; but provide out of hand for the upholding and supporting them by some good law, in which due care may be taken for all particular interests, when the public is out of danger.

I have but one desire more, Mr. Speaker, to make to you from the King, to which the season of the year, as well as your inclinations to gratify him, will dispose you ; and that is, that you will use such expedition in your councils of most importance, that the rest may be left to a recess in the winter, after an adjournment ; that his Majesty may have time to bestow himself upon his subjects in a progress, which he would be glad to begin before the end of July. I have leave to tell you the progress he intends ; that he desires again to see his good city of Worcester, and to thank God for his deliverance there, and to thank God even in those cottages, and barns, and hay-lofts, in which he was sheltered, and feasted, and preserved ; and in the close of that progress he hopes he shall find his queen in his arms, and so return to meet you here in the beginning of winter.

Mr. Speaker, all your petitions are very grateful to the King. You and your servants, in your persons and estates, are free from all arrests or molestations. Your liberty and freedom of speech is very willingly granted to you. When you would repair to his Majesty, you shall be welcome. And his Majesty will be so far from jealousy of your actions, that he believes it is impossible for him to be jealous of you, or you of him ; and if you please, he will make it penal to nourish that unwholesome weed in any part of the kingdom.

A Letter to His Majesty from the Estates of Parliament in Scotland, sent by His Majesty to the Lords and Commons, May 20, 1661.

For the KING's most Sacred and Excellent Majesty.

Most Sacred Sovcran,

THE many and great blessings which this your Majesty's ancient kingdom does now enjoy, under the administration of your royal authority, and the deliverance they have thereby from the miseries, bondage, and tyranny, of those twenty-three years troubles, have so ravished the spirits of all your good subjects with joy and admiration, that, in a sense of their bypast failings, and present duties, we are obliged, in discharge of our consciences and trust, to assure your Majesty, that this kingdom doth conceive it their happiness, above other nations, to live under the government and protection of so religious, so wise, and so gracious a prince; and will be zealous, that the returns of their duty and allegiance shall be suitable thereunto; being ready, at all occasions, to hazard their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance of your Majesty's authority and government, in its present constitution; and in every other thing that may concern your Majesty's royal power, prerogative, and greatness; by which alone the liberties, freedom, and just interest, of your people can be secured.

And since your Majesty hath been pleased to declare your gracious acceptance of our weak, but faithful endeavours, which we are obliged unto, in discharge of that duty we owe to God, and to your Majesty, and for vindicating of the honour and justice of that glorious martyr, your royal father, and our native and dread soveran of blessed memory, we are thereby encouraged, as your great council, to represent to your Majesty, that we conceive it necessary, for your own honour, for the advancement of your service, and for securing a firm and lasting peace to your people, that two hundred horse, and some foot, for the necessary garrisons, be kept on pay; and that, beside these, there be a militia of some troops, settled upon confiding persons, in the several counties of the kingdom.

And it is our humble desire, that, for the further endearing the affections of your people, and for completing of their happiness by your confidence in them, your Majesty may be pleased to order, that all the forces to be made use of within this kingdom may consist of natives; and that all other may be removed.

And, because many of our late troubles were occasioned, either by the too much countenance given to disaffected persons,

sons, who employed the royal favours, and crown revenues, bestowed upon them, for keeping up those troubles, or by the unstreightness of some public ministers, we are confident your Majesty will have special regard, in the dispensing of favours and trusts, to such as have been and are faithful to the royal interests; which will be a great satisfaction to the generality and body of this kingdom, who are so loyal and affectionate to your Majesty's interest, as there is no reason either to fear or flatter any who are otherwise disposed.

And, that your Majesty may have the more full account of our actions, and of the condition of this kingdom, and your affairs in it, we have, with the allowance of your commissioner (whose loyalty, prudence, and faithfulness, in this his trust, and in a more full and legal asserting of the royal power, than in any age formerly, doth much above what we are able recommend to your Majesty's special favour) made choice of the Earl of Glencairne, your chancellor, and the Earl of Rothes, president of your council, who have been eminently instrumental in your service here, to wait upon your Majesty; and do humbly recommend them, and their employment, to your favourable acceptance; expecting such a gracious return, as may be an establishment to your Majesty's authority and service, and an encouragement to all honest men; and, among them, to

Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, most obedient subjects and servants,

The estates of your Parliament of Scotland.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1661.

A Letter from his Majesty, June 22, 1661.

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Edward Turner, Knight, Speaker of our House of Commons: to be communicated to the House.

CHARLES REX.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. At the opening our Parliament, you were told, that we had a great desire this summer to make a progress through some parts of our kingdom; which we resolve to begin, in devotion, to our city of Worcester, that we may pour out our thanks to God for our deliverance there; and the season of the year quickens us in that inclination, as we presume it disposes you to a desire to withdraw from this city, and to visit your countries: but you may remember, we told you then, that we had
caused

caused some bills to be prepared for you, for confirmation of what we enacted at our last meeting: and we said all we could to you, of the value we set upon the Act of Indemnity, as we have great reason to do; and if we could have used stronger expressions to have conjured you speedily to have dispatched it, we assure you we would have done it. And we did think, what we said would have made an impression in all, who profess a desire to serve us; and therefore we expected every day, that the same bill would have been presented to us, for another assent. We must confess we hear, you have shewed great affection to us, since your coming together; and that you have already prepared and passed some very good bills (for which we heartily thank you) that are ready for the royal assent: yet we cannot but tell you, that though we are enough concerned to expedite those bills, we have no mind to pass them, till the Act of Indemnity be likewise presented to us; upon which (if you take our word) most of our quiet and good depends; and in which, we are sure, our honour is concerned: thereof we must again, and as earnestly as is possible, conjure you, to use all possible expedition in the passing that act, in the same terms we already passed it; to which we take ourselves obliged; and that you will, for the present, lay aside all private business, that so, betaking yourselves only to the public, you may be ready to adjourn by the middle of the next month, which will best suit with all our occasions. And so, not doubting of your readiness to comply with us in these our just and necessary desires, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the twenty-first day of June, 1661, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

WILLIAM MORICE.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, July 8, 1661.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE writ of summons, whereby your Majesty was pleased to call together the knights, citizens, and burgeses, of the Commons' House of Parliament, gave us to understand, "That your Majesty had divers weighty and urgent matters to communicate to us; such as did concern your royal person, your state and dignity, the defence of the kingdom, and the church of England; and in the same method propounded to us by your Majesty, we have applied ourselves to offer you our best counsel and advice."

We have found your Majesty miraculously preserved, by the hand of God, from the hands of your enemies : we found you peaceably seated in the throne of your ancestors ; we found the hereditary imperial crown of these nations auspiciously set upon your royal head : and all this after a sharp and bloody civil war.

We held it our duties, in the first place, to endeavour the safety and preservation of your Majesty's person and government ; and to that purpose have prepared a bill.

Next to the safety of your Majesty, we took into consideration the state and power that is necessary for so great a prince ; and do hope ere long to settle your militia so, that, by the blessing of God, you need not fear storms from abroad, or earthquakes here at home.

Your Majesty was pleased, at the opening of the Parliament, to recommend unto us two bills ; one, for confirming of public acts ; another, for the private acts that passed the last Parliament. They were so many in number, and great in weight, that hitherto we could not consider of them all : but some we have perused ; the Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings ; for taking away the court of wards and liveries, and purveyances ; and also all those that do relate to your Majesty's customs and excise.

And, that we might with some cheerfulness see your Majesty's face, we have brought our brother Benjamin with us : I mean, your Act of Oblivion : I take the boldness to call it your's, for so it is by many titles ; your Majesty first conceived it at Breda. You helped to contrive and form it here in England ; and, we must all bear you witness, you laboured and travailed till it was brought forth : and since it had a being, some question being made of its legitimation, your royal heart is not at ease until it be confirmed. And now, Sir, give me leave to say, by the suffrage of a full, a free, and legal Parliament, it is presented to your Majesty, to be naturalized. Your Majesty's desires are fully answered by all the representatives of the people : and their hearty prayer to God is, that all your subjects may be truly thankful to you ; and that your Majesty may long live to enjoy the fruits of this unparalleled mercy.

Your Majesty was pleased to intimate to us on Saturday last, That you so valued the quiet and satisfaction of your people, and the keeping of your royal word with them, that, although divers other bills were made ready for you, you would vouchsafe the honour to this bill alone, your favourite, to come and

pass it. Sir, hereby you have made this a great holiday ; and we shall observe it with joy and thanksgiving. Upon such solemn festivals, there useth to be a second service, an anthem, and a collect, or at least an offering. My anthem shall be, *Quid tibi retribuam, Domine ?* And my collect, a short report of your revenue. We know, great Sir, that money is both the sinews of war, and bond of peace. We have, therefore, taken care of your Majesty's revenue ; and do desire to make it in some good proportion suitable both to your grandeur and your merit.

We do believe, the state of our King is the honour of our state ; and the best way to preserve our peace, is to be well provided for war. Our time hath not permitted us to finish this work ; but, as an earnest of our good affections, we desire your Majesty to accept an offering from us.

We cannot enough admire your Majesty's patience, providence, and frugality abroad. You did not bring home a debt for us to pay, great as a prince's ransom. And since your return, you have not, with King Edward the Third after his wars in France, or Henry the Fourth, Henry the Seventh, or Henry the Eighth, desired new and great aids, and heavy subsidies, from your people for your supplies.

No, Sir ; you have been so far from asking, that part of the money which was given you last Parliament for your household provision, you have issued out towards payment of our debts ; you have robbed your own table (I had almost said given the meat out of your own belly) to feed the hungry seamen.

Dear Sir, these things have a just influence upon the people ; they fill our hearts with joy and affection to your Majesty.

I do not pretend much to physiognomy ; but, if I mistake not greatly, the faces of the people do promise great frankness and cheerfulness in your present supplies.

What would not your Majesty's friends have given, within these eighteen months, to have seen your Majesty thus happily settled ? And what can be too much for those to return, who have received all they enjoy from your Majesty's mercy.

Great Sir, to conclude this solemn service ; the Commons of England do, by me their servant, humbly present you with this bill, intituled, " An Act for a free and voluntary Present ; " and wish it a success answerable to your royal heart's desire.

After this, his Majesty was pleased to make a very gracious speech, as followeth :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a good time since I heard of your passing this bill for money ; and I am sure you would have presented it to me sooner, if you had thought I had desired it : but the truth is, though I have need enough of it, I had no mind to receive it from you, till I might at the same time give my assent to this other very good bill that accompanies it, for which I longed very impatiently. I thank you for both with all my heart ; and though there are other good bills ready, with which you will easily believe I am very well pleased, and in which I am indeed enough concerned, yet I chuse rather to pass these two bills together, and to pass them by themselves without any other, that you may all see, and in you the whole kingdom, that I am at least equally concerned for you and them, as for myself : and in truth it will be want of judgment in me, if I ever desire any thing for myself, that is not equally good for you and them. I am confident, you all believe that my well-being is of some use and benefit to you ; and I am sure your well-being, and being well pleased, is the greatest comfort and blessing I can receive in this world.

I hope you will be ready within few days to dispatch those other public bills which are still depending before you, that I may come hither and pass all together, and then adjourn till winter, when what remains may be provided for : and I would be very glad that you would be ready by the twentieth of this month, or thereabouts, for the adjournment ; which methinks you might easily be, if you suspended all private business till the recess. The last Parliament, by God's blessing, laid the foundation of the happiness we all enjoy ; and therefore I thought it but justice to the memory of it, to send you bills for the confirmation of what was enacted then ; and I cannot doubt but you will dispatch what remains of that kind with all convenient speed ; and that you will think, that what was then thought necessary or fit for the public peace to be enacted, ought not to be shaken now, or any good man less secure of what he possesses, than he was when you came together. It is to put myself in mind as well as you, that I so often (I think as often as I come to you) mention to you my declaration from Breila : and let me put you in mind of another declaration, published by yourselves about the same time, and which, I am persuaded, made mine the more effectual ; an honest, generous, and Christian declaration, signed by the most eminent persons,

who

who had been the most eminent sufferers, in which you renounced all former animosities, all memory of former unkindnesses, vowed all imaginable good-will to, and all confidence in, each other.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let it be in no man's power to charge me or you with breach of our word or promise, which can never be a good ingredient to our future security. Let us look forward, and not backward; and never think of what is past, except men put us in mind of it, by repeating faults we had forgot; and then let us remember no more than what concerns those very persons.

God hath wrought a wonderful miracle in settling us as he hath done. I pray let us do all we can to get the reputation at home and abroad of being well settled. We have enemies and enviers enough, who labour to have it thought otherwise; and if we would indeed have our enemies fear us, and our neighbours love and respect us, and fear us enough to love us, let us take all the ways we can, that, as the world cannot but take notice of your extraordinary affection to me, and of the comfort I take in that affection, so that it may likewise take notice of your affection to and confidence in each other; which will disappoint all designs against the public peace, and fully establish our joint security.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, July 30, 1661.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE wise men tell us, There is a time to sow, and a time to reap. Since your Majesty did convene the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, they have with unwearied labour consulted for the service of your Majesty, and the good of this nation; and now the fields grow white to harvest. In the great field of nature all fruits do not grow ripe together; but some in one month, some in another: one time affords your Majesty primroses and violets; another time presents you with July-flowers. So it is in the course of our proceedings: some of our fruits are in the blossom, when others are in the bud; some are near ripe, and others fit to be presented to your Majesty. Amongst the number of our choicest ripe fruits, we first present you with a bill for the safety and preservation of your Majesty's royal person and government.

Your predecessor Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, in the thirteenth year of her reign, by Pius Quintus, then bishop of

of Rome, was excommunicated and anathematized. John Felton posted up a bull at the Bishop of London's palace, whereby she was declared to be deprived of her title to the kingdom, and all the people of this realm absolved from their allegiance to her; the Queen of Scots was then a prisoner in England; and the Duke of Norfolk, for many designs against our Queen, committed to the Tower. Historians tell us, the times were very troublesome, full of suspicions and conspiracies. But, Sir, what then was only feared, hath in our time been put in execution. No age hath known, no history makes mention of, such sad tragedies. It therefore now becomes your people, after this glorious restitution, to endeavour all just ways of preservation.

The Queen, in her time of trouble and danger summoned a Parliament; and such was the love of the people to her and her government, that they forthwith made a law for her security. According to which precedent, we your loyal Commons also, who have before them no less cause of fear, but more obligations and affection to your Majesty, do humbly tender you a bill, wherein we desire it may be enacted, "That if any person shall compass, imagine, or design, your Majesty's death, destruction, or bodily harm, to imprison or restrain your royal person, or depose you, or shall levy war against your Majesty within or without your realm, or stir up any foreign power to invade you, and shall express or declare such his wicked intention, by printing, writing, preaching, or malicious and advised speaking, being thereof legally convicted, shall be adjudged a traitor."

And, because much of our late misery took its rise from seditious pamphlets, and speeches from the pulpits, it is provided, "That if any man shall maliciously and advisedly publish or affirm your Majesty to be an heretic, or a papist, or that you endeavour to introduce popery, or shall stir up the people to hatred or dislike of your royal person or government, then every such person shall be made incapable of any office or employment either in church or state; and if any man shall maliciously and advisedly affirm, that the Parliament begun at Westminster the third of November, 1640, is yet in being, or that any covenant or engagement since that time imposed upon the people doth oblige them to endeavour a change of the government either in church or state; or that either or both Houses of Parliament have a legislative power without your Majesty; then every such offender, being thereof legally convicted, shall incur the penalties of a *premunire*, mentioned in the statute made 16 R. II."

In the next place, Sir, give me leave, I beseech you, (without any violence to the Act of Oblivion,) to remember a sad effect of the distempers in the last age. When the fever began to seize upon the people, they were impatient till they lost some blood. The Lords Spiritual, who in all ages had enjoyed a place in Parliament, were by an act of Parliament excluded.

Your Majesty's royal grandfather^a was often wont to say, "No bishop, no King." We found his words true; for, after they were put out, the fever still increasing, in another fit the Temporal Lords followed, and then the King himself. Nor did the humour rest there; but, in the round, the House of Commons was first garbled, and then turned out of doors.

It is no wonder, when a sword is put into a madman's hand, to see him cut off limb by limb, and then to kill himself.

When there is a great breach of the sea upon the low grounds, by the violence of the torrent, the rivers of sweet waters are often turned aside, and the salt waters make themselves a channel; but when the breach is made up, good husbands drain their lands again, and restore the ancient sewers.

Thanks be to God, the flood is gone off the face of this island. Our turtle dove hath found good footing. Your Majesty is happily restored to the government; the Temporal Lords and Commons are restored to sit in Parliament. And shall the church alone now suffer?

Sit ecclesia Anglicana libera, et habeat libertates suas illæfas.

In order to this great work, the Commons have prepared a bill to repeal that law^{*} which was made in 17 Caroli, whereby the bishops were excluded this house: these noble Lords have all agreed; and now we beg your Majesty will give it life. Speak but the word, great Sir; and your servants yet shall live.

We cannot well forget the method, how our late miseries, like waves of the sea, came in upon us: first, the people were invited to petition, to give colour to some illegal demands; then they must remonstrate, then they must protest, then they must covenant, then they must associate, then they must engage against our lawful government, and for the maintenance of the most horrid tyranny that ever was invented. For the prevention of this practice for the future, we do humbly tender unto your Majesty a bill, intituled, "An Act against Tumults and Disorders, upon Pretence of preparing or presenting public Petitions, or Addresses, to your Majesty or the Parliament."

^{*} Deest in Originali.

In the next place, we held it our duty to undeceive the people who have been poisoned with an opinion, that the militia of this nation was in themselves, or in their representatives in Parliament; and, according to the ancient known laws, we have declared the sole right of the militia to be in your Majesty. And forasmuch as our time hath not permitted us to finish a bill intended for the future ordering of the same, we shall present you with a temporary bill, for the present managing and disposing of the land forces; and likewise another bill for establishing certain articles and orders for the regulation and government of your Majesty's navies and forces by sea.

According to your Majesty's commands, we have examined many of the public and private bills which passed last Parliament; and have prepared some bills of confirmation. We have also ascertained the pains and penalties to be imposed upon the persons or estates of those miscreants who had a hand in the murder of your royal father of blessed memory, and were therefore excepted in your Majesty's Act of Oblivion; wherein we have declared to all the world, how just an indignation we had against that horrid regicide.

We have likewise prepared a bill for the collection of great arrears of the duty of excise; which I do here, in the name of the Commons, humbly present unto your Majesty. The reason, we conceive, why it was not formerly paid, was because the people disliked the authority whereby it was imposed. But, understanding that it is now given to your Majesty, it will come in with as great freedom; *aliquisque malo erit usus in illo.*

Your Majesty was pleased, at the opening of the Parliament, to tell us, "That you intended this summer to take a progress, and see your people, and at your return did hope to bring a queen home with you." Sir, this welcome news hath made us cast about all ways for your accommodation. And therefore, that no conveniencies might be wanting, either for your Majesty, your queen, or your attendants, we have prepared a bill, intituled, "An Act providing necessary Carriages in all your Royal Progresses and Removals."

Your Majesty was likewise pleased, at our first meeting, to say, "You would not tire us with hard duty and hot service; and therefore about this time intended a recess." That royal favour will now be very reasonable; and we hope advantageous both to your Majesty and ourselves: we know, in our absence, your princely heart and head will not be free from cares and thoughts of our protection; and when we leave our hive, like the industrious bee, we shall but fly about the several countries

countries of the nation to gather honey; and, when your Majesty shall be pleased to name the time, return with loaded thighs into our house again.

After this, his Majesty was pleased to make this following speech :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I PERCEIVE, by this thin appearance of the members of both Houses this day, that it is high time to adjourn. In truth, the season of the year as well as your particular affairs require it; and therefore I do willingly consent to it.

I thank you for the many good bills you have presented me with this day; of which, I hope, the benefit will redound to the whole kingdom.

I thank you for the care you have taken for the safety of my person; which, trust me, is the more valuable to me, for the consequence, I think, it is of to you. And, upon my conscience, there is nobody wishes ill to me, but they who would quickly revenge themselves of you if they could.

I thank you for the care you have taken of yourselves, of your own safety and honour, in the act against tumults and disorders upon pretence of petitions; to which licence we owe much of the calamities we have undergone: but I thank you with all my heart, indeed as much as I can do for any thing, for the repeal of that act which excluded the bishops from sitting in Parliament. It was an unhappy act, in an unhappy time, passed with many unhappy circumstances, and attended with miserable events; and therefore I do again thank you for repealing it. You have thereby restored Parliaments to their primitive institutions: and I hope, my Lords and Gentlemen, you will in a short time restore them to the primitive order, and gravity of debates and determinations, which the licence of the late distempered times had so much corrupted; which is the only way to restore Parliaments to their primitive veneration with the people, which I heartily wish they should always have.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You are now going to your several countries; where you cannot but be very welcome, for the services you have performed here. I do very earnestly recommend the good government and peace of your countries to your care, and your

counsel, and your vigilancy. There are distempered spirits enough, which lie in wait to do mischief, by laying reproaches upon the court, upon the government; reproaches upon me, and reproaches upon you. Your wisdoms and reputation and authority will, I doubt not, weigh down their light credit; and the old and new good laws will, I hope, prevent any mischief they intend. However, you have done very well (and I do very heartily thank you for it) in declaring my sole right over the militia; the questioning of which was the fountain from which all our bitter waters flowed. I pray, make haste to put the whole kingdom into such posture, that evil men, who will not be converted, may yet chuse to be quiet, because they find that they shall not be able to do the harm they desire to do.

I know you have begun many bills in both Houses which cannot be finished till your meeting again: and, that they may be finished then, I forbear to make a session now; but am contented that you adjourn till the twentieth of November, when I hope, by God's blessing, we shall come happily together again.

In a word, my Lords and Gentlemen, I thank you for what you have done; and am confident, that what you have left undone you will dispatch, with all alacrity, and to all our satisfactions, at our next meeting. And so you may adjourn till the twentieth of November.

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, November 20, 1661.

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

I KNOW the visit I make you this day is not necessary, is not of course: yet, if there were no more in it, it would not be strange that I come to see, what you and I have so long desired to see, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons of England met together, to consult for the peace and safety of church and state, by which Parliaments are restored to their primitive lustre and integrity: I do heartily congratulate with you for this day. But, my Lords and Gentlemen, as my coming hither at this time is somewhat extraordinary; so the truth is, the occasion of my coming is more extraordinary. It is to say something to you on my own behalf, to ask somewhat of you for myself; which is more than I have done of you, or of those who met here before you, since my coming into England. I needed not have done it then; and, upon my conscience, I need not do it now. They did, and you do, upon all occasions, express so great an affection and
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care of all that concerns me, that I may very well refer both the matter and manner of your doing any thing for me, to your own wisdoms and kindness. And indeed, if I did think that what I am to say to you now did alone or did most concern myself; if the uneasy condition I am in, if the straits and necessities I am to struggle with, did not manifestly relate to the public peace and safety, more than to my own particular, otherwise than as I am concerned in the public, I should not give you this trouble this day. I can bear my necessities which merely relate to myself with patience enough.

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I do not now importune you to make more haste in the settling the constant revenue of the crown, than is agreeable to the method you propose to yourselves; to desire you seriously to consider the unsupportable weight that lies upon it; the obligations it lies under, to provide for the interest, honour, and security of the nation, in another proportion than in any former times it hath been obliged to: but I come to put you in mind of the crying debts which do every day call upon me; of some necessary provisions which are to be made without delay for the very safety of the kingdom; of the great sum of money that should be ready to discharge the several fleets when they come home; and for the necessary preparations that are to be made for the setting out new fleets to sea against the spring, that revenue being already anticipated upon as important services which should be assigned to those preparations. These are the pressing occasions which I am forced to recommend to you with all possible earnestness, and to conjure you to provide for as speedily as is possible, and in such a manner as may give us security at home, and some reputation abroad. I make this discourse to you with some confidence, because I am very willing and desirous that you should thoroughly examine whether these necessities I mention be real or imaginary; or whether they are fallen upon us by my fault, my own ill-managery or excesses, and provide for them accordingly. I am very willing that you make a full inspection into my revenue, as well the disbursements as receipts; and if you find it hath been ill-managed by any corruption in the officers I trust, or by my own unthriftiness, I shall take the information and advice you shall give me very kindly: I say, if you find it; for I would not have you believe any loose discourses, how confidently soever urged, of giving away fourscore thousand pounds in a morning, and many other extravagancies of that kind. I have much more reason to be sorry that I have not

to reward those who have ever faithfully served the King my father and myself, than ashamed of any bounty I have exercised towards any man.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am sorry to find that the general temper and affections of the nation are not so well composed as I hoped they would have been, after so signal blessings from God Almighty upon us all, and after so great indulgence and condescensions from me towards all interests. There are many wicked instruments, still as active as ever, who labour night and day to disturb the public peace, and to make all people jealous of each other. It will be worthy of your care and vigilance, to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; and if you find new diseases, you must study new remedies. Let us not be discouraged: if we help one another, we shall, with God's blessing, master all our difficulties. Those which concern matters of religion, I confess to you, are too hard for me; and therefore I do commend them to your care and deliberation, which can best provide for them.

I shall not need to recommend, or put you in mind of, the good correspondence that ought to be kept between you, for the good of yourselves and me, and the whole kingdom; and I may tell you, it is very necessary for us all. You will find, whoever doth not love me, doth not love you; and they who have no reverence for you, have little kindness for me. Therefore, I pray, let us adhere fast to each other; and then we shall, with the help of God, in a short time, persuade or oblige all men to that submission and obedience to the law, as may constitute a full measure of happiness to prince and people, and persuade our neighbours to that esteem and value they have formerly had for us.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, December 20, 1661.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE last time the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament had the honour to wait on you in this place, your Majesty was graciously pleased to congratulate with them, for the glorious meeting of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of England, in your full, free, and legal Parliament.

Great Sir, it is our present comfort, and will be our future glory, that God hath made us instrumental for the repairs of those

those breaches which the worst of times had made upon the best of governments. The late great eclipse in our horizon, occasioned by the interpolation of the earth, is now vanished ; the stars in our firmament are now full of light ; the light of our moon is become like the light of the sun ; and the light of our sun is sevenfold.

A man that sees the river of Thames at a high water, and observes how much it sinks in a few hours, would think it running quite away ; but, by the secret providence of God, we see that when the ebb is at the lowest, the tide of a rising water is nearest the return.

Your Majesty was likewise graciously pleased to speak something to us on your own behalf ; and did vouchsafe to say, you would ask something for yourself ; withal declaring some uneasiness in your condition, by reason of some crying debts which daily called for satisfaction.

Great Sir, I am not able to express, at the hearing of those words, with what a sympathy the whole body of the Parliament was presently affected. The circulation of the blood, of which our naturalists do tell us, was never so sensibly demonstrated as by this experiment. Before your Majesty's words were all fallen from your lips, you might have seen us blush : all our blood came into our faces ; from thence it hastened down without obstruction to every part of the body ; and, after a due consulting of the several parts, it was found necessary to breathe a vein.

We cannot forget how much our treasure hath been exhausted ; but we remember also, it was by usurping and tyrannical powers ; and therefore we are easily persuaded to be at some more expence to keep them out.

The merchant tells us, it is good policy, in a troubled sea, to lose some part of our cargo, thereby to save the rest.

With your Majesty's leave, we have been bold to look into the present state of affairs ; and find those great sums that have been heretofore advanced upon us were raised most of them in bad times, and for ill purposes, to keep your Majesty out of this your native kingdom ; and when your Majesty returned home from your long banishment, you found the naval storehouse unfurnished, which will not easily be supplied. The unsettled humours, and unquiet spirits, that are amongst us, do necessitate a costly guard for your royal person ; the honourable accessions of Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica, do at present require a great supply ; but, we have reason to believe, in time to come, will repay this nation their principal with good interest.

Your Majesty hath sent a royal fleet upon a happy errand, to bring your royal consort hither : and is there any Englishman will stick to pay the wages of those mariners, whose ships do bring so good freight ?

Upon all these considerations, your loyal Commons were in pain, until, like prudent and good husbands, they had redeemed the nation from all its public debts. And that your Majesty may at once have a full measure of their duty and affection to yourself, and that your neighbours abroad, as well as the discontented commonwealth's men with all their complicated interests here at home, may see the happy correspondence that is between our head and all the members of this body politic ; we have cheerfully and unanimously given your Majesty twelve hundred and threescore thousand pounds ; which sum we desire may be levied in eighteen months, by six quarterly payments, after the rate of seventy thousand pounds per menssem, to begin the five and twentieth of this present December ; in order whereunto, we humbly pray your Majesty's royal assent unto this bill.

After this, his Majesty was pleased to make this short speech following :

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

YOU have made me this day a very great and a very noble present ; a present that I have received benefit from already, before you presented it : for, trust me, the benefit is not small, which I and you both have already, from the reputation of this present, from the alacrity and affection you have so unanimously expressed in this affair.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I do thank you with all my heart for it ; and I will not enlarge those thanks further, than by telling you, that I do not come more willingly this day to pass this bill, than I will do to pass any other bills which you shall provide for the ease, benefit, and security of my people ; and I do verily believe that you and I shall never be deceived or disappointed in the expectation we have of each other.

Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, May 19, 1662.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE glorious body of the sun doth exhilarate the soul of man with its light, and fructify the earth by its heat. In like manner, we, the knights, citizens, and burgessees of the Commons House of Parliament, do, with all humility and thankfulness, acknowledge these frequent accessions to your royal presence do both comfort our hearts, and influence our actions.

Geographers do tell us, the land of Egypt is a dry soil, but made fertile by the overflowing of the river Nilus; and, according to the degrees of the flood, the inhabitants do prognosticate the fruitfulness of the ensuing year. If it flows to twelve degrees, it presages a good harvest; if to thirteen, then more plentiful; but if to fourteen degrees, their hopes are raised to an expectation of an abundant increase.

Great Sir,

Your return into this nation in the twelfth year of your reign resembles the flowing of the river Nilus in the twelfth degree. That year was crowned with the enjoyment of your royal person. The last year, being the thirteenth year of your Majesty's reign, we were made happy in your coronation, and by your sanction of many good and useful laws, both for the church and state. And now our river Nilus begins to flow fourteen degrees, we are, by the mercies of God, in an humble expectation of a great jubilee. Our gracious Queen is now happily landed; who, we do hope, and daily pray, may prove a suitable companion to your royal person, and, ere long, a nursing mother to this nation.

If your Majesty but please to cast your eyes upon the table, and behold the great number of bills that there present themselves before you, like so many sheaves of corn bound up and ready to be housed; and will vouchsafe to see how both my hands are filled with no light presents from your loyal Commons; and if your royal Majesty, the great lord of the harvest, shall vouchsafe to crown this day by your gracious concessions to our desires, the world will then see how great a duty your people cheerfully pay both to your royal person and your government; and likewise how great a zeal your Majesty hath, by the faithful advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled in Parliament, to settle the church in her ancient glory, and to restore the happy people of this nation to their ancient rights and privileges.

Some foreign writers, that envy the happiness of our government, injuriously asperse this nation with a reproachful saying,

“ That the crown of England is only maintained by the benevolence of the people ; which never is granted, but in exchange of some royal prerogative.”

Great Sir,

We know, the strongest building must fall, if the coupling pins be pulled out: therefore our care hath been to prepare such constitutions, that the prerogative of the crown and the propriety of the people may, like squared stones in a well built arch, each support the other, and grow the closer and stronger for any weight or force that shall be laid upon them.

We cannot forget the late disputing age, wherein most persons took a liberty, and some men made it their delight, to trample upon the discipline and government of the church. The hedge being trod down, the foxes and the wolves did enter; the swine and other unclean beasts defiled the temple. At length it was discerned, the Smeathynian plot did not only bend itself to reform ceremonies, but sought to erect a popular authority of elders, and to root out episcopal jurisdiction. In order to this work, church ornaments were first taken away; then the means whereby distinction or inequality might be upheld amongst ecclesiastical governors: then the forms of common prayer, which as members of the public body of Christ's church were enjoined us, were decrised as superstitious, and in lieu thereof nothing, or worse than nothing, introduced.

Your Majesty having already restored the governors and government of the church, the patrimony and privileges of our churchmen; we held it now our duty, for the reformation of all abuses in the public worship of God, humbly to present unto your Majesty a bill for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments.

We hope the God of order and unity will conform the hearts of all the people in this nation, to serve him in this order and uniformity.

Next to the worship and service of God, we applied ourselves to the settling our great concern, the militia. We have already, according to our duties and the laws, declared the sole right of the militia to be in your Majesty: and now, with your permission, we humbly tender your Majesty a bill for the better regulation and ordering the standing forces of this nation; wherein we have taken care to make all things so certain, that your Majesty's lieutenants and their deputies may know what to command, and all the people learn how to obey.

And because our late wounds are yet but green, and possibly, before the body politic be well purged, may incline to break out again, whereby your Majesty may be forced to draw your sword before your treasury be supplied with money; we have

consented

consented that your Majesty may raise, for the three next ensuing years, one month's tax in each year, after the rate of seventy thousand pounds per menssem, if necessity shall so require.

In the next place, according to your Majesty's commands, we have surveyed the wasted revenue of the crown; and, in pursuance of our promises, do humbly propound unto your Majesty a fair addition. We considered, that great part of your Majesty's revenue is but for life; and both that, and also part of the rest, depends upon the peace, the trade, and traffic of the nation, and therefore may be much impaired by wars with foreign nations. This put us upon the search of something that might arise within our own walls, and not to be subject to such contingencies. We pitched our thoughts at last upon those places where we enjoy our greatest comforts and securities, our dwelling-houses; and, considering even that security is secured unto us by your Majesty's vigilance and care in the government, we have prepared a bill, whereby we desire it may be enacted, that all houses in this kingdom, which are worth in yearly value above twenty shillings, and not inhabited by almsmen, may pay unto your Majesty, your heirs and successors, two shillings yearly for every chimney-hearth in each house for ever.

When the great Ahithophels of our latter age had by force ravished the venerable laws of this nation (and *absurdo dato, sequuntur mille*;) then every petty artist in his way, yea, even the very common beggars, had the confidence to offer violence to their chastity.

We have therefore been constrained to prepare several bills for the regulation of trade, our cloathing trade, our fishing trade, our trade for stuffs, our trade for silks; and, for the better maintenance of intercourse in trade, to reinforce our former laws for maintaining the highways, with some additions for decency and pleasure of travellers.

God, in his providence, hath determined, that poor we must have always with us: some are made so by the immediate hand of God; others by their loyalty, duty, and service of your royal person and your blessed father; others by their own wickedness and idleness. We have taken care to relieve the first, to encourage the second, and to reform the last.

Nor hath the case of any private person been unwelcome to us. Those many private bills that lie before your Majesty do enough confirm this truth, that where we found it just and honourable, we have denied our helping hand to none that prayed it.

And now, great Sir, after these many months most painful and faithful service of your Majesty and our countries, we hope we shall have leave to go home, to visit our relations, to tell our neighbours what great things your Majesty hath done for us ; what great things (*absit invidia verbo*) we have done for your Majesty ; and what great things God hath done for us all ; and so pray Almighty God for his mercy to this nation, in the continuance of your Majesty's long and happy reign over us,

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, May 19, 1662.

My Lords, and you the Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I THINK there have been very few sessions of Parliament in which there have been so many bills as I have passed this day. I am confident, never so many private bills ; which I hope you will not draw into example. * It is true, these late ill times have driven men into great straits, and may have obliged them to make conveyances colourably, to avoid inconveniencies, and yet not afterwards to be avoided. And men have gotten estates by new and greater frauds than have been heretofore practised ; and therefore, in this conjuncture, extraordinary remedies may be necessary, which hath induced me to comply with your advice, in passing these bills. But I pray let this be very rarely done hereafter. The good old rules of the law are the best security. And let not men have too much cause to fear that the settlements they make of their estates shall be too easily unsettled when they are dead, by the power of Parliaments.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You have so much obliged me, not only in the matter of those bills which concern my revenue, but in the manner of passing them with so great affection and kindness to me, that I know not how to thank you enough. I do assure you, and I pray assure your friends in the country, that I will apply all you have given me to the utmost improvement of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and will, with the best advice and good husbandry I can, bring my expenses within a narrower compass.

Now I am speaking to you of my own good husbandry, I must tell you, that will not be enough ; I cannot but observe to you, that the whole nation seems to me a little corrupted in their excess of living. Sure all men spend much more in their
cloaths,

cloaths, in their diet, in all their expenses, than they have used to do. I hope it hath only been the excess of joy, after so long sufferings, that hath transported us to these other excesses. But let us take heed, that the continuance of them doth not indeed corrupt our natures. I do believe I have been faulty that way myself: I promise you, I will reform; and if you will join with me in your several capacities, we shall by our examples do more good, both in city and country, than any new laws would do. I tell you again, I will do my part; and I will tell some of you, if you do not yours. I hope the laws I have passed this day will produce some reformation with reference to the multitude of beggars and poor people which infest the kingdom. Great severity must be used to those who love * idleness, and refuse to work: and great care and charity towards those who are willing to work. I do very heartily recommend the execution of those good laws to your utmost diligence; and I am sure I need not put you in mind so to settle the militia, that all seditious insurrections may not only be prevented, to which the minds of too many are inclined, but that the people may be without reasonable apprehension of such insecurity.

You will easily believe, that it is very necessary for the public justice of the kingdom, and even for the preservation of the reverence due to Parliaments, that I make this a session. And it will be worthy of your wisdoms, when you come together again, to provide that there be not so great clamour against the multitude of protections.

I will say no more; but renew my hearty thanks to you all, and refer the rest to the Chancellor.

His Majesty's speech being ended, the Lord Chancellor came from his place, and kneeled to the King, and, having received directions, returned to his place, and made this ensuing speech:

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, of the House of Commons,

IT is now little more than a year that the King first called you to attend him here, at the opening of the Parliament: then, you may remember, he told you, that he thought there were not many of you, who were not particularly known to him: that there were very few of whom he had not heard so much good, that he was (he said) as sure as he could be of any thing that was to come, that you would all concur with him, and that he should concur with you, in all things which might advance the

peace, plenty, and prosperity of the nation. His Majesty said, he should be exceedingly deceived else.

It was a princely declaration, and a rare confidence, which could flow from no other fountain but the sincerity and purity of his own conscience, which, admitting no other designs or thoughts into his royal breast, but such as must tend to the unquestionable prosperity and greatness of his people, could not but be assured of your full concurrence and co-operation with him. It was a happy and a blessed omen, which at the instant struck a terror into the hearts of those who promised themselves some advantages from the differences and divisions in your counsels, and hoped from thence to create new troubles and molestations in the kingdom. And God be thanked! the King hath been so far from being exceedingly deceived, that he doth acknowledge he hath been exceedingly complied with, exceedingly gratified in all he hath desired; and he hopes, he hath not in the least degree disappointed your expectation.

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

You have, like the richest and the noblest soil, a soil manured and enriched by the bountiful hearts of the best subjects in the world, yielded the King two full harvests in one year; and therefore it is but good husbandry to let it fallow for some time. You have not only supplied the crown to a good degree, for discharging many debts and pressures under which it even groaned, and enabled it to struggle with the present straits and necessities, debts not contracted, and necessities not run into, by improvidence and excess; you may, when you please, receive such an accompt. as will clear all such reproaches: but you wisely, very wisely, provided such a constant growing revenue, as may, with God's blessing, preserve the crown from those scandalous wants and necessities as have heretofore exposed it and the kingdom to those dismal miseries, from which they are but even now buoyed up; for, whatsoever other human causes may be assigned, according to the several fancies and imaginations of men, of our late miserable distractions, they cannot be so reasonably imputed to any one cause, as to the extreme poverty of the crown: the want of power could never have appeared, if it had not been for the want of money.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, worthily provided for the vindication and manifestation of the one, by the bill of the militia; and for the supply of the other, by the act for the additional revenue: and I am confident, both the present and succeeding ages will bless God, and celebrate your memories, for those two bills, as the foundation of their peace, quiet, and security, how froward and indisposed soever many are at present,

sent, who, finding such obstructions laid in their way to mutiny and sedition, use all the artifice they can to persuade the people that you have not been solicitous enough for their liberty, nor tenacious enough for their profit; and wickedly labour to lessen that reverence towards you, which sure was never more due to any Parliament.

It was a very natural and an ingenious animadversion and reflection, which the late incomparable Lord Viscount of St. Albans made upon that old fable of the giants, who were first overthrown in the war against the gods, when the earth, their mother, in revenge thereof, brought forth fame: which, he said, is the same when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebellion, then the malignity of the people, the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels, slanders, and taxation of the state; which, he says, is of the same kind with rebellion, but more feminine. And without doubt this seditious daughter of the earth, this spirit of libelling, was never more pregnant than it is now; nor King, nor Parliament, nor church, nor state, ever more exposed to those *flagella linguæ*, those strokes of the tongue, from which God Almighty can only preserve the most innocent and most excellent persons; as if repining and murmuring were the peculiar exercise of the nation, to keep it in health; as if England had so much of the merchant, *nunquam habendi fructu felix, semper autem querendi cupiditate miserrima*.

Men are in no degree disposed to imitate or remember the general excellent temper of the time of Queen Elizabeth; the blessed condescension and resignation of the people then to the crown, the awful reverence they then had to the government, and to the governors both in church and state. This good and happy spirit was in a time beyond our memory; but they remember, as if it were but yesterday, how few subsidies parliaments then gave to that Queen, how small supplies the crown then had from the people; and wonder that the same measures should not still fill the coffers, and give the same reputation, and make the same noise in Christendom.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, how bold soever some unquiet spirits are with you, upon this argument, you are much superior to those reproaches. You know well, and you can make others know, without breaking the act of indemnity, how the crown hath been since used; how our sovereign lord the King found it at his blessed return to it. You can tell the world, that as soon as he came hither, besides the infinite that he forgave, he gave more money to the people, than he hath since received from them; that at least two parts of three, that they have since given him, have bin used for the disbanding armies
never

never raised by him, and for paying of fleets never sent out by him, and of debts never incurred by him. You will put them in mind of the vast disparity between the former times and these in which we live; and consequently of the disproportion in the expence the crown is now at for the protection and benefit of the subjects to what it formerly underwent: how great difference there is in the present greatness and power of the two crowns, and what they were then possessed of, is evident to all men; and if the greatness and power of the crown of England be not in some proportion improved too, it may be liable to inconveniences it will not undergo alone. How our neighbours and our rivals, who court one and the same mistress, trade and commerce, with all the world, are advanced in shipping, power, and an immoderate desire to engross the whole traffic of the universe, is notorious enough; and this unruly appetite will not be restrained or disappointed, nor the trade of this nation supported and maintained, with the same fleets and forces which were maintained in the happy times of Queen Elizabeth. Not to speak of the naval power of the Turks, who, instead of sculking abroad in poor single ships as they were wont to do, domineer now on the ocean in strong fleets, make naval fights, and have brought some Christians to a better correspondence, and another kind of commerce and traffic with them, than was expected; insomuch as they apprehend no enemy upon the sea, but what they find in the King of England's ships, which hath indeed brought no small damage upon them, with no small charge to the King, but a great reputation to the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You may with a very good conscience assure yourselves, and your friends and neighbours, that the charge the crown is now at, by sea and land, for the peace and security and wealth and honour of the nation, amounts to no less than eight hundred thousand pounds a year, all which did not cost the crown before these troubles fourscore thousand pounds the year; and therefore they will never blame you for any supply you have given, or addition you have made to the revenue of the crown. And whosoever unskilfully murmurs at the expence of Dunkirk, and the other new acquisitions, which ought to be looked upon as jewels of an immense magnitude in the royal diadem, do not enough remember what we have lost by Dunkirk, and should always do if it were in an enemy's hands; nor duly consider the vast advantages those other dominions are like, by God's blessing, in a short time, to bring to the trade, navigation, wealth and honour of the King and kingdom. His Majesty hath enough expressed his desire to live in a perfect peace and
amity

amity with all his neighbours; nor is it an ill ingredient * towards the firmness and stability of that peace and amity, which his royal ancestors have held and maintained with them, that he hath some advantages in case of a war, which they were without.

It was a right ground, of confidence, such an one as seldom deceives men, that the great law-maker, the wise Solon, had, when he concluded that reverence and obedience would be yielded to his laws, because he had taken the pains to make his citizens know and understand, that it was more for their profit to obey law and justice, than to contemn and break it. The extravagant times of licence, which I hope we have almost out-lived, have so far corrupted the minds, and even the nature of too many, that they do not return with that alacrity they ought to do into the road and paths of order and government, from which they have so long been led astray; nor, it may be, is there pains enough taken to make them understand the profit, benefit, and ease, which always attends a cheerful obedience and submission to laws and government. I am persuaded, a little pains and kindness, and condescension, in the wise towards the weak, half the diligence and dexterity in conversation and example which hath been used to corrupt the people in their loyalty and understanding, will quickly reduce them to their primitive temper; which is to be the best neighbours, and the best friends, and the best subjects of the world: and I make no question, but the great piety and devotion, the moderation, wisdom, charity, and hospitality, of my lords the bishops, in their several dioceses, will in a short time recover the poor misled people. And though the forwardness and pride of some of their teachers may not be yet enough subdued, though some of the clergy still repeat their old errors, for which they have been glad to receive pardon, and do in truth discredit all their other doctrine with the absence of any visible repentance for what mischief they have formerly done; yet I hope the laity will soon return into the bosom of their dear mother the church, and easily discern the fraud and imposture of their seducers; and that all diligence and dexterity will be used, seriously and heartily to reconcile both clergy and laity, by all means which may prove effectual.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, likewise patriots. Upon your observation, that the most signal indulgence and condescensions, the temporary suspension of the rigour of former laws, hath not produced the effect which was expected; that the humour and spirits of men are too rough and boisterous

for those soft remedies; you have prepared sharper laws and penalties, to contend with those refractory persons, and to break that stubbornness which will not bend to gentler applications; and it is great reason, that they upon whom clemency cannot prevail, should feel that severity they have provoked. You have done your parts like good physicians, made wholesome prescriptions for the constitution of your patients; well knowing, that the application of these remedies, the execution of these sharp laws, depends upon the wisdom of the most discerning, generous, and merciful prince, who, having had more experience of the nature and humour of mankind, than any prince living, can best distinguish between the tenderness of conscience and the pride of conscience, between the real effects of conscience and the wicked pretences to conscience, who, having fought with beasts at Ephesus, knows how to guard himself and the kingdom from the assault and violence of a strong, malicious, corrupted understanding and will, and how to secure himself and the kingdom from the feeble traps and nets of deluded fancies and imaginations: in a word, a prince of so excellent a nature and tender a conscience himself, that he hath the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and will never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked, and knows and understands better than any man that excellent rule of Quintilian, *Est aliquid quod non oportet, etiam si licet, et aliud est jura spectare, aliud justitiam.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Machiavel, who, they say, is an author much studied of late in this kingdom, to extol his own excellent judgment and insight in history, in which indeed he was a master, would persuade men to believe, that the true reason why so many unexpected accidents and mischiefs fall out to the destruction of states and empires is, because their governors have not observed the same mischiefs heretofore in story, and from whence they proceeded, and what progress they made; which, he says, if they had done, they might easily have preserved themselves from ruin, and prevented the inconveniencies which have fallen out. I am sure you are all good historians, and need only resort to the records of your own memories. Remember how your peace hath been formerly disturbed, by what contrivance and artifices the people have been alarmed with unreasonable and unnatural fears and jealousies, and what dismal effects those fears and jealousies have produced. Remember how near monarchy hath been dissolved, and the law subverted, under pretence of reforming and supporting government, law, and justice.

tice. And remember how many honest persons were misled by not discerning consequences, who would as soon have renounced their part in heaven as have concurred in the first unwarrantable action, if they had suspected what did follow. And if we suffer the same enemy to break in upon us at the same avenues, if we suffer our peace to be blown up by the same trains and machinations, we shall be held very ill historians, and worse politicians.

There is an enemy amongst us, of whom I doubt we are not jealous enough, and towards whom we cannot be too vigilant, and, in truth, in comparison of whom we may reasonably undervalue all other enemies; that is, the republicans and commonwealth's men, who are every day calling in aid of the law, that they may overthrow and abolish the law, which they know to be their irreconcilable enemy. Indeed, my Lords and Gentlemen, there is a very great party of those men in every faction of religion, who truly have no religion but as the pretence serves to advance that faction. You cannot be too solicitous, too inquisitive after these men, who are restless in their councils, and wonderfully punctual and industrious in their correspondences, which they maintain abroad as well as at home; and you cannot doubt they have encouragement enough from abroad. Few of our neighbours love us so exceeding well, but that they would be glad to see us entangled in domestic broils. These men are worthy of your care and diligence, in your speedy settling the militia, which the King hath even now so particularly recommended unto you.

I shall conclude with only putting you in mind, that there was scarce ever a more dangerous sedition in the republic of Rome, than in a time of full peace; when the citizens were sullen, when there was no noise but in whispers, when men neglected their trades, and staid idle in their own houses, as if they cared not which way the world went; from whence alone their neighbours the Etrurians were encouraged to make a war upon them. *Novum seditionis genus* (says Livy) *silentium otiumque inter cives*. Never any nation under heaven has less cause of sullenness than we, never more of joy and thanksgiving. We all know that God Almighty loves a cheerful giver, and we may as well know that he loves a cheerful receiver. Besides all other stupendous blessings conferred upon us, he hath given us the most cheerful giver that ever people hath been blest withal; a King that hath with all imaginable cheerfulness given us all we have asked of him, all he hath to give; who would not take or retain any thing we give to him, but for our own sakes; that, by receiving and

it, he may give it to us again in more abundance, in abundance of peace and plenty, and honour, and all the comforts which can make a nation happy.

This time hath made a glorious addition to our happiness, which ought proportionably to increase our cheerfulness. We wanted only one blessing, the arrival of our Queen, whom God hath now safely brought to us; a Queen of such rare perfection in body and mind, of such endowments of wisdom, virtue, and piety, that we may reasonably promise ourselves from her all the happiness we are capable of, and a succession of princes to govern us till the end of the world: and there cannot be a more transcendent instance of the King's love and passion for his people, than that he hath staid these four days to take his leave of you; and, that he might give you this day's work, all these good laws, hath dejected himself so long the enjoying the greatest comfort he is assured of in this world.

If there be not the most universal joy in the reception of these blessings, if there be not an universal contentedness and satisfaction in the hearts of all men, and if that contentedness and satisfaction do not break out, and is not visible, in the looks, and thoughts, and words, and actions of the whole nation, to the inflaming the hearts of the other nations under his Majesty's obedience by our example; we are guilty of an ingratitude that is worthy to deprive us of all we enjoy, and disappoint us of all we pray for. And therefore I do most humbly beseech you, my Lords and Gentlemen, that as there is a most noble cheerfulness and alacrity visible in you, and hath shed itself over all your countenances, so that you will think it worthy of your pains, to infuse the same good spirit into city and county, that they may all express that joy and delight in the blessing they are possessed of, and cheerfully endeavour to improve those blessings by their cheerful enjoying them, that God may continue those blessings to us, and the King's comfort he sees we have in him, and in what he hath done for us; and as all princes may take a pattern from him to govern, and make their subjects happy, so that all subjects may learn from us how to obey, by an eminent and innocent alacrity in their acknowledgment.

I am, by the King's express command, to add one particular, which his Majesty meant, but forgot to say himself; you cannot but observe, that his Majesty hath not passed the bill that concerns the Earl of Derby; which you cannot imagine proceeds from his Majesty's want of care of and kindness to that noble family, which hath served him so faithfully, and suffered so much for so doing: but all parties having referred the matter to his Majesty, he doubts not but to make a better

end for that noble earl, than he would attain if the bill had passed.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Feb. 27, 1662.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons, in Parliament assembled, having, with all fidelity and obedience, considered of the several matters comprised in your Majesty's late gracious declaration of the twenty-sixth of December last; and your most gracious speech at the beginning of this present session; do, in the first place, for ourselves, and in the names of all the Commons of England, render to your Sacred Majesty the tribute of our most hearty thanks; for that infinite grace and goodness, wherewith your Majesty hath been pleased to publish your royal intentions of adhering to your act of indemnity and oblivion, by a constant and religious observance of it: and our hearts are farther enlarged in these returns of thanksgivings, when we consider your Majesty's most princely and heroic professions, of relying upon the affections of your people, and abhorring all sort of military and arbitrary rule. But, above all, we can never enough remember to the honour of your Majesty's piety, and our own unspeakable comfort, those solemn and most endearing invitations of us your Majesty's subjects, to prepare laws, to be presented to your Majesty, against the growth and increase of popery; and, withal, to provide more laws against licentiousness and impiety; at the same time declaring your own resolutions for maintaining the act of uniformity. And it becomes us always to acknowledge and admire your Majesty's wisdom in this your declaration; whereby your Majesty is pleased to resolve, not only by sumptuary laws, but by your own royal example of frugality, to restrain that excess in men's expenses, which is grown so general and so exorbitant; and to direct our endeavours to find out fit and proper laws for advancement of trade and commerce.

After all this, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to believe, that it is with extreme unwillingness and reluctance of heart, that we are brought to differ from any thing which your Majesty hath thought fit to propose: and, though we do no way doubt, but that the unreasonable distempers of men's spirits, and the many mutinies and conspiracies which were carried on during the late intervals of Parliament, did reasonably incline your Majesty to endeavour, by your declaration, to give some allay to those ill humours, till the Parlia-

ment assembled ; and the hopes of an indulgence if the Parliament should consent to it, especially seeing the pretenders to this indulgence did seem to make some title to it, by virtue of your Majesty's declaration from Breda ; nevertheless, we your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, who are now returned to serve in Parliament from those several parts and places of your kingdom, for which we were chosen, do humbly offer it to your Majesty's great wisdom, that it is in no sort adviseable, that there be any indulgence to such persons who presume to dissent from the act of uniformity, and religion established ; for these reasons :

We have considered the nature of your Majesty's declaration from Breda ; and are humbly of opinion, that your Majesty ought not to be pressed with it any further ; because, it is not a promise in itself, but only a gracious declaration of your Majesty's intention, to do what in you lay, and what a Parliament should advise your Majesty to do ; and no such advice was ever given, or thought fit to be offered : nor could it be otherwise understood ; because there were laws of uniformity then in being, which could not be dispensed with, but by act of Parliament.

They, who do pretend a right to that supposed promise, put their right into the hands of their representatives, whom they chose to serve for them in this Parliament ; who have passed, and your Majesty consented to, the act of uniformity.

If any shall presume to say, that a right to the benefit of this declaration doth still remain, after this act passed ; it tends to dissolve the very bonds of government ; and to suppose a disability in your Majesty, and your Houses of Parliament, to make a law contrary to any part of your Majesty's declaration, though both Houses should advise your Majesty to it.

We have also considered the nature of the indulgence proposed with reference to those consequences which must necessarily attend it.

It will establish schism by a law ; and make the whole government of the church precarious, and the censures of it of no moment or consideration at all.

It will no way become the gravity or wisdom of a Parliament, to pass a law at one session for uniformity, and, at the next session (the reasons for uniformity continuing still the same,) to pass another law, to frustrate or weaken the execution of it.

It will expose your Majesty to the restless importunity of every sect or opinion ; and of every single person also that shall presume to dissent from the church of England.

It will be a cause of increasing sects and sectaries, whose numbers will weaken the true Protestant profession so far, that it will, at least, become difficult for it to defend itself against them, and, which is yet further considerable, those numbers which, by being troublesome, that so, at length, they may arrive to a general toleration, which your Majesty hath declared against; and, in time, some prevalent sect will, at last, contend for an establishment, which, for aught can be foreseen, may end in popery.

It is a thing altogether without precedent, and will take away all means of convicting recusants, and be inconsistent with the method and proceedings of the laws of England.

Lastly, it is humbly conceived, that the indulgence proposed will be so far from tending to the peace of the kingdom, that it is likely rather to occasion great disturbance: and, on the contrary, the asserting of the laws and the religion established, according to the act of uniformity, is the most probable means to produce a settled peace and obedience through the kingdom; because the variety of professions in religion, when openly indulged, doth directly distinguish men into parties, and, withal, gives them opportunity to count their numbers; which, considering the animosities that, out of a religious pride, will be kept on foot by the several factions, doth tend, directly and inevitably, to open disturbance: nor can your Majesty have any security, that the doctrine or worship of the several factions, which are all governed by a several rule, shall consist with the peace of your kingdom.

And, if any person shall presume to disturb the peace of the kingdom, we do, in all humility declare, that we will for ever, and upon all occasions, be ready, with our uttermost endeavours and assistance, to adhere to and serve your Majesty, according to our bounden duty and allegiance.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, March 16, 1663.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty is unwilling to enlarge upon the address lately made to him by his House of Commons, or to reply to the reasons, though he finds what he had said much misunderstood: but renews his hearty thanks to them, for their expressions of so great duty and affection; and for their free declaration, "That, if any person shall presume to disturb the peace of the kingdom, they will for ever, and in all occasions, be ready, with their utmost endeavours and assistance, to adhere to, and serve his Majesty:" and doth very heartily desire them

so to enable him, and to put the kingdom into such a posture, as, if any disturbance or seditious designs arise, they may be easily suppressed.

His Majesty's Message to both Houses, April 2, 1663.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having seriously considered and weighed the humble representation and petition of his Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and the great affection and duty with which the same was presented unto him; and after having made some reflections upon himself, and his own actions, is not a little troubled, that his lenity and condescensions towards many of the Popish persuasion, which were but natural effects of his generosity and good-nature, and after having lived so many years in the dominions of Roman Catholic princes, and out of a just memory of what many of them had done and suffered in the service of his royal father, of blessed memory, and of some eminent services performed by others of them towards his Majesty himself, in the time of his greatest affliction, have been made so ill use of, and so ill deserved, that the resort of jesuits and priests into this kingdom hath been thereby increased; with which his Majesty is, and hath long been, highly offended: and, therefore, his Majesty readily concurs with the advice of his two Houses of Parliament; and hath given order for the preparing and issuing out such a proclamation as is desired; with the same clause, referring to the treaty of marriage, as was in the proclamation, which, upon the like occasion, issued out, upon the advice of both Houses of Parliament, in the year 1640; and his Majesty will take further care, that the same shall be effectual, at least to a greater degree than any proclamation of this kind hath ever been; and his Majesty farther declares, and assures both his Houses of Parliament, and all his loving subjects of all his dominions, that, as his affection and zeal for the Protestant religion, and the church of England, hath not been concealed, or untaken notice of in the world; so he is not, nor ever will be, so solicitous for the settling his own revenue, or providing any other expedients for the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, as for the advancement and improvement of the religion established; and for the using and applying all proper and effectual remedies, to hinder the growth of popery: both which he doth, in truth, look upon as the best expedient to establish the peace and prosperity of all his kingdoms.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the first day of April, 1663, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

Message

Message from the House of Commons to the King, May 12, 1663.

THAT the King's Majesty be humbly moved, from the House, to take care for the encouraging of the vent of woollen and other manufactures of England into Scotland and Ireland; and that no impositions be laid, or continued, in those kingdoms, that may discourage the vent of them.

That the King's Majesty be humbly moved, from the House, to give leave, that there be a constant free exportation of geldings; and that he would be pleased to recall his proclamation that restrains their exportation.

That his Majesty be humbly desired, by the House, that no consulship be continued, or hereafter granted, in any place, but at the desire of the respective merchants trading to that place; and at such allowances and charges only as the merchants shall consent to give them.

*His Majesty's gracious Message to the House of Commons,
May 16, 1663.*

CHARLES REX.

1. **H**IS Majesty hearing the message from his House of Commons, of the twelfth of May, touching the post office, commands it be answered, that there is no new grant or contract made concerning that office; what Mr. Oneale hath had, is but the remainder of that time which is yet to come upon Mr. Bishop's patent: in the execution of which, his Majesty, not being satisfied for the extraordinary number of non-conformists and disaffected persons in that office, was inclined to admit of this change: but the term being expired, his Majesty will have a care to see it raised to that price it may fairly be; remembering always, that, it being an office of much trust, as well as a farm, it will not be fit to give it to him that bids most; because a dishonest or disaffected person is likeliest to exceed that way.

2. His Majesty issued forth his late proclamation, forbidding the transportation of geldings, reflecting (among other reasons) upon the great scarcity of them, occasioned by the death of very many more these last years than usually: when his Majesty seeth the numbers restored, he shall willingly comply with the desires of his House of Commons, in allowing a free transportation of them.

3. His Majesty, knowing of how public a benefit it is, will be always ready to encourage manufactures, especially the

voollen ones: and that the impositions . . . be fairly laid, purpofeth to appoint comiffioners of the refpective nations, who may reprefent to him the reciprocal conveniencies of them: upon which his Majefty will make his determinations accordingly.

4. His Majefty finds, that the nomination of confuls, in the factories abroad, hath always been in the crown, and kept here; becaufe, in moft parts, they are agents to maintain the privilege of the nation, and the articles of peace made for the advantage of it: that, if his Majefty fhould grant what is defired to the merchants here, it would manifeftly difoblige the eft of the kingdom, equally engaged in the trade: however, his Majefty fo far complieth with the defires of his Houfe of Commons, as to promife care fhall be taken to nominate one, but in fuch places where they are precifely neceffary; and with fuch allowances as the merchants fhall think fit, in their refpective factories; and alfo that the faid confuls be not fitly qualified, and acceptable to them.

His Majefty's Speech to the Houfe of Commons, June 5, 1663.

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houfe of Commons,

I HAVE fent for you this day, to communicate with you, as good friends ought to do, when they difcover the leaft jealoufy growing, which may leffen their confidence in each other: it is a freedom very neceffary to be ufed between me and you; and you may all remember, that when there was a little jealoufy amongst you, upon fomewhat I had aid or done, I made all the hafte I could to give you fatisfaction: for which you all returned me your hearty thanks; and were, I think, really fatisfied.

Gentlemen;

It is in no man's power, no not in your own power, to make me fufpect, or in the leaft degree imagine it poffible, that your affection or kindnefs is leffened or diminished towards me. I know very well, that the people did never, in any age, ufe that vigilance and circumfpection in their election of perfons of known and tried affection to the crown, of your good principles and unquestionable inclinations to the peace of church and ftate, for their representatives in Parliament, as they did when they chofe you. You are the very fame men who, at your firft coming together, gave fuch fignal teftimonies of your affection and friendship to my perfon, of your
zeal

zeal for the honour and dignity of the crown, and liberal support of the government, and of your horror and detestation of those men whose principles, you discerned, keep them awake, to take all occasions to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and to embroil us all in a new civil war: which is as much their endeavour now as ever; and it may be not enough abhorred by others whose principles and ends are very different from them. You are the same men who, at your first meeting, by a wonderful and cheerful harmony and concurrence in whatsoever I could wish, gave me reputation abroad, and security at home; made our neighbours solicitous for our friendship, and set a just value upon it! and, trust me, such a reputation is of vast importance, and made my evil subjects even despair of bringing their wicked purposes to pass. And is it possible, that the same persons can continue together, without the same affection for me, or prudence for the public peace and prosperity? I am sure it is impossible: and yet I must tell you, the reputation I had from your concurrence and tenderness towards me, is not at all improved since the beginning of this session: indeed it is much lessened: and I am sure I never stood more in need of that reputation than at present, to carry me through many difficulties, in which the public is, at least, as much concerned as myself: let me and you think never so well of ourselves, if all the world knows, or believes, that we are poor, that we are in extremity of want, if our friends think we can do them no good, and our enemies believe we can do them no harm, our condition is far from being prosperous. You cannot take it amiss (you shall use as much freedom with me, when you please) that I tell you there hath not appeared that warmth in you of late, in the consideration of my revenue, as I expected, as well from some of your messages, as from my own confidence in your care and kindness. It hath been said to myself, that it is usual for Parliaments to give the crown extraordinary supplies upon emergent occasions, but not to improve the constant revenue of the crown. I wish, and so do you, that nothing had been lately done in and by Parliaments but what was usual. But if ill Parliaments contrive the ruin and disinherison of the crown, God forbid but good Parliaments should repair it, how unusual soever it is. If you yourselves had not, in an extraordinary manner, improved my revenue, the government could not have been supported: and if it be not yet improved in the proportion you have designed, I cannot doubt but you will proceed in it with your old alacrity. I am very well contented, that you proceed in your inspection: I know it will be to my advantage; and that you will neither

find my receipts so great, nor my expenses so exorbitant, as you imagine. And, for an evidence of the last, I will give you presently an account of the issues of the twelve hundred thousand pounds you so liberally gave me; not one penny whereof was disposed, but upon full deliberation with myself, and by my own order; and I think you will all say, for the public service. But, Gentlemen, this inquisition cannot be finished in the short time we can now conveniently stay together: and yet, if you do not provide, before we part, for the better paying and collecting what you have already given me, you can hardly presume what it will amount to: and if you do not support even what you have already given me, by some addition, you will quickly see lawful ways found out to lessen the revenue, more than you imagine: and therefore I cannot but expect, that your wisdom will seasonably and speedily provide a remedy for that growing mischief. Believe me, Gentlemen, the most disaffected subjects in England are not more unwilling to pay any tax or imposition you lay upon them, than I am to receive it: God knows, I do not long more for any blessing in this world, than that I may live to call a Parliament, and not ask or receive any money from them: I will do all I can to see that happy day. I know the vast burdens the kingdom hath borne these last twenty years, and more; that it is exceedingly impoverished: but, alas! what will that which is left do them good, if the government cannot be supported; if I am not able to defray the charge that is necessary for their peace and security. I must deal plainly with you; and I do but discharge my conscience in that plainness: if you do not, besides the improving my revenue, in the manner I have recommended to you, give me some present supply of money, to enable me to struggle with those difficulties I am pressed with, I shall have a very melancholy summer, and shall much apprehend the public quiet. You have heard, I presume, of the late design in Ireland, for the surprise of the castle of Dublin; which was spread over all that kingdom; and many Parliament men there engaged in it: there is an absolute necessity, that I forthwith send over a good sum of money thither, for the payment of that army, and putting the garrisons there in good order. You will not doubt but that those seditious persons had a correspondence with their friends here; and, I pray, let us not be too careless of them. I assure you, I have so great occasion of money here, which my revenue cannot supply me with, that I every day omit the doing somewhat that is very necessary for the public benefit. These, sure, are just motives to persuade you to give a supply, as have ever moved a House of Commons; and therefore I conjure

ture you to go cheerfully about it, and let me not be disappointed in my confidence of your affections. And, I pray, remember the season of the year, and how necessary it is, that we make a recess in or about Midsummer. I have enlarged much more to you upon this occasion than I have used to do, and you may perceive it hath not been very easy to me: but I was willing you should understand, from myself, what I desire and expect from you; and the rather, because I hear some men have confidently undertaken to know my mind, who have had no authority from me; and to drive on designs very contrary to my desires. I do pray you heartily, that the effect of this day's conversation may be the renewing our confidence in each other, and raising our joint reputation; which will be our strongest security, with God's blessing, the kingdom can have for its peace, plenty, and full prosperity; and, upon my word, you will all have great comfort in what you shall do for me, upon this my very earnest and hearty recommendation.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, delivered in the House of Peers, July, 27, 1663.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, have, since their last meeting, in many weighty and arduous affairs, presented your Majesty with their humble advice: which, with all thankfulness they acknowledge, never wanted a most gracious reception. Never any prince did so freely commune with his people; and never any people did with more joy and duty commemorate their happiness.

The last session of Parliament, our care was chiefly to secure the being of this nation under our ancient, happy monarchical government. This session, we have endeavoured to advance the peace and well-being both of church and state.

Material structures are best secured by deep foundations in the earth; but the foundations of true happiness are from above. We have therefore, in the first place, perused the laws which do enjoin the observation of the Lord's day; and where we have found any defect, either in rules or penalties, we have with great care supplied them; well knowing, that he who doth not remember on the first day of the week to observe a Christian sabbath, will hazard before the week comes round to forget he is a Christian.

We read in the story of Lewis the Ninth of France, when he took his voyage into the eastern empire to assist the distressed
Christ.

Christians, the fame of his holiness moved the King of Tartary to send his ambassadors to offer him friendship, and to acquaint him he had a desire to become a Christian; whereupon Lewis sent him preachers, to instruct him in the Christian religion. But the Tartarian observing the lives of the Christians were not answerable to their profession, they returned with the shame of their own ill lives upon them, whose doctrines were so famous.

That which in those days was the reproach of those Christians, is much more at this day the shame of this nation; we know more, but practise less, than they did: we generally love a sceptical rather than a practical religion; and are contented to spend that time in study of curious deceitful notions, which ought to be employed in the practice of known truths. Too many amongst us are of the sect of the Gnostics, hunting after novelties and phantasms, till variety of notions makes them mad. Hence do arise all those sects and schisms in the church, which, being nursed up in pride, refuse to conform to any laws, and make religion itself the cloak of all their separations; whereas true religion is the band of society, the sinews that hold fast the joints of the body politic. If these be broken, the body must be dismembered: if they be but strained, the whole body is in pain, and the member made useless.

At the opening of this session, your Majesty was most graciously pleased to call upon us to prepare some laws for the prevention of the growth of popery; and we have heartily laboured therein, both to prevent the growth of popery and all sorts of sectaries and nonconformists. But, as the rankest corn and the fullest ears are aptest to be laid, so fares in this matter: these fruits are not yet ready for the harvest. But we are confident, by the wisdom of your Majesty's government, and the readiness of your faithful subjects to support it by the just and due execution of the laws (especially if such persons be entrusted with the execution of the laws as do love them,) these persons will either be persuaded to conformity, or forced into a peaceable and orderly conversation.

To this purpose, I am commanded by the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, humbly in their name to beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to issue out your proclamation, for the putting those laws which now are in force, against the popish recusants, sectaries, and nonconformists, in effectual execution.

I am likewise commanded to desire your Majesty, that you will be pleased to issue out another proclamation, for the prevention of that prophaneness, debauchery, and licentiousness,
which

which to the high displeasure of Almighty God, the dishonour of your Majesty's government, and the grief of all good men, is now practised amongst us: and, for the better securing the peace of the nation against the united counsels of all the dissenters to our religion and established discipline, we have prepared an additional bill for the ordering the forces of the kingdom, whereby your Majesty's lieutenants and their deputy lieutenants will be enabled to train, discipline, and keep together, such a party as will be able to prevent disorders, and sufficient to check any insurrections, till the great body of the militia can come in to their assistance.

During the late unhappy wars in this nation, our neighbours eyes were open, to spy out all advantages of spoiling our trade, and to advance their own; but, by the several good bills made ready for your Majesty's royal assent, we hope we shall restore and increase the flourishing trade of this nation.

Great Sir,

I have but one word more; and that is by command from your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects the Commons of England. They have duly considered the present unsettled condition of this nation, and the great expense which must attend such distractions; and do humbly beseech your Majesty to accept an aid from them, consisting of four entire subsidies; two of which are to be paid by the first of November next, and the other two by the first of May next following.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, July 27, 1663.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you for the present you have made me this day; and I hope your countries will thank you when you come home for having done it. I am not conscious of having brought the straits and necessities I am in upon myself, by an improvidence or ill husbandry of my own: I know the contrary; and, I assure you, I would not have desired or received the supply you have now given me, if it were not absolutely necessary for your peace and quiet as well as mine. And, I must tell you, it will do me very little good, if I do not improve it by very good husbandry of my own, and by retrenching those very expenses which in many respects may be thought necessary enough. But you shall see, I will much rather impose upon myself than upon my subjects; and if all men will follow my example in retrenching their expenses, which (it may be) they may do with much more convenience than I can do mine, the

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kingdom will in a very short time gain what you have given me this day.

I am very glad you are now going into your several countries, where your presence will do much good; and I hope your vigilance and authority will prevent those disturbances which the restless spirits of ill and unquiet men will be always contriving, and of which, I do assure you, they promise themselves some effects this summer.

There have been more pains and unusual ways taken to kindle the old fatal fears and jealousies than I thought I should ever have lived to have seen, at least to have seen so countenanced.

I do desire you, and conjure you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to watch this evil spirit and temper, with your utmost care and prudence, and secure the persons of those whom you find are possessed with it, that the peace of the kingdom be not sacrificed to their pride, humour, and madness.

I did expect to have had some bills presented to me against the several distempers in religion, against seditious conventicles, against the growth of popery; but, it may be, you have been in some fear of reconciling those contradictions in religion, in some conspiracy against the public peace, to which, I doubt, men of the most contrary motives in conscience are inclinable enough. I do promise you to lay this business, and mischiefs which may flow from the licences, to heart. And if I live to meet with you again, as I hope I shall, I will myself take care to present two bills to you to that end. And, as I have already given it in charge to the judges, in their several circuits, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent and punish the scandalous and seditious meetings of sectaries, and to convict the papists; so I will be as watchful, and take all the pains I can, neither the one or the other shall disturb the peace of the kingdom.

I shall not need to desire you to use all diligence in levying and collecting the subsidies you have given me; and heartily wish the distribution may be made with all equality and justice, and without any animosity or faction, or remembering any thing that hath been done in the late ill times, which, you know, we are all obliged to forget, as well as to forgive. And indeed, till we have done so, we can never be in perfect peace; and therefore I can never put you too much in mind of it.

I think it necessary to make this a session, that so the current of justice may run the two next terms without any obstruction by privilege of Parliament; and therefore I shall prorogue you till the sixteenth day of March, when I doubt not, by God's blessing, we shall meet again to our joint satisfaction,
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and that you shall have cause to thank me for what I do in the interval.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 21, 1664.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU see, God be thanked, you have met together again at the time appointed: and I do assure you, I have been so far from ever intending it should be otherwise, that I do not know one person who ever wished it should be otherwise. Think, therefore, I pray, what good meaning those men could have, who, from the time of the prorogation to the day of your meeting, have continually whispered, and industriously infused into the minds of the people, that the Parliament should meet no more; that it should be presently dissolved, or so continued by prorogation, that they should be kept without a Parliament. I pray, watch these whisperers all you can, as men who use their utmost endeavours to sow jealousies between you and me. And I do promise you, they shall not prevail with me; and I do promise myself, they shall not prevail with you. And the truth is, we are both concerned they should not: and we shall then, with God's blessing, prevent all the mischief they intend.

You may judge by the late treason in the north, for which so many men have been executed, how active the spirits of many of our old enemies still are, notwithstanding all that mercy. I do assure you, we are not yet at the bottom of that business. This much appears manifestly, that this conspiracy was but a branch of that which I discovered as well as I could to you about two years since, and had been then executed nearer hand, if I had not, by God's goodness, come to the knowledge of some of the principal contrivers, and so secured them from doing the mischief they intended. And if I had not, by the like Providence, had timely notice of the very hour and several places of their rendezvous in the north, and provided for them accordingly, by sending some of my troops, as well as by drawing the trained bands together, their conjunction would have been in greater numbers than had been convenient.

You will wonder (but I tell true,) they are now even in those parts; and at this time, when they see their friends under trial and execution, still pursuing the same consultations. And it is evident they have correspondence with desperate persons in most counties, and a standing council in this town, from which they receive their directions, and by whom they were advised to defer their last intended insurrection; but those orders served only to distract them, and came too late to prevent their

their destruction. I know more of their intrigues than they think I do, and hope I shall shortly discover the bottom; in the mean time, I pray, let us all be as watchful to prevent, as they are to contrive, their mischief.

I cannot omit, upon this occasion, to tell you, that these desperate men in their counsels (as appears by several examinations) have not been all of one mind in the ways of carrying on their wicked resolutions. Some would still insist upon the authority of the Long Parliament, of which, they say, they have members enough willing to meet; others have fancied to themselves, by some computation of their own upon some clause in the Triennial Bill, that this present Parliament was at an end some months since; and that, for want of new writs, they may assemble themselves and choose members of Parliament; and that this is the best expedient to bring themselves together for their other purposes.

For the Long Parliament, you and I can do no more than we have done, to inform and compose the minds of all men. Let them proceed upon their peril. But methinks there is nothing done to disabuse them in respect of the Triennial Bill. I confess to you, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have often myself read over that bill; and though there is no colour for the fancy of the determination of this Parliament, yet I will not deny to you, that I have always expected that you would, and even wondered that you have not considered the wonderful clauses in that bill, which passed in a time very uncaredful for the dignity of the crown, or the security of the people.

I pray, Mr. Speaker, and you gentlemen of the House of Commons, give that Triennial Bill once a reading in your House; and then, in God's name, do what you think fit for me, and yourselves, and the whole kingdom. I need not tell you how much I love Parliaments. Never King was so much beholden to Parliaments as I have been: nor do I think the crown can ever be happy without frequent Parliaments. But, assure yourselves, if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must renew my thanks to you, for the free supply you gave me this last session, of four subsidies: yet I cannot but tell you, that that supply is fallen much short of what I expected, or you intended. It will hardly be believed, yet you know it to be true, that very many persons, who have estates of three and four thousand pounds a year, do not pay for these four subsidies sixteen pounds; so that, whereas you intended

and declared that they should be collected according to former precedents, they do not now arise to half the proportion they did in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and yet sure the crown wants more now than it did then, and the subject is at least as well able to give.

The truth is, by the licence of the late ill time, and ill-humour of this, too many of the people, and even of those who make fair professions, believe it to be no sin to defraud the crown of any thing that is due to it. You no sooner give me tonnage and poundage, than men are devising all the ways they can to steal custom; nor can the farmers be so vigilant for the collection, as others are to steal the duties.

You give me the excise, which all people abroad believe to be the most insensible imposition that can be laid upon a people. What conspiracies and combinations are entered into against it by the brewers, who, I am sure, bear not that burthen themselves, even to bring that revenue to nothing, you will hear in Westminster-hall.

You have given me the chimney-money, which you have reason to believe is a growing revenue, for men build at least fast enough; and you will therefore wonder that it is already declined, and that this half year brings in less than the former did. I pray, therefore, review that bill; and since I am sure you would have me receive whatsoever you give, let me have the collecting and husbanding of it by my own officers; and then I doubt not but to improve that receipt, and will be contented of as little as I can.

I will conclude with desiring and conjuring you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to keep a very good correspondence together, that it may not be in the power of any seditious or factious spirits to make you jealous of me, till you see me pretend one thing and do another, which I am sure you never have yet done. Trust me, it shall be in nobody's power to make me jealous of you.

I pray, contrive any good short bills which may improve the industry of the nation. And, since the season of the year will invite us all shortly to take the country air; I desire you will be ready for a session within two months, or thereabouts; and we will meet next earlier in the year. And so God bless your Councils.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, May 17, 1664.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

AT the opening this session, your Majesty was pleased to recommend several things to the care of your two Houses of Parliament; the which we have deliberately considered, and unanimously presented our humble advice thereupon.

The first thing we took into consideration was, the act made in the sixteenth year of the late King of glorious memory, for Triennial Parliaments: when we had given it a reading, we found it derogatory to the essential prerogative of the crown, of calling, holding, and dissolving, Parliaments, we found it unpracticable, and only useful to learn the people how to rebel: therefore we melted it down, extracted the pure metal from counterfeit and drossy alloys, and then presented it to your Majesty, to be new stamped, and make current coin, for the use of the nation. We do return our most humble thanks to your Majesty, that you were pleased to accept our advice, and to pass our bill; but more especially for those gracious expressions your Majesty was pleased to use at that solemnity, whereby we are assured, not only of your personal affection to Parliaments, but of your judgment also, that the happiness of the crown consists in the frequency of Parliaments.

In the next place, we reviewed the act for chimney-money, which we intended a great branch of your Majesty's revenue, although by some mistakes it is fallen short: and, in hopes your Majesty may improve that receipt, we have prepared a bill for the collecting that duty by such officers as your Majesty and your successors shall from time to time think fit to appoint.

Whilst we were intent upon these weighty affairs, we were often interrupted by petitions, and letters, and motions, representing the unsettled condition of some countries, by reason of fanatics, sectaries, and nonconformists. They differ in their shapes and species, and accordingly are more or less dangerous: but in this they all agree; they are no friends to the established government either in church or state; and if the old rule hold true, *Qui ecclesie contradicit non est pacifus*, we have great reason to prevent their growth, and to punish their practice. To this purpose we have prepared a bill against their frequenting of conventicles, the seed-plots and nurseries of their opinions, under pretence of religious worship. The first offence we have made punishable only with a small fine of five pounds, or three months imprisonment, and ten pounds for a peer. The second offence with ten pounds, or six months

months imprisonment, and twenty pounds for a peer. But for the third offence, after a trial by a jury at the general quarter sessions or assizes, and the trial of a peer by his peers, the party convicted shall be transported to some of your Majesty's foreign plantations, unless he redeem himself by laying down one hundred pounds: *Immedicabile vulnus ense rescindendum, ne pars sincera trahatur.*

We have had much thought how to improve the industry of the nation, and prevent that idleness and licentiousness which too fast grows upon us, especially by excessive and disorderly gaming. Men are not contented to sport away their precious time, and play away their ready money; but to lose or pawn their houses and lands, their manors, and their honours also. For the prevention of the growth of this disease, we have prepared a bill, to make all securities for money won at play, whether real or personal, to be void.

We have examined also the reasons of the decay of trade. In the first place, we found our merchants are undermined by fraud and practice, and sometimes beaten out, in the East and West Indies, in Turkey, and in Africa, by our neighbours the Dutch, who, besides the unsufferable indignities offered to your royal Majesty, have in a few years spoiled your subjects to the value of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds; for remedy whereof, we have made our humble address to your Majesty, and received a gracious answer; and have no cause to fear but a short time will produce a just and honourable satisfaction.

The next obstruction to our trade hath been, a base and dangerous practice of some seamen, who are willing to be robbed by pirates, that they may share in the prize. We have therefore prepared a bill for the punishment of such treacherous actions, and for the just reward of those honest seamen that shall preserve their owners goods, and manfully maintain the honour of our English nation.

Some other discoveries we have made, which may be the subject matter of future bills; but, in respect of your Majesty's intimation of a short session, we were not willing to attempt more than we could reasonably dispatch.

And now, great Sir, give me leave with joy to remember that unparalleled unanimity that hath this session attended our counsels. Our constancy and resolution hath been tried beyond the precedent of former Parliaments, or any other session of this Parliament.

The heathens were wont to observe, and envy the Christians, for their unity and love of one another: *Ecce, ut inviscem*

cem se diligunt Christiani! And may this happy correspondence between your royal Majesty and your two Houses of Parliament increase, and grow to be the envy of the world, till all your Majesty's enemies are forced to cry, *Ecce, ut invicem se diligunt Anglicani.*

His Majesty's most Gracious Speech, May 17, 1664.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I DID desire and conjure you, at the opening of this session, that you would keep a very good correspondence together, that it might not be in the power of any seditious or factious spirits to make you jealous of each other, or either of you jealous of me; and I desire you to be ready for a session, within two months or thereabouts.

I must confess to you, you have complied very fully with me, for which I can never thank you enough: you have performed those good respects towards me, and kept so very good correspondence towards each other, that you have exceedingly disappointed those ill men, who both at home and abroad had raised great hopes and expectation of new troubles and confusions; you have gratified me in all I desired, and are now ready for a session within the time proposed. This harmony will (with God's blessing) make us all esteemed abroad, and secure at home; and these obligations cannot but make me think the time long till we meet again. The season of the year and your own affairs will invite you into the country; and your presence there is of great importance to my service, and to the public peace. You will watch those unquiet spirits, which are still lurking and ready to embrace all opportunities to involve the nation in new distractions, under what specious pretences soever; and you will carefully inform the people, how much it is in their own power to be as happy as they can wish to be: indeed, if they are truly sensible of their present happiness, it will quickly be improved. I will add no more, but that I thank you all and every one of you; and if God bless us till November, we will meet here again. I name November to you, because, if nothing extraordinary fall out, I resolve not to meet till then: but, because somewhat extraordinary may fall out, you shall be at present prorogued till August; and before that day you shall have seasonable notice, by proclamation, not to give your attendance, except on pre-ordained occasion; and then November will be the time. And accordingly I have commanded the Chancellor to prorogue

His

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, November 24, 1664.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN we parted last in this place, I told you that I did not think we should meet here again till November, though I prorogued you but to a day in August. But I must now tell you, that if I could have suspected, or reasonably have imagined, that our neighbours would have dealt so unneighbourly with me, and have forced me to make such preparations as they have done for my defence, at so vast an expence; I say, if I could have foreseen in August that they would have treated me thus, I should not have prevented your coming together then. Yet truly I have reason even to be glad that it hath been deferred thus long. You have had leisure to attend your own conveniencies in the country, and the public service there; and I have been able to let our neighbours see, that I can defend myself and my subjects, against their insolence, upon the stock of my own credit and reputation; and that, when I find it necessary for the good of my people, I can set out a fleet to sea, which will not decline meeting with all their naval power, even before the Parliament comes together; which, I am persuaded, if they had believed possible, they would not so importunately have pressed me to it. I will not deny to you, I have done more than I thought I could have done; which I impute to the credit your vote gave me, and to the opinion all men have, that I did what you wished I should do. By borrowing very liberally from myself out of my stores, and by the kind and cheertul assistance the city of London hath given me, I have a fleet now at sea worthy of the English nation, and (to say no more) not inferior to any that hath been set out in any age, and which (that I may use all freedom with you) to discharge to-morrow, and replenish all my stores, I am persuaded, would cost me little less than eight hundred thousand pounds.

What hath passed between me and the Dutch, and by what degrees, accidents, and provocations, I have been necessitated to the preparation and expence I have made, you shall be told when I have done. I shall only tell you, that if I had proceeded more slowly, I should have exposed my own honour and the honour of the nation, and should have seemed not confident of your affections, and the assurance you gave me, to stand by me in this occasion.

That which I am now very earnestly to desire, and indeed expect from you, is, that you will use all possible expedition in your resolutions; lest that, by unnecessary formalities, the

world should think that I have not your full concurrence in what is done, and that you are not forward enough in the support of it; which I am sure you will be; and that, in raising the supplies, you take such sure order, that when the expence is obvious and certain, the supplies be as real and substantial, not imaginary as the last subsidies were, which you all well enough understand.

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I know not whether it be worth my pains to endeavour to remove a vile jealousy, which some ill men scatter abroad, and which I am sure will never sink into the breast of any man that is worthy to sit upon your benches, that, when you have given me a noble and proportionable supply for the support of a war, I may be induced by some evil counsellors (for they will be thought to think very *respectfully of my own person) to make a sudden peace, and get all that money for my own private occasions. I am sure, you all think it an unworthy jealousy, and not to deserve an answer. I would not be thought to have so brutish an inclination, as to love war for war-sake. God knows, I desire no blessing in this world so much, as that I may live to see a firm peace between all Christian princes and states: but let me tell you, and you may be most confident of it, that when I am compelled to enter into war, for the protection, honour, and benefit of my subjects, I will (God willing) not make a peace but upon the obtaining and securing those ends for which the war is entered into; and when that can be done, no good man will be sorry for the determination of it.

To conclude: my Lords and Gentlemen, I conjure you all, in your several stations, to use all possible expedition, that our friends and our enemies may see that I am possessed of your hearts, and that we move with one soul; and I am sure you will not deceive my expectation.

After this, his Majesty delivered a narrative; which was read, as followeth:

A brief Narrative of the late Passages between his Majesty and the Dutch, and his Majesty's Preparations thereupon.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty doth not doubt but that his two Houses of Parliament do well remember the Address they made to his Majesty about the end of April last, upon the general repre-

* Origin. respectively.

sentations

sentations which had been made to them of the great injuries and oppressions the subjects of this nation sustained in the East and West Indies, and in other places, from the Dutch, and the universal obstruction they brought upon the trade of this kingdom; and the warm and vigorous vote they then presented his Majesty with, if he could not otherwise remove that mischief. The answer they received from his Majesty was so full of candour, as if he thought his good allies the States General would never put him to use extreme remedies, but would meet the complaints of his subjects with just and proportionable satisfaction; and that he did really believe, as well as wish, that they would do so, is manifest, by his having provided for that season a much less guard of ships than he had set out ever since his happy restoration, intending, by the saving that unnecessary expense (as he then thought) to have plentifully supplied his magazines and stores, which is a treasure he hath always laboured to have still in readiness by him.

His Majesty took this occasion to require his ministers at the Hague to press the States General very earnestly for expedition in doing that justice which for above a year he had in vain pressed them to do, and in which, he told them, the oppressions his subjects underwent could not bear longer delay. Instead of returning any answer to his Majesty, which for some months they deferred to do, they with great passion and noise sent orders to their several admiralties, to prepare and equip a great number of ships of war, the number whereof they increased every ten or twelve days; with unusual orders, that no time should be lost in making the preparations, but that they should work night and day, as well the Sundays as the other part of the week; and great numbers of landmen were likewise appointed to be raised for their expedition.

This strange kind of treatment, together with many rude pamphlets and insolent expressions, which can hardly be prevented in popular governments, prevailed with his Majesty (although he yet believed himself secure in the wisdom of the States General against any rash attempt in the violation of the peace) to take speedy course for the putting ten or twelve ships into a readiness (which yet he meant should be no further than rigging), if they should pursue their present distempers.

Inst August they received news, that Captain Holmes, who, with one of his Majesty's ships, had* convoyed some merchants of the royal company to the coast of Guiney, had by assault taken and possessed himself of a fort near Cape de Verte, belonging to their West Indian Company; whereupon the States General sent a wonderful brisk message to the King, at once complaining of the injury, and requiring, in very peremptory

* Origin. conveyed.

terms, that his Majesty would forthwith give order for the re-delivery of the said fort to them. The King assured the Ambassador, upon his princely word, " That he had given no commission or order to Captain Holmes for that purpose, nor did know upon what grounds he had proceeded to that act of hostility ; that he expected him shortly at home ; and that he would then proceed in a very strict examination of his proceedings, and would cause exemplary justice to be done, as well in the re-delivering the fort, as in punishing the person, if his carriage and demeanor deserved it." This answer had no better luck than the former message : new orders for more ships, for raising of money, for raising of men, publishing in their prints, that what was done by Captain Holmes was by his Majesty's warrant and authority ; and within a very short time after they had the confidence to demand of his Majesty, in express terms, that he would give it under his royal hand to them that he would cause the fort to be delivered within such a time.

His Majesty did not yet, after all these provocations, lay aside all hope of awaking the States General to a more temperate consideration of what had passed. He desired them, in an answer which he made to some of their propositions, and which he transmitted to them under his own hand by their ambassador, to reflect a little upon the method of their proceeding with him, and course he had observed towards them : not to mention those loud affronts, indignities, and injuries, he had put into oblivion in his late treaty with them, he put them in mind that, since that treaty, he had given them redress upon their complaints, in many particular cases, with that expedition, that he had not put them to the formalities even of courts of justice ; that instead of any return in this kind from them, his minister at the Hague had importuned these eighteen months for about twenty ships taken from his subjects upon the coast of Guiney, and very great affronts and damages sustained by others in the East Indies, without any other shadow of right, but being the stronger, and able to oppress. And yet, since the treaty required such formalities in the demand of reparations, how slow soever their justice was, he had thus long borne to be his own carver. He wished them to consider, whether their order of proceeding towards them had been pursuant to the treaty, or agreeable to the respect that was due to him : that, upon the first information of an act of violence committed by the captain of one of his ships upon their subjects, disowned and disavowed by his Majesty himself, and justice and reparation being promised, they have upon the point declared war against his Majesty, in resolving to recover by force

force of arms what they could not expect by the course of justice. He conjured the States General to remember the obligations of their own sovereignty, by which they entered into alliances with their neighbour princes: that, if they suffered their particular societies of merchants to involve them in a war with their neighbour nations for their particular interest and benefit, and to support their furious and extravagant assuming a dominion against the law of nations, (putting them in mind, of what he had often demanded justice for, of the declarations published by their commanders both in the East and West Indies, interdicting all trade and commerce to all other nations, to the natives of those countries, because they call them their subjects,) they would make themselves insupportable to their neighbours, and their friendship inconsistent with the liberty of all the world but themselves.

And, upon this occasion, his Majesty thinks fit that his two Houses of Parliament should know the very compendious way these States have found out to make themselves monarchs of the oldtrade of the whole East and West Indies. They have, it is very true, by their very commendable industry, and by other acts of horrible injustice and cruelty, planted themselves in stronger factories than any prince in Europe hath done, especially in the East Indies, where their naval power is very great. When they find the natives inclined to traffic with other nations, as they do generally desire to do, being in truth universally weary of the yoke the Dutch lay upon them, some Dutch ships are sent to lie before those ports, and then declare that they are in war with this or that prince, or that city, and thereupon inhibit all other nations to have any traffic or commerce with them; and, by this new reason of state, they inhibited and restrained the English ships, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, two years since, to go to Porcatt, and to take in a great cargason of goods provided there by the East Indian Company here, and forced his Majesty's ships to return empty home: and being exalted with this success in the East, they have published the same declaration in the West Indies, and not only hindered the English boats and other vessels from going on shore to traffic with the natives, but have very frankly sent to some of the factories, requiring them to remove from the places they are in, because they are resolved they shall not live so near them: and, after all this, to shew how good neighbours they would be at any distance, they hired the King of Fantine, at the price of a great sum of money, arms, and ammunition, to surprize his Majesty's fort at Cormanantine, which he endeavoured to do, by two strong assaults; but, being driven off with loss, he confessed, with sorrow and

shame for his own infidelity, being in terms of friendship with the English, that he had been corrupted by the Dutch to that undertaking: his Majesty's garrison having had the good fortune to surprize a good part of the arms, ammunition, and grenadoes, which the Dutch sent to the natives. When the King complained to them of this infamous and treacherous proceeding of their chief officers in those parts, of which he hath as full evidence as he can have that there are English and Dutch ships on that coast, or that he hath a fort called Cormanantine, they do assure him, "That his Majesty is misinformed, and desire him not to give any credit to it; for that they have received letters from their commanders there, which mention no such thing, and which inform them, that the King of Fantine had taken a particular exception to the English governor;" taking no notice that the King had likewise charged them, that their ships came at the same time, and lay before the fort, kept several of the English vessels and boats from landing, and took the boats, and kept the men prisoners, till they found the enterprize had miscarried.

To conclude: his Majesty used all the arguments he could to decline these hostile preparations, and to betake themselves to those ways for the preservation of the public peace as were prescribed by the treaty; assuring them, that as he expected reparation for the damages his subjects had sustained, and security for the future against the like excesses so he was as ready to give them all the satisfaction for any injuries done to them, which justice could require.

- The answer they gave his Majesty to his expostulation for their so sudden giving direction for the provision of so many ships of war, only upon his demanding justice for injuries done, and damages sustained, ought to be made known to you. They answered, "It was easy to judge how much they were troubled and surprized by the tricks and devices of those that forestalled the Parliament of England, and had obliged them by evil informations to carry such sharp complaints against them and their country to his Majesty; and therefore it was not strange that, in the unquietness and disturbance which the animosity of the Parliament did give them, they had prepared an extraordinary equipage, to be upon their guard."

When the King found that his moderate way of proceeding was so far from abating any of their preparations, that it did but render them the more confident and exalted, and the Ambassador himself had told his Majesty, "That they had given instructions to the Admiral of their fleet, that was then going for Guiney, to take their fort near Cape de Verte by force, and to take any English which had had a hand in doing them injury;"

jury ;" his Majesty gave speedy directions for the setting out those ships to sea, towards which he had before only made some light preparations ; and declared that he would send his cousin Prince Rupert, admiral of that fleet, to protect his subjects upon the coast of Guiney. This was no sooner known and published amongst them, than in truth their choler somewhat seemed abated, though their preparations were not diminished : and they then sent, " That they had a wonderful desire to preserve the peace between the two nations, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, which would probably happen, if, in a conjuncture of so much jealousy, two such fleets as were now prepared for Guiney should meet in those seas : " and thereupon proposed, that the fleets on either side might be detained within the harbours, and not suffered to put to sea ; and that some expedients might be found out by treaty for each other's satisfaction, they having, at the same time when they made this plausible overture, sent orders to their fleet in the Streights, under the command of De Ruyter, to make all possible haste to Guiney, to execute all those instructions which they had given to their fleet here, which they seemed to be contented, upon those motives of charity, should remain in their ports ; and it is now about two months since De Ruyter left the Streights upon that expedition, since which time they have done all within their power to make their other fleets ready to convoy each other through the Channel, and which, by the blessing of God, in the cross winds, they have been hitherto restrained from doing ; and now his Majesty is very willing they should attempt it.

It is a very unpleasant circumstance to his Majesty, in these proceedings, to find that it hath been in the power of the Dutch West Indian Company to involve their own and this country in a war, without the consent or privity of the States General, whose alone security his Majesty hath for the preservation of the peace between the two nations. And his Majesty is well assured, that the States General have given no order for this expedition of De Ruyter, though their subjects in general are like to be sufferers in the war thus made by them ; for it cannot be imagined but that his Majesty will take all the ways he can, that he may have wherewithal in his hands to satisfy his good subjects for the damages he expects to hear, after this denunciation of a war, they have sustained by De Ruyter on the coast of Guiney and other places ; and another damage and indignity which, there is too much cause to fear, we shall shortly hear of concerning Polaroon ; for though his Majesty cannot expressly say that the delivery of it up is denied to that ship which is gone to receive it, yet, by the

the carriage of the governor of Batavia to that ship and the officers thereof in its passage to Polaroon, and upon the discourse of that subject, there is too great a presumption that it is not yet delivered up, and in truth that the East India Company in Holland never intended that it should be.

The States General having likewise begun, without colour of right, by an embargo of ships bound for this kingdom, and driven into their ports by the foulness of the weather, as particularly a Swedish ship laden with masts and cordage bound for London upon the account of several English merchants here.

This being the true state of what hath passed in this affair; and his Majesty having been, by these furious proceedings, and, in truth, declaration of a war against him, forced to put himself into the posture he is now in, for the defence of his subjects, at so vast an expense, doth not in the least degree doubt but that his two Houses of Parliament will cheerfully enable him to prosecute the war with the same vigour he hath prepared for it, by giving him supplies proportionable to the charge thereof.

C. R.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, February 9, 1665.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE last session of this Parliament, the Lords and Commons did humbly represent unto your Majesty the many wrongs and indignities that were done to your Majesty, and the many injuries done to your merchants, by the subjects of the United Provinces; and did most humbly beseech your Majesty, that some effectual course might be taken for redress thereof.

Your Majesty, at the opening of this session, was graciously pleased to acquaint your two Houses, That, in pursuance of their desires, you had, by your agent, required satisfaction; but that way proved ineffectual, and many fresh provocations were offered, whereby your Majesty was necessitated to a warlike preparation; by the speedy dispatch whereof, you had let your neighbours see, that you could defend yourself and your subjects against their insolence, upon the stock of your own credit, before your Parliament came together.

And now, Sir, give me leave to say, your neighbours may see how a great King is made greater by his Parliament. Your loyal Commons, after they convened, did not suffer full four and twenty hours to pass, before they most cheerfully gave
your

your Majesty more than four and twenty hundred thousand pounds.

Historians tell us, that in Biscay, a signiory of Spain, when the King entereth into the frontiers of the country, the Lords and Gentlemen there dwelling proffer him some few brass pieces, called Maravedis, in a leathern bag hanged at the end of a lance; but withal they tell him, that he must not take them.

Great Sir,

Your Lords and Commons will not only yield obedience to you with their bodies, but with their purses also: in token whereof, I do, in the name of all the Commons of England, present unto your Majesty this bill, whereby we have given unto your Majesty a royal aid of four and twenty hundred seventy-seven thousand and five hundred pounds, to be paid in three years, by twelve quarterly payments, to begin from the five and twentieth of December last, And we do humbly beseech your Majesty to accept it, as a pregnant demonstration of our most unfeigned duty and thankfulness to your Majesty.

After this, his Majesty made a short speech, to the effect following :

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

YOU have given me a very noble present, worthy of yourselves, and worthy of the vote you passed on the 22d of April last; for which I thank you as much as is possible for me to do. I hope that your liberality herein will appear to be good husbandry. And I assure you that the monies shall be employed as you yourselves would wish.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I perceive by the bill, that you have put an engagement upon yourselves to be suddenly in the country; and therefore I desire you to hasten your councils, that so I may put an end to this session as soon as is possible.

I have no more to add, but again to give you my hearty thanks.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, March 2, 1665.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE knights, citizens, and burgesſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, having in the beginning of this ſeſſion applied themſelves to the aiding your Maſteſty in your naval preparations, have of late conſidered of ſome bills that may be moſt grateful to the people, either in redreſſing things that are grievous to them, or in advancing their trade and commerce, which are the ſoul and life of the nation.

Evil manners produce good laws; but the beſt laws in time may grow obſolete: and ſuch is the wicked nature of man, that when he cannot by force break through a law, he will by fraud and tricks endeavour to evade it.

I may with great truth affirm, the common law of England is the beſt municipal law in the world; and yet, if the legiſlative power were not ready to countermine the works, and make up the breaches that are daily made upon it, the ſons of Zeruiah would be too ſtrong for us.

We have now preſented your Maſteſty with ſeveral bills for the regulation of the law, which will ſerve to prune ſome exuberant branches, and to pull away the ivy that robbed this tree of her juſt nourishment: and if your Maſteſty now be pleaſed graciously to ſhine upon her, ſhe will yield her fruit in great abundance, to the content of your Maſteſty and all your people.

Cosmographers do agree, that this iſland is incomparably furniſhed with pleaſant rivers, like veins in the natural body, which convey the blood into all the parts, whereby the whole is nourished, and made uſeful; but the poet tells us, he acts beſt, *qui miſcuit utile dulci*: therefore we have prepared ſome bills for making ſmall rivers navigable: a thing that in other countries hath been more experienced, and hath been found very advantageous; it eaſeth the people of the great charge of land carriages; preſerves the highways, which are daily worn out with waggons carrying exceſſive burdens; it breeds up a nurſery of watermen, which, upon occaſion, will prove good ſeamen; and with much facility maintain intercourſe and communion between cities and countries.

We have been much affected with the cries and wants of the poor this hard ſeaſon, eſpecially thoſe about this town, who are ready to ſtarve for want of fuel, the price of coals being ſo unreaſonably enhanced by the extorting engroſſers. We have, therefore, for their preſent and future eaſe, prepared a bill, authorizing the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen
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in the City of London, and three justices of peace in the country, whereof one to be of the quorum, from time to time, to set the prices of coals, having regard to the price paid to the importer, and other emergent charges.

And now, great Sir, having finished our present councils, we hope your Majesty will give us leave to return for a time into our countries, where, in our several spheres, we shall be ready to serve you with our persons and our purses, and also with our prayers to the great God of Hosts, that he will be pleased to strengthen your hands in the day of battle, and make your Majesty victorious over all your enemies both at home and abroad.

After this, his Majesty made a short speech; the effect of which was :

HE told the Lords and Commons, he had very little to say more than again to renew his thanks to them for the present they made him when he met them last here.

He desired the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, that, when they are returned into their countries, they would take care for the equal rating the taxes laid upon the people.

His Majesty told the Commons, he had been at some charge himself, that no counties might be over-rated; and he persuaded himself, that if the members of the House of Commons and the rest of the commissioners, will take care that it might be equally taxed in the several counties, it will ~~be the~~ more readily and cheerfully paid in. And his Majesty desired those that were lieutenants and deputy lieutenants, that they would take care to preserve the peace of the kingdom; for, his Majesty did assure them, the republican party have still their councils on foot, and are yet in hopes to make some advantages to themselves, upon the score of the present war. But his Majesty did not doubt but, by God's blessing upon his and their endeavours, their expectations would be frustrated.

His Majesty said, his intentions were, that the Houses should not meet here again till this time twelve months. But, lest there should be any occasion of his needing their assistance sooner, he did intend the prorogation shall be only till June next; before which, he should, by a timely proclamation, give notice of the next meeting, if it hold not at that time. And so he left the rest to the Lord Privy Seal.

Then

Then the Lord Privy Seal spoke to this effect :

My Lords, and Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

IT is his Majesty's pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued to the one and twentieth day of June next. And accordingly this Parliament is prorogued to the one and twentieth day of June next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 11, 1665.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM confident you all believe, that if it had not been absolutely necessary to consult with you, I would not have called you together at this time, when the contagion hath so spread itself over so many parts of the kingdom. I take it for a good omen, to see so good an appearance this day ; and I doubt not every day will add to your number. And I give you all my thanks, for your compliance so far with my desires.

The truth is, as I entered upon this war by your advice and encouragement, so I do desire that you may as frequently as is possible receive information of the conduct and effects of it ; and that I may have the continuance of your cheerful supply for the carrying it on. I will not deny to you, that it hath proved more chargeable than I could imagine it would have been. The addition they still made to their fleets, beyond their first purpose, made it unavoidably necessary for me to make proportionable preparations, which God hath hitherto blessed with success in all encounters. And as the enemy have used their utmost endeavours, by calumnies and false suggestions, to make themselves friends, and to persuade others to assist them against us, so I have not been wanting to encourage those princes who have been wronged by the Dutch, to recover their own by force ; and, in order thereunto, have assisted the Bishop of Munster with a very great sum of ready money, and am to continue a supply to him, who is now in the bowels of their country with a powerful army. These issues, which I may tell you have been made with very good conduct and husbandry (nor indeed do I know that any thing hath been spent that could have been well and safely saved) ; I say, this expense will not suffer you to wonder, that the great supply which you gave me for this war in so bountiful a proportion is upon the matter already spent, so that I must not only expect an assistance from you to carry on this war, but such an assistance as may enable me to defend myself and you against a more powerful

powerful neighbour, if he shall prefer the friendship of the Dutch before mine.

I told you, when I entered upon this war, that I had not such a brutal appetite as to make war for war's sake. I am still of the same mind; I have been ready to receive any propositions that France hath thought fit to offer to that end; but hitherto nothing hath been offered worthy my acceptance: nor is the Dutch less insolent; though I know no advantage they have but the continuance of the contagion. God Almighty, I hope, will shortly deprive them of that encouragement.

The Chancellor will inform you of all the particulars.

The Lord Chancellor's Speech.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the House of Commons,

THE King is not content, you ſee, to leave you to yourſelves, to make a ſtate of the war, and the ſucceſs that hath attended it, by your own obſervation and the general communication of all that hath fallen out, which in truth hath left few men ignorant of any thing, who have had any curioſity to inform themſelves; but takes care that you be informed by himſelf, that you may know all that he knows, that ſo you may be able to give him your counſel upon the cleareſt evidence.

In order to this, it will not, I hope, be unreaſonable or ungrateful to you, to reſreſh your memory, by looking ſome years backwards, even to the time of his Maſteſty's happy reſtoration, that we may take the better proſpect of the poſture we are now in, and how we have come into it. What inclinations his Maſteſty brought home with him to live in amity with his neighbours of Holland, though he had received indignities enough from them, and in truth had been little leſs proſcribed there than he had been in England, needs no other manifeſtation, than that he choſe that place to embark himſelf in, when he was preſſed by the two neighbour kings, from whom he had received more civilities, to have made uſe of their ports.

It cannot be denied but that his reception in Holland was with great civility and luſtre, and a ſufficient evidence that they had a full ſenſe of the high honour his Maſteſty had vouchſafed to them, and the departure from thence was with equal and mutual ſatiſfaction in each other; which made many men the more wonder, that, albeit the ambaſſadors who were to follow had been nominated before the King left the Hague, there

was so long an interval before their arrival here, that the two neighbour kings and many other princes had finished their embassies of congratulations, before we had heard any more from the United Provinces.

You all remember how long it was before the armies were disbanded, and the fleets paid off, during which time his Majesty lived upon his credit, and easily contracted a great debt, for the mere support of himself and his household, which was not so easily discharged afterwards. There was one thing that exceedingly surprised him, when he found (which will be incredible to posterity) that a triumphant nation, that had made itself terrible to Christendom, by having fought more battles than all the neighbour kingdoms and states together had ever done in so few years, and seemed to be in a posture ready to fight them over again, that had so long reigned over the ocean in formidable fleets, should, at the time of his Majesty's happy return, as if on the sudden all their arms had been turned into plough-shares, and their swords into pruning-hooks, not have in all the magazines, in all the stores, arms enough to be put into the hands of five thousand men, nor provision enough to set out ten new ships to sea; which his Majesty did not desire should be known to his best neighbours, how little soever he suspected their affections, nor did indeed so much as make it known to his Parliament; but made it his first care, without the least noise, and with all imaginable shifts, to provide for the full supply of those important magazines and stores, which have been ever since replenished as they ought to be.

He had not the least imagination, that any of his neighbours would wantonly affect to interrupt the happy calm that he and themselves enjoyed; and therefore resolved to retrench the vast expense of the navy, under which he found the nation even to groan, and out of that good husbandry to provide for more necessary disbursements. Yet, that the world might not think that he had abandoned the ocean, and that the memory of the glorious actions the English had so lately performed upon it might not vanish in an instant, after he had provided such a guard as the narrow seas never ought to be without, in the spring he sent a strong fleet against the pirates of Algiers and Tripoli (who had grown to that strength and boldness that they interrupted the whole trade of Christendom) as the only enemies he would chuse to have.

It was a design of great glory and equal expense, crowned in the end by God Almighty with the success we could wish, and with an entire submission to the English flag, and as great security to all his Majesty's subjects in their trade as the engagement

gement and honour of infidels can give; and this agreement ratified with all formality (the like whereof had never been before) by the great Turk.

Hereupon the King again renewed his resolution for a further retrenchment of his naval expence, even to the lessening the guard in the narrow seas, his merchants in all places receiving less interruption in their trade than they had in any former time undergone, until he received intelligence from the Straits, that the faithless people of Algiers, who had so lately submitted to him, had committed new insolencies upon some of his subjects, or rather upon foreign persons taken by his subjects into their protections, and which the Turks pretended they might do without violation of the treaty. But his Majesty, resolving to admit none of those elucidations, lost no time in sending a new strong fleet into the Mediterranean sea, to chastise those perfidious pirates; and after a chargeable war made upon them for near or full twelve months, and after having taken several of their ships from them, and upon the matter blocking them up in their harbours, he received a second submission from them, with better and more advantageous conditions than the former.

I must not omit one circumstance, that about this time the Dutch, who received much more prejudice and damage from the Turks than the English had done, besought his Majesty, that he would once more send a fleet into those seas against those pirates, and that it might upon all occasions join with one they were likewise ready to send out to the same Christian end, and for the extirpation of those sea robbers; and within a very short time after the English fleet was gone, they likewise sent De Ruyter with a good fleet thither, which was so far from any conjunction with us, that when our ships chased any Alger men near them, they never offered to obstruct their flight, but quickly made it manifest that they rather brought money with them to buy a dishonourable and disadvantageous peace, than to make a war upon them.

Matters standing thus, the King's fleet being gone into the Straits against the Turkish pirates, and there remaining few ships in the narrow seas, we began every day to hear of depredations by the Dutch upon our merchants in all parts. Instead of delivering up the island of Polcroone in the East Indies, as by the treaty they ought to have done, they by their naval power in those parts, hindered our ships from taking in their lading of such merchandize as the factors had provided and made ready for their freight, upon pretence that those ports where the merchandize was ready to be embarked were in the dominions of some princes who they had declared to be their enemies,

and so they would not suffer any traffic to be maintained with them; and they published the like declaration, and challenged the same sovereignty, in Africa, and by virtue thereof would not suffer our ships to trade upon that coast, where we had a trade long before the Dutch had any footing in those parts.

These insolencies made that noise in the world, that the English merchants felt the effects of it in all places, till it reached the ears of the Parliament, which in April was twelve months presented the same to his Majesty, and besought him that he would take some speedy and effectual course for the redress of those wrongs, dishonours, and indignities, which were the greatest obstructions of our trade; and declared, that in the prosecution thereof, they would with their lives and fortunes assist his Majesty against all opposition whatsoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You very well remember, that though his Majesty was very well pleased with the great zeal you shewed for the advancement of trade, he was far from resolving to make a war upon the warmth of that declaration; but told you, that he would examine and peruse the particular complaints which had been represented to his Parliament, and would thereupon demand justice and reparation from the States General; which demand he appointed his minister residing there to make in a short time after. What effect that candid way of proceeding found, is enough known to the world: instead of other application, they declared themselves wonderfully offended with the declaration of the Parliament, with many insolent expressions, suitable to the manners of a commonwealth. They gave present order for equipping a very great fleet, and the raising many land soldiers, making greater preparations for war than they had done in many years before. They had a complaint to his Majesty, that a captain of one of the ships which his Majesty had lent to the royal company had, in his voyage thither, taken a fort belonging to them, near Cape Verde, for which they demanded satisfaction. The King assured them, that he had not the least commission or authority from him for so doing; that he expected him home very speedily, and then he should be sure to undergo that punishment which the nature of his offence required, when the matter should be examined; and they should be sure to receive full reparation. This satisfied them not; but, in a great fury, they resolved to send forth a strong fleet to Guinea, and granted a commission (which they took care to publish) to the commander in chief, to make war upon the English in those parts, and to do them all the mischief they could.

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The King found himself now obliged, in what straight soever, to provide for the protection of his subjects in those parts, and for the support of that trade, which, I doubt, is not enough taken to heart, and the value thereof not enough understood; and, in order thereunto, with great speed, caused a fleet to be made ready for that expedition, under the command of his Highness Prince Rupert, who was under sail for the voyage, when his Majesty found it necessary to stop the Prince's further prosecution of it, upon good intelligence that the Dutch had appointed their admiral, with a fleet of fifty sail, to convey the other fleet designed for Guinea through the Channel, in contempt of his Majesty, who had a very small fleet in readiness; and that De Ruyter was likewise sent out of the Straights, from prosecuting the Turks, to make war upon the English in Guinea, when at the same time they had earnestly pressed the King, upon many professions of desire to prevent a war, that Prince Rupert should stay in harbour, as theirs should do, till some means might be found for an accommodation of all differences; and, in truth, this very difficult stratagem, of pretending one thing and intending another, of promising with all solemnity and never resolving to perform, of swearing this day not to do a thing, when they had served their turn by having done it yesterday, that nobody could know, is the highest pinnacle of their wisdom of state, by which they govern their affairs, and delude their neighbours.

The winds were not favourable to this triumphant design. And now the King found the value of the vote and declaration of his Parliament; it was a rich and a massy vote, which in a short time he coined into two hundred thousand pounds ready money, in the chamber of the city of London, with which he gave order forthwith to make ready more ships; and the Duke going himself to the fleet, by his indefatigable industry, with incredible expedition, added so many good ships to those under the command of Prince Rupert, that in November he put himself on board the fleet, resolving to stop the Dutch, if the wind gave them leave to pursue their former resolution, which, from the time the Duke was known to be at sea, they fairly declined, and were content rather to be safe in their own harbours, than to look to the security of their merchants. It was high time now to seize upon as many of their ships as came in our way, to satisfy the damages we had reason to believe we should sustain from De Ruyter's expedition into Guinea with the commission mentioned before; but there was not the lading of one ship sold, or disposed of, till his Majesty received full information of De Ruyter's having

begun the war upon the coast of Africa, by seizing upon our ships, taking our forts, and committing all the acts of hostility which his new commission directed him unto ; his Majesty likewise at the same time receiving new advertisement of their refusal to deliver up the island of Poleroone to him, which they were bound to by their treaty. And will you not wonder, after all this, at the confidence of these men ; and more, that any neighbour prince should have that confidence in them, as to declare, that the King our master is the aggressor, that he first began the war ?

From this time the war began to be more in earnest, and to be carried on at another expense. Though his Royal Highness ventured himself in November, in a fleet consisting of little more than fifty ships, to stop the Dutch from passing through the Channel, yet, in April (which was within few days after your prorogation at the end of your last session) he went again to sea, with a much stronger fleet, and more proportionate to the great preparations the enemy had made ; and even after he was gone to sea, upon great additions of strength every day made by the Dutch, more good ships were sent to reinforce the fleet ; insomuch as, upon that glorious third of June, when they had the courage to visit our coasts, after the Duke had in vain called upon them at their own doors, and took many of their merchants ships in their sight, the English fleet consisted of very few less than one hundred sail. The action and blessing of that day have been celebrated in all the churches in England, and in the hearty devotions of all true Englishmen ; and therefore I shall say no more of it here, save only, that whether the public joy then, even upon the solemn thanksgiving-day, was superior to the universal consternation that spread itself over the nation before, I appeal to the breasts of all here present. We, who had the honour to be near the King at that time, observed him to be in that agony that cannot be expressed, an agony himself could not have long endured, even when, by all the intelligence he received hourly from the coast, he had reason to assure himself of the victory. In that great action, we sunk, burned, and took, eighteen good ships of war, whereof half were the best they had, with the loss of one single small ship of ours, but of many noble and gallant persons, of too much value to be ventured (if there had not been a greater venture) against such trash, and whose memories ought ever to be preserved, and extolled, and made precious to posterity. No diligence was omitted, but all imaginable expedition used, in refreshing, repairing, and setting out the fleet again ; in order to which, the King himself made a journey thither, and staid till he saw all ready and fit

to fail ; but then, no intreaty, no importunity, could prevail with him to venture his brother again, though his family and all preparations for the voyage were still on board. His Majesty too well remembered, and still felt, the impressions he had undergone the third of June ; and having got his brother into his arms again, he would not return without him, committing the charge of the fleet to the Earl of Sandwich, who had acted so good a part in it.

Within few days after, the beginning of July, the Earl of Sandwich went again to the coast of Holland, with a fleet in no degree inferior with the former, and rode before the Texel, to invite the Dutch to a new engagement, they having used all the arts at home to conceal the loss and dishonour they had undergone, and pretended to be very ready and solicitous for another battle, when there was no appearance of their purpose to come out : and, upon sure intelligence that the East India fleet was coming about by the north, he received orders to go for Norway, upon such encouragement as was not made good : so that he was disappointed of the expectation he had very reasonably carried with him thither, and at a season when that climate gives little encouragement to abide in those seas. I am not yet to enlarge upon that matter, till we hear a better account from some of our friends ; however, though he could not meet with their whole fleet as he endeavoured to do, yet he hath had the good fortune, in two encounters, to take eight of their great ships of war, two of their best East India ships, and about twenty of their merchant ships, all under the protection of their fleet, or ought to have been ; and was then, by tempest, and other reasons which no wisdom of his could prevent, obliged to put into our own harbours.

I do not mention the great number of prisoners we have taken, an army of prisoners, who in truth do us more harm at land than ever they did at sea ; and are a charge that never fell under our estimate and computation. I would not be understood, that we had entered upon a war and never thought of prisoners, and sick and wounded men ; but that the prisoners and wounded men should bring upon us so prodigious an expence, and of which we can yet see no bottom, inasmuch as in one place, I think, Colchester, that charge comes to twelve hundred pounds the week ; I say, such an expence never came into our computation.

The King tells you, he hath enabled the Prince and Bishop of Munster to demand justice from those who have so notoriously oppressed him with such outrageous circumstances of insolence and scorn as are enough known to the world ; and he

hath demanded it bravely, in such an equipage as hath not been made for little money, in which he can take as well as ask satisfaction.

After all this, since there is a justice due to the worst enemies, we must do them this right, that they do not at all seem weary of the war, they do not discover the least inclination to peace.

It is true, the French King hath offered his mediation; and truly, if he intends no more than a mediation, it is an office very worthy the most Christian King. I wish with all my heart that (as a mediator) he would make equal propositions, or that he would not so importunately press his Majesty to consent to those he makes, upon an instance and argument that he holds himself engaged by a former treaty (of which we never heard till since the beginning of this war, and had some reason to have presumed the contrary) to assist the Dutch with men and money if his Majesty doth not consent.

His Majesty tells you, that he hath not an appetite to make war for war's sake, but will be always ready to make such a peace as may be for his honour and the interest of his subjects; and, no doubt, it will be a great trouble and grief to him, to find so great a prince, towards whom he hath manifested so great an affection, in conjunction with his enemies. Yet even the apprehension of such a war will not terrify him to purchase a peace by such concessions as he would be ashamed to make you acquainted with; of which nature you will easily believe the propositions hitherto made to be, when you know that the release of Poleroone in the East Indies, and the demolishing the fort of Cabo Corso upon the coast of Guinea, are two, which would be, upon the matter, to be content with a very vile trade in the East Indies, under their controul, and with none in Guinea; and yet these are not propositions unreasonable enough to please the Dutch, who reproach France for interposing for peace, instead of assisting them in the war, boldly insisting upon the advantage the contagion in London and some other parts of the kingdom gives them; by which, they confidently say, the King will be no longer able to maintain a fleet against them at sea, and as if God Almighty had sent this heavy visitation upon the kingdom on their behalf, and to expose it to their malice and insolence.

They load us with such reproaches as the civility of no other language will admit the relation. The truth is, they have a dialect of rudeness so peculiar to their language and their people, that it is high time for all Kings and princes to oblige them to some reformation, if they intend to hold correspondence or commerce with them.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You see in what posture we stand with reference to our neighbours abroad, who are our declared enemies. Their malice and activity to make others declare themselves so too, the great preparations they make, and even declarations that they will have another battle, towards which they have in readiness an equal number of new, greater, and better ships than those they have lost, furnished with larger and greater artillery ; so that, if they were to be manned with any other nation than their own, they might be worthy our apprehension. What preparations are to be made on our part, you can best judge.

I have fully obeyed the command that was laid upon me, in making you this plain, clear, true narrative of what hath passed. I have no order to make reflection upon it, nor any deduction from it. The King himself hath told you, that the noble unparaleled supply you have already given him is upon the matter spent ; spent with all the animadversions of good husbandry that the nature of the affair will bear. What is more to be done he leaves entirely to your own generous understandings ; being not more assured of any thing that is to come in this world, than that the same noble indignation for the honour of the King and the nation, that first provoked you to inflame the King himself, will continue the same passion still boiling in your loyal breasts ; that all the world may see, which they hoped never to have seen, that never prince and people were so entirely united in their affections, for their true, joint, inseparable honour, as the only sure, infallible expedient to preserve their distinct several interests.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having yet only presented you a short view of your foreign enemies, it may not be altogether unseasonable that you take a little prospect of those at home ; those unquiet and restless spirits in your own bowels, upon whose infidelity, I doubt, your enemies abroad have more dependence than upon their own fleets. I must appeal to every one of your observations, whether the countenances of these men have not appeared to you more erected, more insolent, in all places, since the beginning of this war, than they were before. In what readiness they were, if any misfortune had befallen the King's fleet, (which they promised themselves,) to have brought the calamity into your fields and into your houses, is notoriously known.

The horrid murderers of our late royal master have been received into the most secret counsels in Holland ; and other
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infamous prostituted persons of our nation are admitted to a share in the conduct of their affairs, and maintain their correspondence here, upon liberal allowances and pensions. Too many of his Majesty's subjects, who were lent by this crown to assist and defend this ungrateful state against their enemies, have been miserably wrought upon, for the keeping a vile mean subsistence, rather than livelihood, to renounce their allegiance, and become enemies to their native country; some of whom have wantonly put themselves on board the enemy's fleet, without command or office, purely out of appetite and delight to rebel against their King, and to worry their country. It is great pity these men should not be taught, by some exemplary brand, that their allegiance is not circumscribed within the four seas; but that they have obligations upon them of duty and loyalty towards the King, in what part soever of the world they shall inhabit.

Their friends at home, impatient of long delays for the successes they had promised themselves, and for the succours which others had promised to send to them, made do doubt of doing the business themselves, if they could appoint but a lucky day to begin the work; and you had heard of them in all places upon the third of the last month (their so much celebrated third of September.) if the great vigilance and indefatigable industry of the good general, who is always active for the King's safety and the peace of the kingdom, had not two days before apprehended the seditious leaders, and given advertisements for the securing others in most parts of the kingdom; by the confessions of many of whom, their wicked design is enough manifested, and ready for justice; yet some of the principal persons are not yet taken, and some others got themselves rescued after they were apprehended.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let it not, I beseech you, be said of us, what was heretofore said of the senate of Rome, when they were prosperous enough, and when they had obtained greater victories over their enemies abroad than we have done, *Excellentibus ingeniis citius defuit ars, quâ civem regant, quàm quâ hostem perdant.* Let not those scorpions be kept warm in our bosoms till they sting us to death: let not those who hate the government, would destroy the government, be sheltered under the shadow and protection of the government.

It is possible, and God knows, it is but possible, that some men, who are not friends to this or that part of the government, (for you are not to believe that they always discover what in truth they are most angry with,) who would not buy
those

those alterations they most desire at the price of a civil war, they would bring it fairly about, wait for a godly Parliament, and do all by their consent: yet those persons must not take it ill that we cannot desire they should ever have it in their power to bring those alterations to pass, by these means they now seem to abhor; and I do heartily wish, I am sure they will not be the worse men nor the worse subjects for it, that they would a little reflect upon what is past, remember how much they have outdone, more than they intended to have done; nay, what they heartily abhorred the thought of doing; and they will then find the only way to preserve themselves innocent is to keep their minds from being vitiated by the first impressions, by jealousies, murmurings, and repinings, and above all, by their conversations with those men, or indulgence towards them, who would sacrifice the peace of the kingdom to their own ambition, pride, and even to their humour.

If you carefully provide for the suppressing your enemies at home, which will put you to little other expense than of courage, constancy, and circumspection, you will find your enemies abroad less exalted, and in a short time more inclined to live in amity with you than to make war upon you, especially when they see you do in *bello pacis gerere negotium*; and that you take the carrying on the war to heart, as the best and the only expedient to produce a happy and an honest peace.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Oct. 31, 1665.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, in obedience to your Majesty's writ of adjournment, came cheerfully to this city of Oxford, to receive your royal commands. And when your Majesty was pleased to speak to them, and acquaint them with your great expenses this summer, and the continuing insolencies of the Dutch, they were so inflamed with an affection and zeal for your Majesty's service, that they could not suffer the least puncto of time to pass, before they had made a return suitable to their engagements, that they would assist your Majesty with their live and fortunes, against the Dutch, or any others that should assist them in opposition of your Majesty:

— *Tibi nos, tibi nostra suppellex.
Ruræque servierint.*

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The Englishman useth to speak as he writes, and the English Parliament to speak as they think. No security upon earth can be greater than the engagement of your two Houses of Parliament. *Sed quid verba audiam, dum facta videam?* As a demonstration of their fidelity, I am commanded to present unto your Majesty this bill, whereby they have given you, for a present supply, twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years, to begin from Christmas next, by quarterly payments, added to the former royal aid.

And, to the end your Majesty's occasions may be supplied with ready money before this additional aid can be raised, we have by this bill prepared an undoubted security for all such persons as shall bring their money into the public bank of your exchequer: as the rivers do naturally empty themselves into the sea, so we hope the veins of gold and silver in this nation will plentifully run into this ocean, for the maintenance of your Majesty's just sovereignty on the seas.

Great Sir,

When first we besought your Majesty to correct the insolencies, and to repair your subjects against the rapines of the Dutch, we did reasonably suppose, that the justice of your Majesty's demands would at least have had a fair and ingenious reception: but the Dutch resolved, with Machiavel, to keep by force what they had got by wrong, and to return their answer by the thundering voice of their cannon. The great God of Hosts, to whom vengeance belongs, hath eminently appeared in your Majesty's quarrel, and sharply rebuked the insolence of that proud people, whose heart is hardened even to destruction.

It is true, our sins do cry aloud, as well as theirs; but God is pleased in mercy to correct us himself, whilst by our hands he doth punish them, and make them fly before us. I hope this mercy will invite us to a national repentance: and if God be with us, who then can be against us?

We cannot but take notice of the horrid defection of some English fugitives, who have traiterously joined with the Dutch, both in their councils and actions, against your Majesty and this their native country. We therefore have prepared a bill, whereby they are enjoined to return by a day, and answer the law; or else they shall be attainted, and be subject to the pains and penalties of condemned traitors.

It hath been an old observation, "That scandalous livings make scandalous ministers;" and this most frequently falls out in cities and corporate towns, where are little or no predial tithes; and therefore the preachers, for mere want, are forced

to chant such such tunes as may best please the rich men in their parishes : for prevention of this for the future, there is a bill prepared, for the uniting of small churches and chapels in cities and towns corporate by the consent of the patron, reserving all other parochial rites distinct as they were before.

This being a time wherein your Majesty needs great supplies, we held it our duty to ease the people in some unnecessary expenses ; and therefore we have prepared a bill for the more effectual proceeding upon distresses and avowries for rents ; another to avoid circuitry of actions ; and a third to lessen the charge of unnecessary suits in law : there is an ancient fee received in your Majesty's courts of law, called *damage clear*, or *damna clericorum*, which is the tenth penny of such damage, as are there recovered in many actions. This was first introduced for the encouragement of clerks, to employ themselves to the study of drawing special pleadings, which are grown so familiar by the disuse of real actions, that the fee now is looked upon as a grievance, especially when the plaintiff is forced to pay it upon the signing of his judgment ; and perhaps the defendant is not able to answer any part of the execution : therefore we have prepared a bill for the regulating of this for the present, and after seven years to take it quite away.

Tacitus hath a saying, " Such as are false in their love, " are true in their hate : " and this rule we find verified in our nonconformists. Whilst they were in the bosom of the church of England, they were like inward vapours and inward bleedings, always oppressing and strangling the body of the church ; and now they are ejected and excluded from their ministerial function, they have more malice, and no less opportunity to propagate their principles than they had before. Some of them are objects of pity. They submitted their reason to their leaders of a higher class, who failed them in their hopes, and left them to the rigour of the law. These poor creatures have seen their error, and feel the smart, and would live peaceably ; but their jesuitical leaders keep up their spirits, and herd with them in cities and corporate towns, where, by pretence of persecution and self-denial, they move the city of good-natured people, and with their charity keep up their party, lessen the maintenance of conforming ministers, and spread their contagion amongst the youth of the nation : for the prevention of this growing mischief, we have prepared a Shibboleth, a test to distinguish amongst them, who will be peaceable and give hopes of future conformity, and who of malice and evil disposition remain obdurate. The one we shall keep amongst us with all love and charity ; the other we shall exclude from cities.

cities and corporate towns, like those that have an infectious disease upon them.

It is not unusual for the Commons, at the close of a session of Parliament, by their Speaker, to present a petition to their sovereign; and, with your Majesty's leave, I am now commanded that service.

We do, with all humble thankfulness to God, acknowledge our great happiness, that we are governed by a prince, whose prudence in counsel, whose valour in action, and whose fatherly care in protection of his people, is eminent through all the world: and it is not the least mercy, both to your Majesty and your people, that God hath blessed you with a brother so like yourself.

The name of his Royal Highness is already enrolled amongst the heroes of other nations; but this his native country had not so great experience of him, till your Majesty was pleased in this summer's expedition to trust him with the conduct of the most royal fleet that ever sailed upon the British seas, wherein he shewed that prowess, and that prudence, and, by the blessing of Almighty God, was crowned with that success against the Dutch, that we cannot pass it by in silence; and yet we are at a loss how to express our thanks both to your Majesty and to him. I am commanded, therefore, to beseech your Majesty, that you will vouchsafe to let us make a present to you of a month's tax, to come in the rear, after the four and twenty months of your Majesty's royal aid; and that your Majesty will be pleased to bestow it upon his Royal Highness.

And now, great Sir, I have no more, but to beseech Almighty God, who hath so miraculously preserved your royal person and your two Houses of Parliament, from all sickness and contagion, during this session, that he will be pleased to send health throughout the nation; that he will crown all your designs against your enemies with victory and success, and give your Majesty a long and happy reign over us.

This being ended, his Majesty made a short speech, to this effect:

HIS Majesty told his two Houses of Parliament, that he did not compliment with them, when he should tell them, that they had done for him all that he could wish they should have done; and therefore thanked them heartily.

His Majesty further said, that he believed that no one there would imagine that he would have called them hither at this time, if there had not been an absolute necessity for it. He thanked

thanked them with all his heart for their affections shewed to him in this present supply; which, though it is not to be supposed that it can last till the end of the time in which it is to be raised, (if the war should so long continue,) yet his Majesty said, he could not expect that his two Houses should do more than they had done at this meeting, considering the deadness of trade through the whole nation, by reason of the contagion, which addeth to the many straits they have to struggle with. And his Majesty said, that for their kindness to his brother, he thanked them no less than if what they had done for his brother had been done for himself; he having deserved so well of himself and the whole nation.

His Majesty told them, that it is probable they should not meet till April next; but yet, lest he might have occasion for their assistance sooner, he had given order for the proroguing this Parliament but till February next; and if there should be no occasion of coming together then, he would, by a proclamation, give timely notice thereof; and so left the prorogation to be pronounced by the Lord Privy Seal.

Then the Lord Privy Seal spoke to this effect:

My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

IT is his Majesty's pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to the twentieth day of February next to the city of Westminster. And accordingly this Parliament is prorogued to the twentieth day of February next.

His Majesty's most Gracious Speech, Sept. 21, 1666.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM very glad to meet so many of you together again; and God be thanked for our meeting together in this place. Little time hath passed since we were almost in despair of having this place left us to meet in. You see the dismal ruins the fire hath made; and nothing but a miracle of God's mercy could have preserved what is left from the same destruction. I need make no excuse to you for dispensing with your attendance in April. I am confident you all thanked me for it. The truth is, I desire to put you to as little trouble as I can; and I can tell you truly, I desire to put you to as little cost as is possible. I wish with all my heart that I could bear the whole charge of this

this war myself, and that my subjects should reap the benefit of it to themselves. But we have two very great and powerful enemies, who use all the means they can, fair and foul, to make all the world to concur with them: and the war is most chargeable, by that conjunction, than any body thought it would have been. I need not tell you the success of this summer, in which God hath given us great success, and no question the enemy hath undergone great losses. And if it had pleased God to have withheld this late judgment by fire, we had been in no ill condition.

You have given me very large supplies for the carrying on the war. And yet I must tell you, if I had not, by anticipating my own revenue, raised a very great sum of money, I had not been able to have set out the fleet this last spring: and I have some hopes, upon the same credit, to be able to pay off the great ships as they come in. You will consider what is to be done next, when you are well informed of the expense. And I must leave it to your wisdoms, to find out the best expedients for the carrying on this war with as little burden to the people as is possible. I shall add no more, than to put you in mind that our enemies are very insolent; and if they were able this last year to persuade their miserable people, whom they mislead, that the contagion had so wasted the nation, and impoverished us, that we would not be able to set out any fleet, how will they be exalted with this last impoverishment of this city, and condemn all reasonable conditions of peace! and therefore I cannot doubt but you will provide accordingly.

*His Majesty's Message to the House of Peers, signified to the House by Lord Arlington, December 15, 1666.**

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty is sorry the difficulties have been such, that the supply he hoped for is not yet perfected. His Majesty could wish that the posture of his affairs would permit the giving his two Houses a short recess at Christmas; but, the season of the year being considered, and how much the necessary preparations against the spring depends upon the dispatch of the supply he assures himself is preparing for him, he cannot think it consistent with his service and the public safety, to permit any adjournment, except for the chief festival days, until that and the other most public bills be perfected; which he desires may be hastened, and which his Majesty should be

* From the Journals of the House of Lords, vol. xii. p. 47.

glad, if possible, might be finished by Christmas, as well for their ease as for his service.

Given at the court at Whitehall, this 15th day of December, 1666.

*His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, delivered by Secretary Morice, December 15, 1666.**

CHARLES RIX.

HIS Majesty is sorry, that the difficulty his House of Commons hath met with, hath detained them so long, without perfecting his supply. His Majesty could wish, that the posture of his affairs would permit the giving his two Houses a short recess at Christmas; but the season of the year being considered, and how much the necessary preparations against the spring depend upon the dispatch of the supply he assures himself is preparing for him, he cannot think it consistent with his service, and the public safety, to permit any adjournment, except for the chief festival days, until that and the other most public bills be perfected; which he desires may be hastened: and which his Majesty should be glad, if possible, might be finished by Christmas, as well for their ease as for his own service.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the 15th day of December, 1666.

Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, January 18, 1666.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

SINCE the two Houses of Parliament, by your Majesty's command, were last convened, they have with great care inspected the state of the kingdom: they find your Majesty engaged in a sharp and costly war, opposed by mighty princes and states, that are in conjunction against us. They see with sorrow the greatest part of your metropolitan city buried in ashes. These are *ardua regni* indeed, and fit only for the advice of a loyal Parliament. But, Sir, looking narrowly into things, we found our body politic entering into a consumption; our treasures, that are the sinews of war, and the bond of peace, as much exhausted; the great aids which are given to your Majesty for the maintenance of the war are but like the blood in its

* From the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. viii. p. 663.

circulation, which will return again, and nourish all the parts: but a great deal is yearly transported in specie into France, to bring home apes and peacocks; and the best returns are but superfluities and vanities: we have therefore unanimously besought your Majesty to stop this issue of blood; and we hope your Majesty's most seasonable and gracious proclamation will prevent the future expiration of these spirits.

We have likewise been alarmed from all parts of the kingdom, by the inselencies of popish priests and jesuits, who, by their great numbers, and bold writings, declare to all the world, they are in expectation of a plentiful harvest here in England: but your Majesty, by your gracious answer to the desire of both your Houses, your command for all officers and soldiers in your Majesty's pay to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and your proclamation for the departure of priests and jesuits out of this nation, have in a great measure secured us against those fears.

When your Majesty was pleased, at the opening of this session of Parliament, to speak to us, you commanded us to find out the best expedients we could, for carrying on the war with as little burden to the people as was possible.

The knights, citizens, and burghesses of the Commons House of Parliament, have industriously applied themselves to the consideration of this matter. They quickly resolved on a supply for your Majesty, suitable to your occasions, of eighteen hundred thousand pounds: but it hath taken much of their time so to lay this aid, that it may not seem a burden. A little weight lying always upon one shoulder will at length become uneasy; but being shifted sometimes to the other shoulder, there will be some refreshment.

The greatest part of the taxes that have been raised these six and twenty years were laid upon our lands, which made us desire to give them some rest: we have therefore prepared a poll bill; whereby we have brought in all sorts of persons, professions, and personal estates, to give their assistance to your Majesty, and to ease the land tax:

Multorum Manibus grande levatur onus.

This bill we hope, will speedily bring in a considerable sum of ready money, for your Majesty's present use.

We have likewise taken care for supplying the remainder of the eighteen hundred thousand pounds by another bill remaining with us, which in a short time will be ready to be presented to your Majesty.

The better to enable your Majesty's good subjects to pay these several aids, and with cheerfulness to supply your Majesty's fu-
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ture occasions, we thought it necessary to remove a nuisance out of their way. The infinite number of foreign cattle that were daily imported did glut our markets, and bring down the prices both of * home-bred cattle and our lands; therefore we have prepared a bill for the prohibiting of any foreign cattle for seven years.

We find your Majesty's mint is not so well employed as formerly; and the reason is, because the fees and wages of the officers and workmen is in part paid out of the bullion that is brought to be coined, and what is wanting is made up by your Majesty. We have; therefore, for the ease of your Majesty and those that shall bring in any plate or bullion to be coined there, made another provision, by an imposition upon wines, brandy, and cyder, imported from any foreign nations.

Having given your Majesty this short account at present, we shall, with your leave, return to perfect those bills that still remain with us; and we hope so to finish them to your Majesty's satisfaction, that all your Majesty's enemies, both at home and abroad, may see and feel the effects of this blessed correspondence between our gracious King and his loyal Parliament.

Afterwards his Majesty made this speech following:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE now passed your bills; and I was in good hope to have had other bills ready to pass too. I cannot forget, that within few days after your coming together in September, both Houses presented me with their vote and declaration, that they would give me a supply proportionable to my occasions; and the confidence of this made me anticipate that small part of my revenue which was unanticipated for the payment of the seamen: and my credit hath gone farther than I had reason to think it would; but 'tis now at an end.

This is the first day I have heard of any money towards a supply, being the 18th of January; and what this will amount to, God knows; and what time I have to make such preparations as are necessary to meet three such enemies as I have, you can well enough judge: and I must tell you, what discourses ~~forever are abroad~~, I am not in any treaty; but, by the grace of God, I will not give over myself and you, but will do what is in my power for the defence of myself and you. 'Tis high time for you to make good your promise; and 'tis high time for you to be in the country, as well for the raising of money, as that

* Origin. home-breed.

the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants may watch those seditious spirits which are at work to disturb the public peace ; and therefore I am resolved to put an end to this session on Monday next come sevensnight, before which time, I pray, let all things be made ready that I am to dispatch. I am not willing to complain you have dealt unkindly with me in a bill I have now passed, in which you have manifested a greater distrust of me than I have deserved. I do not pretend to be without infirmities : but I have never broken my word with you ; and, if I do not flatter myself, the nation never had less cause to complain of grievances, or the least injustice or oppression, than it hath had in these seven years it hath pleased God to restore me to you. I would be used accordingly.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, February 8, 1666.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

NOTHING conduceth more to the happiness of a nation, than a right understanding between the prince and the people ; and nothing more advanceth this correspondence, than frequent meetings in common council. By the wisdom of our forefathers, the security of our lives, our liberties, and our properties, is lodged in our English Parliaments ; and so gracious have your Majesty's predecessors been, that, for the satisfaction of their people, they have made several laws, some for triennial, some for annual Parliaments. Your Majesty, by their example, upon the humble suit of your Lords and Commons, hath, in a former session of this Parliament, passed an act for triennial meetings in Parliaments ; but in this your Majesty hath exceeded all your predecessors, that, as your happy restoration was in a convention of Parliament, so of your own accord, for the public good, and as a demonstration of your extraordinary love to Parliaments, you have vouchsafed, ever since your return, to converse with your people in Parliament ; this being the sixth year, and the sixth session, of this present Parliament.

The last time your Majesty was pleased to speak to us, you commanded us to make ready all things you were to dispatch this session. In obedience thereunto we have with all industry imaginable endeavoured so to prepare those matters that were before us, that your Majesty and the whole nation may receive satisfaction in our dispatches.

First, it concerned us to keep our words with your Majesty, in finishing that supply which we promised you for carrying on the war.

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In order whereunto, I do here present unto your Majesty this bill of eleven months assessment upon our lands, to take place in a post-charge after the additional royal aid now current is expired. This act, together with the poll bill lately passed, we conceive, will fully make up the eighteen hundred thousand pounds we promised to your Majesty.

We must for ever with humility acknowledge the justice of God in punishing this whole nation by the late dreadful conflagration of London. We know they were not the greatest sinners on whom the tower of Syloe fell; and doubtless all our sins did contribute to the filling up that measure, which, being full, drew down the wrath of God upon that city. But it very much reviveth us to behold the miraculous blessing of God upon your Majesty's endeavours for the preservation of that part of the city which is left: *et fas est regere mœnia Trojæ*. We hope God will direct your royal heart, and fortunate hand, in a few days, to lay a foundation stone in the rebuilding that royal city; the beauty and praise whereof shall fill the whole earth.

For the encouragement of this noble work, we have prepared several bills: one, for the establishing a judicatory, for the speedy determining all actions, and causes of action, that have or may arise between landlords and tenants, upon this sad accident. Though, I persuade myself, no Englishman would be exempted from making some offering to carry on this pious undertaking, yet the exemplary charity of your Majesty's twelve reverend judges is fit with honour to be mentioned before your Majesty: they are willing to spend all their sand that doth not run out in your Majesty's immediate service, of dispensing justice in their several courts to your people, in hearing and determining those controversies that may arise upon old agreements, and making new rules between owners and tenants, for their mutual encouragement in this glorious action.

We have likewise prepared a bill for the regularity of the new buildings, that they may be raised with more conveniency, beauty, and security, than they had before. Some streets we have ordered to be opened and enlarged, and many obstructions to be removed; but all with your Majesty's approbation. This we conceive cannot be done with justice, unless a compensation be given to those that shall be losers: we have therefore laid an imposition of twelve pence upon every chalder, and twelve pence upon every chalder, and twelve pence upon every ton of coals, that shall be brought into the port of London, for ten years, the better to enable the lord mayor and aldermen to recompense those persons whose grounds shall be taken from them.

Rome was not built in a day; nor can we, in the close of this session, finish the rules for the dividing of parishes, rebuilding of the churches, and the ornamental parts of the city. These things must rest that we intended, till another session. But we know your Majesty in the mean time will take them into your princely consideration, and make it your care that the houses of God and your own royal chamber be decently and conveniently restored.

And now, great Sir, having thus happily finished the business of this session, we beg your Majesty's leave that we may return to our own homes, there to put in execution the good laws which you have made, and to defend our several counties against all designs to disturb the peace of the nation. And we beseech Almighty God, who hath hitherto wonderfully preserved your Majesty's person, and made you glorious in all your achievements, still to prosper your forces both at sea and land, till he hath made your Majesty an asylum for all your friends, and a terror to your enemies both at home and abroad.

Afterwards his Majesty made the following speech :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you for this other bill of supply which you have given me ; and I assure you, the money shall be laid out for the ends it is given. I hope we shall live to have bills of this nature in the old stile, with fewer provisos. I looked to have had somewhat offered to me concerning the accompts of the money that hath been already raised since the war ; which, since you have not done, I will take care, after so much noise, that the same be not stilled, but will issue out my commission in the manner I formerly promised the House of Peers : and the commissioners shall have very much to answer, if they do not discover all matters of fraud and cozenage.

The season of the year is very far spent, in which our enemies have got great advantages over us : but, by the grace of God, I will make all the preparations I can, and as fast as I can. And yet I must tell you, that if any good overtures be made for an honourable peace, I will not reject them ; and I believe all sober men will be glad to see it brought to pass.

I shall now prorogue you till towards winter, that you may in your several places intend the peace and security of your several counties, where there are unquiet spirits enough working. And I do pray you, and I do expect it from you, that you will use your utmost endeavours to remove all those false imaginations in the hearts of the people, which the malice of ill men have

have industriously infused into them, of I know not what jealousies and grievances; for I must tell you again, and I am sure I am in the right, that the people had never so little cause to complain of oppression and grievances as they have had since my return to you. If the taxes and impositions are heavy upon them, you will put them in mind, that a war with such powerful enemies cannot be maintained without taxes; and I am sure the money raised thereby comes not into my purse.

I shall add no more, but that I promise myself all good effects from your affections and wisdoms, wherever you are. And I hope we shall meet again of one mind, for my honour, and the good of the kingdom.

And now, my Lord Privy Seal, do as I have directed you.

Whereupon the Lord Privy Seal said:

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, of the House of Commons,

IT is his Majesty's pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued to the tenth day of October next; and accordingly this Parliament is prorogued to the tenth day of October next.

Effect of his Majesty's Speech, July 29, 1667.

HE conceived, he could not give his Houses of Parliament a greater testimony of his affections to them, than by sending for them when he was in such straits as were superior to any other counsels; which now being over, he was confident, he could not better please them, than to dismiss them again to their several counties at such a time as this is. His Majesty said; the peace being now concluded, the articles would be made public within a few days, which he supposed would seem reasonable to them, and all Christendom as much rejoice at the peace as they were disturbed by the war. His Majesty further told his Houses, that their own affairs now require their presence elsewhere; and he did hope they would use all industry and severity (for both were necessary) to reduce the people to a better temper than they have been in of late. His Majesty further said, he wondered what one thing he had done since his coming into England, to persuade any sober person that he did intend to govern by a standing army: he said he was more an Englishman than so. He desired, forasmuch as concerned him, to preserve the laws; and if others will pay that due respect they owe to the laws, there would be no fear of any such thing.

His Majesty said, the last year he raised some troops, which he disbanded as soon as the season would permit; and he was certain, he deferred raising forces long enough this year, in that he gave not one commission till the enemy was landed; and he was sure, that the persons now in commission are such as will be as desirous to be out of the employment as to continue in it. He further said, he would say no more, but that he hoped his two Houses of Parliament should meet here in October next, and that they would then come with such inclinations as may restore the kingdom to as good a condition as it was ever in; and he did assure them, he should not be wanting on his part.

After this, his Majesty bid the Lord Chancellor do as he had commanded.

Whereupon the Lord Chancellor said:

My Lords, and you, all ye Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the House of Commons,

IT is his Majesty's pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued to the tenth day of October next; and accordingly this Parliament is prorogued to the tenth day of October next.

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, October 10, 1667.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN we last met here, about eleven weeks ago, I thought fit to prorogue the Parliament till this day, resolving that there should be a session now, and to give myself time to do some things I have since done, which I hope will not be unwelcome to you, but a foundation for a greater confidence between us for the future. The other reasons of that prorogation, and some other matters with which I would acquaint you, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to declare unto you.

Then the Lord Keeper spake as followeth:

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the House of Commons,

THIS Parliament, after many good and wholesome laws made with your advice in several sessions, many great supplies and aids given to his Majesty, and for the maintenance of the wars, and many other signal testimonies of your affection and duty to him, for which he again and again renews unto you
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his most hearty thanks, was, as you very well know, prorogued from February last, till this tenth day of October ; his Majesty having then reason to believe that there would be no cause of your re-assembling in the mean time.

But in this interval, the Dutch, who, since the war begun, were strengthened by the union of France and Denmark, having a great fleet, actually invaded the land : and the French at the same time had a royal army in the field, not far from the sea coast, the conjunction of which with the others, in some design against England, or some other of his Majesty's dominions, we had then cause to suspect.

In this strait, his Majesty (who, in lesser difficulties had frequent recourse unto his Parliament, as his great and faithful council, and therefore hath every year once, often twice, re-assembled you) thought it necessary to anticipate the time, and issued out proclamations for your meeting on the five and twentieth day of July last past.

This, though unusual, was done by the advice of his privy council ; public necessity and exigencies allowing, or at least disposing with, many things, which, except in such cases, were not to be allowed, or dispensed withal.

Before the five and twentieth day of July there was a prospect and lively expectation, and, within three days following, an assurance of a peace, concluded with, and ratified by, our three potent adversaries.

The storm which threatened us being thus blown over, and succeeded by so great a serenity, it was raised as a doubt by grave and wise men, whether or no the necessities and difficulties which caused so early a summons being removed, you could sit or act as a Parliament before the tenth of October, being the fixed time to which you were formerly prorogued.

For this cause, together with those others mentioned by his Majesty, i. e. in his princely wisdom, held it necessary, in a matter of so great consequence, again to fix upon this day for your meeting in Parliament, about which there can be no dispute ; which being thus twice prefixed, and you meeting here upon a double call, his Majesty hopes it is a happy omen that this session of Parliament, which in law is but one day, all acts of this session referring to it, unless otherwise specially provided, will be happy and prosperous, to his Majesty, to you, and to the whole kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majesty supposes that no man would expect, that during your recess he should have refused overtures of peace ; the vicinity, as well as potency, of his united enemies, the great expenses of the war, carried on with much disadvantage, by rea-

son of the plague and dismal fire in London, the consideration of the posture of affairs abroad, besides many other motives obvious unto you, induced him to embrace the opportunity of concluding a peace.

But you well know, that though the war be at an end, all the effects thereof are not yet ended: it will require time, and your good advice, to remove those obstructions which hinder the current of trade, both at home and abroad; and in this particular, his Majesty thinks fit to recommend it to your wisdom, to settle such a balance of trade between his subjects of this kingdom and those of Scotland, as that we may not be prejudiced, by the import of their commodities hither, nor yet they so discouraged as to leave off trading here, and find out another vent abroad, more dangerous to us. This he finds too hard for him without your assistance, though, upon your recommending it to him, he hath used some endeavours therein.

His Majesty formerly promised that you should have an account of the monies given towards the war, which his Majesty hath commanded his officers to make ready and since that way of commission, wherein he had put the examination of them, hath been ineffectual, he is willing you should follow your own method, examine them in what way and as strictly as you please. He doth assure you, he will leave every one concerned to stand or fall, according to his own innocence or guilt.

His Majesty hath reason to believe, that some disaffected persons, taking advantage of the public necessities, have spread abroad discourses and rumours reflecting upon the government, intending thereby to begot a dissatisfaction in his good subjects. And it is an easy thing to take exceptions, *cum neque culpam humanam infirmitas, neque calumniam regnandi difficultas, evitet.* But his Majesty promises himself, from your good affections, that every one of you, in your several places, will endeavour to preserve a good understanding between his people; and if any just grievances shall have happened, his Majesty will be as willing and ready to redress them for the future, as you to have them represented unto him.

And his Majesty doubts not but you will give healing and moderate counsels, and imprint that known truth into the hearts of his subjects, that there is no distinct interest between the king and his people; but the good of the one is the good of both.

This is all I have in command to say at this time.

Address

Address to His Majesty by the House of Commons, October 14, 1667.

WE your Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our serious consideration your Majesty's gracious speech; wherein you were pleased to let us know, that your Majesty thought fit to prorogue the Parliament till the tenth of this October, that you might give yourself time to do something that would not be unwelcome; but a foundation for a great confidence, for the future, between your Majesty and your people; we find ourselves bound in duty to return your Majesty our humble and hearty thanks, for your gracious declaration in your royal intentions, in that your Majesty's gracious speech, and that delivered by your Majesty's command by the Lord Keeper: and particularly, that your Majesty hath been pleased to disband the late raised forces; and to dismiss the papists from out of the guards, and other military employments: for your Majesty's care in quickening the execution of the act for restraining the importation of Irish cattle; for causing the Canary patent to be surrendered and vacated: and more especially, that your Majesty hath been pleased to displace the late Lord Chancellor, and remove him from the exercise of public trust and employment, in affairs of State.

For all which acts, grace, and public benefits, we your said Commons do beseech your sacred Majesty to accept of these our humble and hearty thanks.

His Majesty's Answer to the above Address, October 26, 1667.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you for your thanks. I am glad the things I have done have given you so good satisfaction; and for the Earl of Clarendon, I assure you, I will never employ him again in any public affairs whatsoever.

A Message from His Majesty, December 19, 1667.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having, by a former message, acquainted you, that he intended an adjournment to the beginning of February; he doth conceive, that Thursday the sixth of February
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is a convenient day, to which such adjournment may be made : and his Majesty is willing that you may adjourn to that time.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the nineteenth day of December 1667, in the nineteenth year of our reign.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 10, 1668.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM glad to see you here again, to tell you what I have done in this interval, which I am confident you will be pleased with, since it is so much for the honour and security of this nation.

I have made a league defensive with the States of the United Provinces, and likewise a league for an efficacious mediation of peace between the two crowns, into which league that of Sweden by its ambassador hath offered to enter as a principal.

I did not at our last meeting move you for any aid, though I lie under great debts contracted in the last war. But now the posture of our neighbours abroad, and the consequence of this new alliance, will oblige me, for our security, to set out a considerable fleet to sea this summer ; and besides, I must build more great ships ; and it is as necessary that I do some things in order to the fortifying some of our ports. I have begun something myself in order to these ends ; but, if I have not your speedy assistance, I shall not be able to go through with it ; wherefore I do earnestly desire you to take it into your speedy consideration ; for the loss of a little time now, may beget a prejudice not to be repaired. And for the settling a firm peace, as well at home as abroad, one thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present ; which is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my protestant subjects in matters of religion ; whereby they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
April 13, 1668.*

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty not long since acquainted you, that he hoped you would dispatch your business so, that you might be in your counties by Whitsuntide : he thinks fit now to let you know, that he resolves to put a period to this session on Monday
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the fourth day of May next, being the Monday before Whitsuntide. And again earnestly minds you to dispatch the business of the supply, and your other public concernments, by that time.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the thirteenth day of April, in the twentieth year of his Majesty's reign.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
April 24, 1668.*

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty, by his former message, thought fit to acquaint you, that he intended the present session of Parliament should determine on Monday the fourth of May; but, finding that the proceedings in many important businesses now under agitation, would be lost, if there should be a session; and that many things, not yet foreseen, may happen to induce him to call you together again before winter; hath now thought fit to acquaint you, that he intends only an adjournment for about three months, and desires you therefore to perfect the bill for supplies, and such others as may be made ready by the said fourth of May, so that he may then give his royal assent to them before the adjournment.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the twenty-fourth of April, 1668.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 9, 1668.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CAME hither purposely to pass some acts which are now ready, and to thank you for the supply you have now given me; which I hope will be sufficient. Our neighbours being now agreed upon articles of peace, I cannot chuse but take notice of what I hear abroad, of some differences between both Houses, touching the East India Company. I am as sensible of the privileges of the House of Peers (wherein I am concerned, as I am of the liberty of the House of Commons: but I hope, in this recess, there may be some means found out for an accommodation therein.

I am willing you should adjourn to the eleventh day of August next; and if there be no pressing occasion of your meeting then, I will give you timely notice by proclamation.

The Speech of his Majesty, and the Lord Keeper, October 19, 1669.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

I AM very glad to see you here at this time ; and I hope this will be a happy meeting ; for I have had great experience of your affection and loyalty to me, and am very confident of the continuance of it. It is now almost a year and half since your last sitting ; and though my debts have pressed me very much, yet I was unwilling to call for your assistance till this time. What you gave me last, was wholly employed to the navy, and that extraordinary fleet for which it was intended. I desire that you would now take my debts effectually into your considerations. Something I have to propose to you, of great importance, concerning the uniting of England and Scotland ; but it will require some length ; and I have left that, and some other things, to my Lord Keeper, to open them more fully to you.

: My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the House of Commons,

HIS Majesty, in his most gracious speech, hath expressed his great satisfaction in seeing you here at this time ; and his hopes of a happy issue of this meeting. To obtain this, nothing can conduce more, than a good correspondency and union among yourselves.

He hath reason to believe, that you all come with the same common affections for the general good ; and therefore persuades himself, there will be no differences between the two Houses : but, if there should be any such, he earnestly recommends it to you, that by your moderation and wisdoms, such expedients may be found out, as may compose them ; and that thereby no delay or obstruction be to your other proceedings.

His Majesty hath also desired you to take his debts effectually into consideration. I need not mention to you the uneasiness of his condition with that burden ; nor the inconveniences or mischiefs which might fall out, if he should continue under it. It is not unknown to you that his Majesty hath been a happy instrument, by the treaty at Aix, and by the triple alliance, to procure peace between the two neighbouring crowns ; the securing of that peace, wherein our own peace is concerned, and his Majesty's reputation abroad, will also much depend upon your kindness to him ; and therefore he hopes, that you will consider of how great an importance it is at this time, that his Majesty be enabled to bear such a part in the affairs of Europe,

rope, as may contribute most to his own honour, and the safety, benefit, and glory, of this nation.

My Lords, and Gentlemen, you may remember, that, upon his Majesty's recommendation, an act was lately made for settling freedom and intercourse of trade between England and Scotland; which was occasioned, upon complaints of new duties imposed, in each kingdom, upon divers commodities, of the growth, production, or manufacture of the other.

According to this act, commissioners were appointed by his Majesty, for both kingdoms, to treat upon that affair; and they had several meetings, which produced no effect, unless it were a conviction of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of settling it in any other way, than by a nearer and more complete union of the two kingdoms.

His Majesty is fully persuaded, that nothing can tend more to the good and security of both nations, than such an union; and finds, that his royal grandfather, King James, of blessed memory, went so far on towards this good work, that, by act of Parliament in the first year of ——— reign, commissioners were authorized to treat and consult with commissioners from Scotland concerning it.

And, in pursuance of their treating, in the fourth year of his reign, an act was made for the repeal of hostile laws, and the abolition of the memory of hostility between the two nations: and after the end of that session, about the seventh year of his reign, it was, by the judges of all the courts at Westminster Hall, solemnly adjudged in the case of the *post nati*, that those who after the descent of the crown to King James, were born in Scotland, were no aliens in England; and consequently were capable, not only of lands, but all other immunities, as if they had been born here. By these steps, so great an advance hath been made towards this union, that his Majesty well hopes, that what is yet wanting to the perfecting of it, may be now accomplished; the continuance under the same obedience and subjection, for near threescore and seven years, having begotten the same common friends and common enemies to both nations; and taken off a great part of those difficulties which at the first stood in the way: and therefore his Majesty doth most heartily recommend it unto you, that commissioners may be nominated to treat and consult with commissioners from Scotland, concerning this union. His Majesty hath given directions to the Earl of Lauderdale, his commissioner for Scotland, to make the like proposal to the Parliament which is now sitting there; and doubts not, but, upon the meeting of such commissioners of both kingdoms, those things will be offered to your considerations, in order to the union.

union, as shall tend to the honour of his Majesty, and the common good of all his subjects

And this is all I have in command to say at this time.

His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, February 14, 1670.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I SENT forth my proclamation, that there might be a good appearance at this meeting; having most confidence in full Houses, where the well-being of the church, and all other interests of the crown and nation, are best secured. When we met last, I asked you a supply; and I ask it now again with greater instance. The uneasiness and straightness of my affairs cannot continue without very ill effects to the whole kingdom. Consider this seriously and speedily. It is yours and the kingdom's interest, as well as mine; and the ill consequence of a want of an effectual supply must not lie at my door: and that no misapprehensions or mistakes touching the expenses of the last war may remain with you, I think fit to let you know, that I have fully informed myself in that matter; and do affirm to you, that no part of those monies that you gave me for that war have been diverted to other uses; but, on the contrary, besides all those supplies, a very great sum hath been raised out of my standing revenue and credit, and a very great debt contracted; and all for the war.

One thing I must earnestly recommend to the prudence of both Houses: that you will not suffer any occasion of difference between yourselves to be revived, since nothing but the unity of your minds and counsels can make this meeting happy, either to me or to the nation.

I did recommend to you, at our last meeting, the union of the two kingdoms, and I did the same to my Parliament in Scotland: they have made a great step towards it, and I do again seriously recommend that matter to you.

I have directed my Lord Keeper to speak more at large to you.

Then the Lord Keeper spake as followeth:

My Lords, and you, Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, of the House of Commons,

AT your last meeting, his Majesty did acquaint you with the great occasions he had for a supply; and that he had forborn to ask it sooner, more in consideration of giving some time

time for the ease of the people, after the burden of the war, than that the condition of his affairs could so long have wanted it: and his Majesty hath commanded me now to speak more fully and plainly upon this subject.

His Majesty hath not only by his ministers, but in his own royal person, examined the accounts touching the expenses of the last war; and hath thought himself concerned to let you know, that all the supplies which you gave him for the war have been by him applied to the war, and no part of them to any other uses: nay, so far from it, that if the preparations towards the war shall be taken to be for the use of the war, as they must be, a great part of his own revenue, to many hundred thousands of pounds, hath been employed also, and swallowed up in the charges of the war, and what did necessarily relate to it: to which may be added, the great debts contracted by his Majesty in the war, and the great charge in the repairs of the hulls of his ships, and putting his navy into such a condition as it was before.

Besides, his Majesty thinks it ought to be considered, that when the charges of the war were at the highest, the inevitable effects of it, and those other calamities which it pleased God (at that time) to bring upon us, did make so great a diminution in his revenues, that (besides all other accidents and disadvantages) the loss that he sustained in three branches of his revenues, in his customs, excise, and hearth-money, by reason of the war, the plague, and the fire, did amount to little less than six hundred thousand pounds.

Thus you see, that though your supplies have been great, yet the charges occasioned by the war, and the calamities which accompanied it, have been greater; and that the debt which is left upon his Majesty, and which he complains of, hath been contracted by the war, and not by the diversion of the monies designed for it.

His Majesty hath commanded me to say one thing more to you upon this subject: that he did not enter into this war upon any private inclination or appetite of his own. The first step he made towards it did arise from your advice, and the promises of your assistance: but if the charges and accidents of the war have outgone all your supplies, and left him under the burden of this debt, he thinks that, as well the justice to your promise as the duty and loyalty you have always shewed him, will oblige you to relieve him from it; and the rather, when you shall seriously consider, how uneasy this burden must be to him, and what ill consequence the continuance under it must draw upon all his affairs. In which

particular, you, and every person you represent in this nation, will be concerned as well as himself.

His Majesty doth therefore command me, in his name, to desire you once more, and to conjure you, by that constant duty and loyalty which you have always expressed to him, and by all the concernment you have for the support of the honour and safety of his government, to provide such a supply for him at this time as may bear proportion to the pressing occasions that he hath, and to the state of his affairs at home and abroad; and so speedily and so effectually, as may answer the ends for which he hath desired it.

His Majesty hath further commanded me to put you in mind of what was at your last meeting proposed to you concerning an union between the two kingdoms; and to let you know, that the Parliament of Scotland hath since declared to his Majesty, that such commissioners as his Majesty shall name shall be authorized on their part to treat with commissioners for this kingdom upon the grounds and conditions of the union. His Majesty therefore thought fit now again to recommend it to you, to take that matter effectually into your consideration.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, April 11, 1670.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

AT the opening of this session of Parliament, your Majesty was pleased to speak to your two Houses, and recommended three things especially to us; unity amongst ourselves, the union of your Majesty's two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and the supply of your Majesty's present and urgent occasions: in obedience to your Majesty's commands, we have industriously applied ourselves to the consideration of these matters.

By the blessing of God, all differences are buried in oblivion. Your Majesty's happy expedient hath, like a strong gale of wind, blown up the rolling sands, and filled up all impressions; *vestigia nulla retrorsum*. And as your people will universally enjoy the fruit of this happy union, so our united prayers to God shall be, that your Majesty may be crowned with the promised blessing, *beati pacifici*.

In order to the union of your Majesty's two kingdoms, both your Houses of Parliament have humbly besought your Majesty to name commissioners for this your kingdom of England; and we have prepared a bill to authorise them to treat with commissioners to be appointed for your kingdom of Scotland, upon such grounds as shall be thought conducing to that end,
and

and to report them to your Majesty, and to both Houses of Parliament of this your kingdom of England; reserving always to your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament the entire consideration of the whole, and the allowing or disallowing thereof, or any part thereof, as they shall think fit.

We have also considered of a supply for your Majesty's occasions: and I am commanded, by the knights, citizens, and burgeses, of the House of Commons, to present your Majesty with this bill, whereby we have given to your Majesty an imposition upon all wines and vinegar imported, after the rate of eight pounds per tun for all French wines and vinegar, and twelve pounds per tun for all other wines; and have granted this unto your Majesty for eight years, to commence from Midsummer next. And I am further commanded to acquaint your Majesty, that we apprehend the revenue arising by the power of granting wine licences, settled upon his Royal Highness by act of Parliament, hath been prejudiced by the last imposition upon wines, and will be much more impaired by this present imposition; we therefore added the last year unto this bill of supply with this vote, "That your Majesty be humbly desired therewith to recompense his Royal Highness the Duke of York for the damage he hath received, and shall receive, in his revenue of wine licences, by this and the last imposition."

Having thus, in the first place, with all dutifulness obeyed your Majesty's commands, we held it necessary to remember those that sent us hither, and to present unto your Majesty some bills that will be of public use for all the people of this nation.

There is, first, a bill for the preventing of seditious conventicles, whereby no man is hindered the use of his own judgment in the exercise of religion, by himself, or in his own family, or in the presence of four strangers; but, because the peace of the nation may be endangered by more populous meetings, contrary to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, we have imposed a penalty of five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second, and every other offence, upon all such offenders; to be levied by distress and sale of the offenders goods.

We are informed, that your Majesty suffers much by the stealing and embezzling of your ordnance, ammunition, sail cloths, and stores; and likewise your good people are much damnified by a wicked sort of people, who make it their practice, in the night time, to steal woollen cloths and stuffs from off the racks; and they are much encouraged in this their wickedness, by reason they have their clergy: We have there-

fore prepared a bill for the taking away the benefit of clergy upon the conviction of all such offenders. We have likewise prepared an additional bill for the rebuilding the city of London, wherein we have revived the judicatory of your Majesty's twelve judges, empowering them to hear and determine the remainder of causes and controversies, which have not already received a settlement by them; we have also made provision for the widening many more streets than were mentioned in the former act, and to enable the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London to give satisfaction to those whose grounds shall be taken from them; and also for laying the foundation, at least, of the famous cathedral of St. Paul, and towards the rebuilding of fifty-one parish churches, we have added an imposition of two shillings for every chaldron of coals that shall be brought into the port of London for the space of seventeen years yet to come. We have likewise prepared a bill for the ascertaining the measures of corn and salt; and provided, that one measure shall be used in all the market towns of this kingdom.

We have found great inconveniences by the want of due repairing the highways of this kingdom; and have therefore taken care for time to come, both to amend them, and to prevent the spoiling of them again, by carrying excessive loads, and drawing them with extraordinary number of horses and other cattle.

Experience tells us, when the consumption of foreign commodities exceeds the use and exportation of our native commodities, the nation must insensibly grow poor, and our treasure will be exhausted: we have therefore prepared a bill for the encouragement of tillage, by permitting the exporting of corn; and also for the encouragement of other sorts of good husbandry, by exporting of horses, swine, and other cattle, and of butter and cheese; and have made them all free merchandise, paying certain duties to your Majesty upon the exportation.

There be some other bills of a public nature, and divers private bills, all which are ready to be presented to your Majesty for your royal assent; the which I shall forbear to enumerate, for fear it may prove tedious to your Majesty.

Having given your Majesty this account of our proceedings, since our last meeting in this our short but happy session; it is evident we have not mispent our time; but, with the good servant in the gospel, have gained many talents, so that we may with comfort and satisfaction return to our houses; and we hope we shall carry our Master's blessing with us.

His Majesty's most Gracious Speech, April 11, 1670.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM unwilling to let you go away without telling you, that I am very well satisfied with the success of this meeting, and that you have so well complied with my desires, both in the correspondence between the two Houses, and in the progress you have made towards an union between the two kingdoms.

I heartily thank you for the supply you have given me; and I assure you I will make it go as far as I can towards the satisfying of my debts. And because you have been long from home, I am content you adjourn yourselves till the 24th of October next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 24, 1670.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

MY principal design being the good of the kingdom, and believing that will be best provided for when the Houses are fullest, I thought fit by my proclamation to summon you all to be here.

My Lord Keeper will open at large the particulars I have to recommend to you at this present; and what you do, I would have dispatched before Christmas, that you may then have leisure to return home, and that your own domestic affairs may not suffer by the care you take of me and the public. You have given me so many great testimonies of your zeal and affection, that it were to do you an injury to suspect your want of kindness at a time when there is so much need of it; and if you could possibly make any question of the value and love I have for you, I should think myself unhappy, since I have nothing more in my heart than to give evidences of it to the whole world.

Then the Lord Keeper spake as follows:

My Lords, and you, Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the House of Commons,

WHEN the two Houses were last adjourned, this day (as you well know) was prefixed for your meeting again. The proclamation (since issued) requiring all your attendances at the same time, shews, not only his Majesty's belief that his business will thrive best when the Houses are fullest, but the

importance also of the affairs for which you are so called ; and important they are.

You cannot be ignorant of all the forces, both for land and sea service, which our neighbours of France and the Low Countries have raised, and have now in actual pay ; nor of the great preparations which they continue to make, in levying of men, building of ships, filling their magazines and stores with immense quantities of all sorts of warlike provisions.

Since the beginning of the last Dutch war, the French have increased the number and greatness of their ships so much, that their strength by sea is thrice as much as it was before ; and since the end of it, the Dutch have been very diligent also in augmenting their fleets.

In this conjuncture, whilst our neighbours arm so potently, even common prudence requires that his Majesty should make some suitable preparations, that he may at least keep pace with his neighbours (if not outgo them) in the number and strength of his shipping, for, this being an island, both our safety and our trade, our being and our well-being, depend upon our force at sea.

His Majesty, therefore, of his princely care for the good of his people, hath given order for the fitting out of fifty sail of his greatest ships against the spring (besides those which are to be for security of our merchants in the Mediterranean) ; as foreseeing that, if he should not have a considerable fleet whilst his neighbours have such forces both at land and sea, temptation might be given, even to those who now seem not to intend it, to give us an affront (at least) if not to do us a mischief.

To which may be added, that his Majesty, by the leagues which he hath made for the common peace of Christendom, and the good of his kingdoms, is obliged to a certain number of forces, in case of infraction thereof, as also for the assistance of some of his neighbours, in case of invasion : and his Majesty would be in a very ill condition to perform his part in the leagues, if (whilst the clouds are gathering so thick about us) he should (in hopes that the wind would disperse them) omit to provide against the storm.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having named the leagues made by his Majesty, I think it necessary to put you in mind, that, since the close of the last war, his Majesty hath made several leagues, to his own great honour, and of infinite advantage to the nation : one, known by the name of the triple alliance, wherein his Majesty, the
Crown

Crown of Sweden, and the States of the United Provinces, are engaged to preserve the treaty at Aix la Chapelle, concerning a peace between the two then warring princes; which league produced that effect, that it quenched the fire which was ready to have set all Christendom on a flame; and (beside other great benefits by it which she still enjoys) gave opportunity to transmit those forces against the infidels, which would (otherwise) have been imbrued in Christian blood.

Another, between his Majesty and the said States, for a mutual assistance, with a certain number of men and ships, in case of invasion by any others.

Another, between his Majesty and the Duke of Savoy, establishing a free trade for his Majesty's subjects at Villa Franca, a port of his upon the Mediterranean, and through the dominions of that prince, and thereby opening a passage towards a rich part of Italy and part of Germany, which will be of very great advantage, for the vending of cloth and other our home commodities, and bringing back silk and other materials for manufactures here.

Another, between his Majesty and the King of Denmark, whereby those impositions which were lately laid upon our trade there are taken off, and as great privileges are granted to our merchants as ever they had in former times, or as the subjects of any other prince or state do now enjoy.

And another league upon a treaty of commerce with the Crown of Spain, whereby there is (not only) a cession, and giving up to his Majesty, of all their pretensions to Jamaica, and other the islands and countries in the West Indies, in the possession of his Majesty or his subjects; but withal, free liberty is given for his Majesty's subjects to enter their ports, for victuals and water, and safety of harbour; and return, if storms and other accidents bring them thither: privileges which were never before granted by them, either to the English or any others.

Not to mention the leagues formerly made with Sweden and Portugal, and the advantages which we enjoy thereby; nor those treaties now depending between his Majesty and France, or his Majesty and the States of the United Provinces, touching commerce, wherein his Majesty will have a singular regard to the honour of the nation, and also to the trade of it, which was never greater than now it is.

In a word, almost all the princes of Europe do seek his Majesty's friendship, as acknowledging they cannot secure, much less improve, their present condition without it.

His Majesty is confident, that you will not be content to see him deprived of all the advantages which he might procure

cure hereby to his own kingdoms, nay even to all Christendom, in the repose and quiet of it; that you will not be content abroad to see your neighbours strengthening themselves in shipping so much more than they were before, and at home to see the government struggling every year with difficulties, and not able to keep up our navies equal with theirs.

He finds, by his accounts, that from the year 1660 to the late war, the ordinary charge of the fleet (*communibus annis*) came to about five hundred thousand pounds a year, and it cannot be supported with less: if that particular alone takes up so much, add to it the other constant charges of the government, and the revenue (although the commissioners of the treasury have managed it with all imaginable thrift) will in no degree suffice to take off the debts due upon interest, much less give him a fund for the setting out this fleet, which, by estimate thereof, cannot cost less than eight hundred thousand pounds.

His Majesty, in his most gracious speech, hath expressed the great sense he hath of your zeal and affection for him: and as he will ever retain a grateful memory of your former readiness to supply him in all his exigencies, so he doth with particular thanks acknowledge your frank and cheerful gift of the new duty upon wines at your last meeting: but the same is like to fall very short in value of what it was conceived to be worth; and should it have answered expectation, yet far too short to ease or help him upon these occasions.

And therefore, such a supply as may enable him to take off his debts upon interest, and set out this fleet against the next spring, is that which he desires from you, and recommends it to you as that which concerns the honour and support of the government, and the welfare and safety of yourselves and the whole kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You may perceive, by what his Majesty hath already said, that he holds it requisite that an end be put to this meeting before Christmas: it is so, not only in reference to the preparation of his fleet, which must be in a readiness in the spring, but also to the season of the year: it is a time when you would be willing to be in your counties, and your neighbours would be glad to see you there, and partake of your hospitality and charity; and you thereby endear yourselves unto them, and keep up that interest and power amongst them which is necessary for the service of your King and country. And a recess at that time (leaving your business unfinished till your return) cannot be either convenient for you, or suitable to the

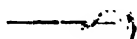
the condition of his Majesty's affairs, which requires your speedy, as well as affectionate, consideration.

This is all I have in command to say at this time.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, March 6, 1671-2.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THE knights, citizens, and burgesses, in the Commons House of Parliament, taking into their serious consideration the supply of your Majesty, for the carrying on the great charge of the government and payment of your Majesty's debts, present your Majesty with two bills; the one intituled, "An Act for granting a Subsidy to his Majesty, for Supply of his extraordinary Occasions," the other, "An Act for an Additional Excise on Beer, Ale, and other Liquors;" which they beseech your Majesty to accept of, as an earnest of their dutiful affections to you.



Effect of his Majesty's Speech, March 6, 1671-2.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE nothing to say to you now, but to thank you very heartily for the two bills now passed for my supply; and to desire you to make what haste you can in such public bills as are in your hands, that there may be a recess towards the latter end of this month.

Address by both Houses, presented to his Majesty, for preventing the Growth of Popery, March 13, 1671-2.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, being sensible of your Majesty's constancy to the protestant religion both at home and abroad, hold ourselves bound, in conscience and duty, to represent to your most sacred Majesty the causes of the dangerous growth of popery in these your Majesty's dominions, the ill consequences whereof we heartily desire may be prevented: and therefore, what we humbly conceive to be some present remedies for the said growing mischiefs, we have hereunto added, in our most humble petitions.

Causes of the Growth of Popery.

1. THAT there are great numbers of priests and jesuits frequenting the cities of London and Westminster, and most of the counties of this kingdom, more than formerly, seducing your Majesty's good subjects.

2. That there are several chapels and places used for saying of mass, in the great towns, and many other parts of this kingdom; besides those in ambassadors houses; whither great numbers of your Majesty's subjects constantly resort and repair without controul, and especially in the cities of London and Westminster, contrary to the established laws.

3. That there are fraternities or convents of English popish priests and jesuits at St. James, and at the Combe in Hertfordshire; and others, in other parts of the kingdom; besides, several schools are kept in divers parts of this kingdom, for the corrupt educating of youth in the principles of popery.

4. The common and public selling of popish catechisms, and other seditious popish books, even in the time of Parliament.

5. The general remissness of the magistrates, and other officers, or clerks of the assize, and clerks of the peace, in not convicting of papists, according to law.

6. That suspected recusants are free from all offices chargeable and troublesome; and do enjoy the advantages of offices and places beneficial, executed either by themselves, or persons intrusted by them.

7. That the advowance of churches, and presentations to livings, are disposed of by popish recusants, or by others intrusted by them, as they direct; whereby most of those livings and benefices are filled with scandalous and unfit ministers.

8. That many persons take the liberty to send their children beyond the seas, to be educated in the popish religion; and that several young persons are sent beyond the seas, upon the notion of their better education, under tutors or guardians, who are not put to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and usually corrupt the youths under their tuition into popery.

9. That there hath been few exchequer processes issued forth since the act of oblivion, against the popish recusants convicted, though many have been certified thither.

10. The great insolencies of the papists in Ireland, where doth publicly appear archbishops and bishops, reputed to be made such by the pope, in opposition to those made under his Majesty's authority, according to the religion established in England and Ireland: and the open exercise of mass in Dublin,

lin, and other parts of that kingdom, is a further great cause of the present growth of popery.

That Peter Talbot, the reputed archbishop of Dublin, was publicly consecrated so at Antwerp, with great and public solemnity; from whence he came to London, where he exercised his function, and was, all along his journey to Chester, treated with the character of "His Grace," by the popish recusants whom he visited; and, at his landing in Dublin, he was received with very great solemnity by those of the popish religion there; where also he exercised his function publicly, great multitudes then flocking to him; and still continues to do the same: his present residence is within three miles of Dublin, at his brother's, Colonel Richard Talbot, who is now here, soliciting your Majesty, as public agent, on the behalf of the Irish papists of that kingdom.

That Remedies against these growing Mischiefs, we, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, in all humility, present to your Sacred Majesty, in these our Petitions following:

1. THAT your Majesty, by your proclamation, would be most graciously pleased to command, that all popish priests and jesuits do depart this realm, and all other your Majesty's dominions, on or before a short day to be prefixed, at their perils; excepting only such foreign priests as attend her Majesty's person by the contract of marriage, and ambassadors, according to the law of nations: and that all judges and justices of the peace, and all other ministers and officers of justice, do cause the laws now in force against popish recusants to be put in due execution; and, in the first place, for the speedy conviction of such popish recusants, that all judges and justices aforesaid do strictly give the said laws in charge unto the juries, at all assizes and sessions, under the penalty of incurring your Majesty's highest displeasure.

2. That your Majesty would be graciously pleased to restrain and hinder the great concourse of your native subjects from hearing of mass, and other exercises of the Romish religion, in the houses of foreign ambassadors or agents, and in all other chapels and places of this kingdom.

3. That your Majesty would be most graciously pleased, out of your most princely wisdom, and pious consideration, to take care, and cause that no office or employment of public authority, trust, or command, in civil or military affairs, be committed to, or continued in, the hands of any person, being a popish recusant, or justly suspected to be so.

4. That

4. That your Majesty would be graciously pleased, to take notice of all fraternities and convents of English and other popish priests, jesuits, or friars, and schools for the educating of youth in the principles of popery, erected within your Majesty's dominions; and to cause the same to be abolished, and the said priests, jesuits, friars, and schoolmasters, to be duly punished for such their insolencies.

5. That your Majesty would be graciously pleased, from time to time, to require, and cause, that all the officers of, or relating to the exchequer, issue forth process effectually upon popish recusants convict certified thither: and that such officer, as shall refuse or neglect to do his duty as aforesaid, be severely punished for such his failure.

6. That your Majesty would be graciously pleased to give order for apprehending, and bringing over into England, one Plunkett, who goes under the name of Primate of Ireland, and one Peter Talbot, who takes upon him the name of Archbishop of Dublin, to answer such matters as shall be objected against them.

To these our most humble petitions, proceeding from our duty and zeal for the glory of God, and good of your sacred Majesty, and from the care incumbent on us, for the safety and peace of these your Majesty kingdoms, we do, in all humility, beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe a gracious answer.

And we your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the Lord and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, shall ever pray for your Majesty's long and happy reign over us; and, as in conscience we are obliged, shall constantly adhere to, and assist your Majesty, in the maintenance and defence of your Majesty's supremacy, and the true protestant religion now established in your Majesty's dominions, in opposition to all foreign powers and popish pretensions whatsoever.

His Majesty's answer was to this effect:

THAT he would presently issue out his proclamation for the banishing of popish priests and jesuits, and give charge that the laws against popery should be put in execution; and that he would take all the care he could, for suppressing the growth of popery.

That it was no wonder, if he did make a distinction between those who had newly changed their religion, and those who were bred up in it, and had faithfully served his father and himself, in the late wars.

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Effect of the Speaker's Speech, April 22, 1761-2.

THAT his Majesty was pleased, in October last, (when the Parliament then met) to acquaint them how his revenue was clogged with debts; and that the Commons, taking the same into consideration, resolved to supply his Majesty accordingly; and that, on the sixth day of March last, he presented his Majesty, from the House of Commons, with the subsidy and excise bills; and now, by their command, he presented his Majesty with the bill for laying impositions on proceedings at law: that he was commanded humbly to beseech his Majesty, that the revenue thereof might be effectually applied to the payment of his debts: and that he had further in command from them, to let his Majesty know, that they had enlarged the time for the impositions on proceedings at law to nine years, that thereby his Majesty might be the better enabled to satisfy his debt owing to the Prince of Orange: he begged his pardon, that he called it his debt, it being contracted for supplies afforded to his royal father and himself in their unhappy necessities, and therefore not to be forgotten. He said, that geographers write of some islands called *Insule Fortunatæ*, whose harvest is said to be in March and April; he hoped, that England might be accounted one of those islands, having afforded his Majesty such a crop in March last, and this April, which he humbly besought his Majesty to accept as a pledge of their dutiful affection to him.

His Majesty then spake as followeth:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I GIVE you very hearty thanks for the supply you have now given me. His Majesty also proceeded further to thank them for what they had further intended him; and assured them, "That what they had given him should be employed toward the payment of his debts, and his expenses for this year: that it was now time for them to go into their counties; and he desired them to take care that in the laying and collecting of the subsidy they had given him, it might be improved to what they intended." He said further, "That he intended the Parliament should be prorogued, not to meet again for almost a year; but hoped that when they do meet, they would come again with the same affections to his service as formerly; and what he had further to say to them, they should understand by the Lord Keeper."

Then

Then the Lord Keeper spake to this effect :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HIS Majesty hath told you with how great satisfaction he hath accepted your supplies, as real testimonies of the constancy of your good affections.

His Lordship further told them, “ That many of them being commissioners in the country for the new subsidy, his Majesty desired them to use their endeavours to make it effectual, and suitable to their intentions ; and wished them to assure their neighbours, that he would employ the monies entirely towards the payment of his debts.”

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, February 4, 1673.

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the House Commons,

HIS Majesty hath commanded me to tell you, that he hath many things to say to you : but he thinks not this a proper time, but will defer it till the House of Commons be completed with a new Speaker ; for his Majesty hath, since the last session, as a mark of his favour to his House of Commons, and that he might reward so good a servant, taken their late speaker, Sir Edward Turner, to be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and called him by writ to be an assistant to this House. I am therefore commanded to acquaint you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, that it is the King's pleasure you repair to your House, and elect a discreet, wise, and learned man ; who, after he hath been by you presented, and that presentation admitted by his Majesty, shall then possess the office of your common mouth and speaker. And the King is pleased to be here to-morrow in the afternoon, to receive the presentment of him accordingly.

Speech by Sir Job Charlton, Speaker of the House of Commons, Feb. 5, 1673.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

THE knights, citizens, and burgesses, of your House of Commons, in obedience to your royal command, have proceeded to the choice of a Speaker. They have among them many worthy persons eminently qualified for so great a trust :

trust ; yet, with too favourable an eye, have cast it upon me, who am really conscious to myself of many infirmities, rendering me much unfit for so great an employment. And although my endeavours of excusing myself before them have not been successful, yet they have been so indulgent as to permit me to continue my endeavours therein before your Majesty's most piercing and discerning judgment.

The veneration due to Majesty, which lodgeth in every loyal breast, makes it not an easy matter to speak before your Majesty at any time, or in any capacity. But to speak before your Majesty in your exaltation, thus gloriously supported and attended, and that as Speaker of your House of Commons, requires greater abilities than I can pretend to own.

I am not also without fear that the public affairs, wherein your Majesty and your kingdom in this juncture of time are so highly concerned, may receive detriment through my weakness.

I therefore, with a plain humble heart, prostrate at your royal feet, beseech that you will command them to review what they have done, and to proceed to another election.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by directions from his Majesty, returned this answer :

Mr. Serjeant Charlton,

THE King hath very attentively heard your discreet and handsome discourse, whereby you endeavour to excuse and disable yourself for the place of Speaker : in answer whereof, his Majesty hath commanded me to say to you, that he doth in no sort admit of the same ; for his Majesty hath had long experience of your abilities, good affection, integrity, and resolution, in several employments of great trust and weight. He knows you have been long a Parliament man, and therefore every way fitted and qualified for the employment. Besides, he cannot disapprove the election of this House of Commons, especially when they have expressed so much duty in chusing one worthy and acceptable to him. And therefore the King doth allow of the election, and admits you for Speaker.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker made this reply.

Great Sir,

SINCE it is your gracious pleasure not to accept of my humble excuse, but by your royal approbation to fix me under this great though honourable weight, and to think me fit to be
invested

invested with a trust of so high a nature as this is ; I take it, in the first place, to be incumbent upon me, that I render your Majesty all possible thanks ; which I now humbly do, with a heart full of all duty, and affected with a deeper sense of gratitude than I can find words to express.

Next, from your royal determination in this affair, whereby you have imprinted a new character upon me, I take courage against my own diffidence, and cheerfully bend myself, with such strength and abilities as God shall give, to the service so graciously assigned me ; no way doubting that your Majesty will please to pardon my frailties, to accept of my faithful endeavours, and always to look favourably upon the work of your own hands.

And now, Sir, my first entrance upon this service obliges me to make a few necessary, but humble petitions, on the behalf of your most loyal and dutiful House of Commons :

1. That, for our better attendance on the public service, we and our servants may be free in our persons and estates from arrests and other disturbances.
2. That, in our debates, liberty and freedom of speech be allowed us.
3. That, as occasions shall require, your Majesty, upon our humble suit, and at such times as your Majesty shall judge seasonable, will vouchsafe us access to your royal person.
4. That all our proceedings may receive a favourable construction.

That God who hath brought you back to the throne of your fathers, and with you all our comforts, grant you a long and prosperous reign, and send you victory over all your enemies ; and every good man's heart will say, Amen.

Upon which, by his Majesty's further direction, the Lord Chancellor said as followeth :

Mr. Speaker,

THE King's Majesty hath heard, and well weighed, your short and eloquent oration ; and, in the first place, much approves that you have with so much advantage introduced a shorter way of speaking upon this occasion. His Majesty doth well accept of all those dutiful and affectionate expressions in which you have delivered your submission to his royal pleasure ; and looks upon it as a good omen to his affairs, and as an evidence that the House of Commons have still the same heart, that have chosen such a mouth. The conjuncture of
time,

time, the King and kingdom's affairs require such a House of Commons, such a Speaker; for, with reverence to the Holy Scripture, upon this occasion the King may say, "He that is not with me, is against me;" for he that doth not now put his hand and heart to support the King in the common cause of this kingdom, can hardly ever hope for such another opportunity, or find a time to make satisfaction for the omission of this.

Next, I am commanded by his Majesty to answer your four petitions; whereof the first being the freedom of you and your servants, your persons and estates, without arrests or other disturbance, the King has graciously pleased to grant it, as full as to any of your predecessors: the second, for liberty and freedom of speech: the third, for access to his royal person; and the fourth, that your proceedings may receive a favourable construction; are all freely and fully granted by his Majesty.

Then His Majesty spake as followeth:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM glad to see you here this day. I would have called you sooner together, but that I was willing to ease you and the country till there were an absolute necessity.

Since you were last here, I have been forced to a most important, necessary, and expensive war; and I make no doubt but you will give me suitable and effectual assistance to go through with it. I refer you to my declaration for the causes, and indeed the necessity of this war; and shall now only tell you, that I might have digested the indignities to my own person, rather than have brought it to this extremity, if the interest as well * as the honour of the whole kingdom had not been at stake, and if I had omitted this conjuncture, perhaps I had not again ever met with the like advantage.

You will find, that the last supply you gave me did not answer expectation for the ends you gave it, the payment of my debts: therefore I must, in the next place, recommend them again to your especial care.

Some few days before I declared the war, I put forth my declaration for indulgence to dissenters, and have hitherto found a good effect of it, by securing peace at home, when I had war abroad. There is one part in it that hath been subject to misconstructions, which is that concerning the papists; as if more liberty were granted them than to the other recusants, when it is plain there is less; for the others have public places allowed them, and I never intended that they should have any, but only have the freedom of their religion in their own houses,
without

without any concurrence of others. And I could not grant them less than this, when I had extended so much more grace to others, most of them having been loyal, and in the service of me and of the King, my father; and in the whole course of this indulgence, I do not intend that it shall any way prejudice the church, but I will support its rights, and it in its full power. Having said this, I shall take it very ill to receive contradiction in what I have done. And, I will deal plainly with you, I am resolved to stick to my declaration.

There is one jealousy more, that is maliciously spread abroad, and yet so weak and frivolous that I once thought it not of moment enough to mention, but it may have gotten some ground with some well-minded people; and that is, that the forces I have raised in this war were designed to controul law and property. I wish I had had more forces last summer; the want of them then convinces me I must raise more against this next spring; and I do not doubt but you will consider them in your supplies.

I will conclude with this assurance to you, that I will preserve the true reformed protestant religion, and the church as it is now established in this kingdom, and that no man's property or liberty shall ever be invaded.

I leave the rest to the Chancellor.

Then the Lord Chancellor spake as follows:

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the House of Commons,

THE King hath spoken so fully, so excellently well, and so like himself, that you are not to expect much from me. There is not a word in his speech that hath not its full weight and I dare with assurance say, will have its effect with you. His Majesty had called you sooner, and his affairs required it, but that he was resolved to give you all the ease and vacancy to your own private concerns, and the people as much respite from payments and taxes, as the necessity of his business, or their preservation, would permit. And yet (which I cannot but here mention to you) by the crafty insinuations of some ill-affected persons, there have been spread strange and desperate rumours, which your meeting together this day hath sufficiently proved both malicious and false.

His Majesty hath told you, that he is now engaged in an important, very expensive, and indeed a war absolutely necessary and unavoidable. He hath referred you to his declaration, where you will find the personal indignities by pictures and medals,

medals, and other public affronts his Majesty hath received from the States; their breach of treaties both in the Surinam and East India business; and at last they came to that height of insolence, as to deny the honour and right of the flag, though an undoubted jewel of this crown, never to be parted with, and by them particularly owned in the late treaty of Breda, and never contested in any age. And whilst the King first long expected, and then solemnly demanded satisfaction, they disputed his title to it in all the courts of Christendom; and made great offers to the French King, if he would stand by them against us. But the Most Christian King too well remembered what they did at Munster, contrary to so many treaties and solemn engagements, and how dangerous a neighbour they were to all crowned heads.

The King and his ministers had here a hard time, and lay every day under new obloquies: sometimes they were represented as selling all to France for money to make this war; Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Hull were to be given into the French hands, for caution. The next day news came, that France and Holland were agreed. Then the obloquy was turned from treachery to folly. The ministers were now fools, that some days before, were villains. And indeed the coffee-houses were not to be blamed for their last apprehensions, since, if that conjunction had taken effect, then England had been in a far worse case than now it is, and the war had been turned upon us. But both Kings, knowing their interest, resolved to join against them, who were the common enemies to all monarchies, and I may say, especially to our's, their only competitor for trade and power at sea, and who only stand in their way to an universal empire as great as Rome. This the States understood so well, and had swallowed so deep, that, under all their present distrusts and danger, they are so intoxicated with that vast ambition, that they slight a treaty, and refuse a cessation.

All this you and the whole nation saw before the last war; but it could not then be so well timed, or our alliances so well made. But you judged aright, that at any rate, *delenda est Carthago*, that government was to be brought down; and therefore the King may well say to you, 'tis your war. He took his measures from you, and they were just and right ones; and he expects a suitable assistance to so necessary and expensive an action, which he hath hitherto maintained at his own charge, and was unwilling either to trouble you, or burthen the country, until it came to an inevitable necessity. And his Majesty commands me to tell you, that unless it be a certain sum, and speedily raised, it can never answer the occasion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Reputation is the great support of war or peace. This war had never begun, nor had the States ever slighted the King, or ever refused him satisfaction, neither had this war continued to this day, or subsisted now, but that the States were deceived in their measures, and apprehended his Majesty in that great want of money, that he must sit down under any affronts, and was not able to begin or carry on a war. Nay, at this day, the States support themselves amongst their people by this only falsehood, "that they are assured of the temper of England, and of the Parliament, and that you will not supply the King in this war; and that if they can hold out till your meeting, they will have new life, and may take new measures." There are lately taken two of their principal agents, with their credentials and instructions to this purpose, who are now in the Tower, and shall be proceeded against according to the law of nations. But the King is sufficiently assured of his people: knows you better; and can never doubt his Parliament. This had not been mentioned, but to shew you of what importance the frankness and seasonableness of this supply is, as well as the fulness of it. Let me say, the King hath brought the States to that condition, that your hearty conjunction at this time, in supplying his Majesty, will make them never more formidable to kings, or dangerous to England. And if, after this, you suffer them to get up, let this be remembered, the States of Holland are England's eternal enemy, both by interest and inclination.

In the next place to the supply for the carrying on of the war, his Majesty recommends to you the taking care of his debts. What you gave the last session, did not near answer your own expectation. Besides, another considerable aid you designed his Majesty was unfortunately lost in the birth; so that the King was forced, for the carrying on of his affairs, much against his will, to put a stop to the payments out of the Exchequer. He saw the pressures upon himself, and growing inconveniences to his people, by great interest; and the difference, through all his business, between ready money and orders. This gave the King the necessity of that proceeding, to make use of his own revenue, which hath been of so great effect in this war. But, though he hath put a stop to the trade and gain of the bankers, yet he would be unwilling to ruin them, and oppress so many families as are concerned in those debts. Besides, it were too disproportionable a burthen upon many of his good subjects. But neither the bankers nor they have reason to complain, if you now take them into your care, and they have paid

paid them what was due to them when the stop was made, with six *per cent.* interest from that time. The King is very much concerned both in honour and interest to see this done ; and yet he desires you not to mis-time it, but that it may have only the second place ; and that you will first settle what you intend about the supply.

His Majesty hath so fully vindicated his declaration from that calumny concerning the papists, that no reasonable scruple can be made by any good man. He hath sufficiently justified it by the time it was published in, and the effects he hath had from it ; and might have done it more, from the agreeableness of it to his own natural disposition, which no good Englishman can wish other than it is. He loves not blood, nor rigorous severities ; but where mild or gentle ways may be used by a wise prince, he is certain to chuse them. The church of England and all good protestants have reason to rejoice in such a head, and such a defender. His Majesty doth declare his care and concerns for the church, and will maintain them in all their rights and privileges, equal if not beyond any of his predecessors. He was born and bred up in it : it was that his father died for : we all know how great temptations and offers he resisted abroad, when he was in his lowest condition ; and he thinks it the honour of his reign, that he hath been the restorer of the church : it is that he will ever maintain, and hopes to leave to posterity in greater lustre, and upon surer grounds than our ancestors ever saw it. But his Majesty is not convinced that violent ways are the interest of religion, or of the church.

There is one thing more that I am commanded to speak to you of, which is, the jealousy that hath been foolishly spread abroad, of the forces the King hath raised in this war ; wherein the King hath opened himself freely to you, and confessed the fault on the other hand : for if this last summer had not proved a miracle of storms and tempests, such as secured their East India fleet, and protected their sea coasts from a descent, nothing but the true reason (want of money) could have justified the defect in the number of our forces. 'Tis that his Majesty is providing for against the next spring, having given out orders for the raising of seven or eight regiments more of foot, under the command of persons of the greatest fortune and quality. And I am earnestly to recommend to you, that in your supplies you will take into your consideration this necessary addition of charge.

And after his Majesty's conclusion of his speech, let me conclude, nay, let us all conclude, with blessing God and the King : let us bless God, that he hath given us such a King, to be the repairer of our breaches both in church and state, and the restorer of our paths to dwell in ; that, in the midst of war

and misery, which rage in our neighbour countries, our garners are full, and there is no complaining in our streets ; and man can hardly know there is a war : let us bless God, that hath given this King signally the hearts of his people, and most particularly of this Parliament, who, in their affection and loyalty to their prince, have exceeded all their predecessors ; a Parliament with whom the King hath many years lived with all the caresses of a happy marriage. Has the King had a concern ? You have wedded it. Has his Majesty wanted supplies ? You have readily, cheerfully, and fully provided for them. You have relied upon the wisdom and conduct of his Majesty in all his affairs, so that you have never attempted to exceed your bounds, or to impose upon him : whilst the King, on the other hand, hath made your counsels the foundation of all his proceedings ; and hath been so tender of you, that he hath upon his own revenue and credit endeavoured to support even foreign wars, that he might be least uneasy to you, or burthensome to his people. And let me say, that though this marriage be according to Moses' law, where the husband can give a bill of divorce, put her away, and take another, yet, I can assure you, it is as impossible for the King to part with this Parliament, as it is for you to depart from that loyalty, affection, and dutiful behaviour, you have hitherto shewed towards him.

Let us bless the King for taking away all our fears, and leaving no room for jealousies ; for those assurances and promises he hath made us. Let us bless God and the King, that our religion is safe ; that the church of England is the care of our prince ; that Parliaments are safe ; that our properties and liberties are safe. What more hath a good Englishman to ask, but that this King may long reign ; and that this triple alliance of King, Parliament, and People, may never be dissolved ?

After this, his Majesty spake to this effect :

ONE thing I forgot to mention to you, which happened during this prorogation : I did give order that some writs might issue out, for the election of members instead of those that are dead, to the end the House might be full at their meeting ; and I am mistaken if this be not done according to former precedents : but I desire that you fall not to any other business till you have examined that particular ; and I doubt not but precedents will justify what is done. I am as careful of all your privileges as of my own prerogative.

*Petition and Address by the House of Commons to the King,
February 44, 1673.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, the Commons assembled in Parliament, do, in the first place, as in all duty bound, return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for the many gracious promises and assurances which your Majesty hath several times, during this present Parliament, given to us, that your Majesty would secure and maintain unto us the true reformed protestant religion, our liberties and properties: which most gracious assurances your Majesty hath, out of your great goodness, been pleased to renew unto us more particularly, at the opening of this present session of Parliament.

And further, we crave leave humbly to represent, that we have, with all duty and expedition, taken into our consideration several parts of your Majesty's last speech to us, and withal the declaration therein mentioned, for indulgence to dissenters, dated the fifteenth of March last: and we find ourselves bound in duty to inform your Majesty, that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by act of Parliament.

We therefore, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, of your Majesty's House of Commons, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that the said laws may have their free course, until it shall be otherwise provided for by act of Parliament: and that your Majesty would graciously be pleased to give such directions herein, that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your Majesty's good and faithful subjects.

*His Majesty's Answer to the Petition and Address,
February 24, 1673.*

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty hath received an address from you; and he hath seriously considered of it, and returneth you this answer:

That he is very much troubled, that that declaration, which he put out for ends so necessary to the quiet of his kingdom, and especially in that conjuncture, should have proved the cause of disquiet in his House of Commons, and give occasion to the questioning of his power in ecclesiasticks, which he finds not done in the reigns of any of his ancestors. He is sure he never had thoughts of using it otherwise than as it hath been

intrusted in him, to the peace and establishment of the church of England, and the ease of all his subjects in general: neither doth he pretend to the right of suspending any laws, wherein the properties, rights, or liberties, of any of his subjects are concerned; nor to alter any thing in the established doctrine or discipline of the church of England: but his only design in this was, to take off the penalties the statutes inflict upon dissenters; and which he believes, when well considered of, you yourselves would not with executed according to the rigour and letter of the law. Neither hath he done this with any thought of avoiding or precluding the advice of his Parliament: and if any bill shall be offered him, which shall appear more proper to attain the aforesaid ends, and secure the peace of the church and kingdom, when tendered in due manner to him, he will shew how readily he will concur in all ways that shall appear good for the kingdom.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the twenty-fourth of February, 1672-3.

*Thanks of the House of Commons for his Majesty's Answer,
February 26, 1673.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgessees, in this present Parliament assembled, do render to your sacred Majesty our most dutiful thanks, for that, to our unspeakable comfort, your Majesty hath been pleased so often to reiterate unto us those gracious promises and assurances of maintaining the religion now established; and the liberties and properties of your people: and we do not in the least measure doubt, but that your Majesty had the same gracious intentions, in giving satisfaction to your subjects, by your answer to our last petition and address: yet, upon a serious consideration thereof, we find, that the said answer is not sufficient to clear the apprehensions that may justly remain in the minds of your people, by your Majesty's having claimed a power to suspend penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical; and which your Majesty does still seem to assert in the said answer, to be intrusted in the crown, and never questioned in the reigns of any of your ancestors: wherein we humbly conceive, your Majesty hath been very much misinformed; since no such power was ever claimed or exercised by any of your Majesty's predecessors: and if it should be admitted, might tend to the interrupting of the free course of the laws, and altering the legislative power, which hath always
been

been acknowledged to reside in your Majesty, and your two Houses of Parliament.

We do therefore, with an unanimous consent, become again most humble suitors unto your sacred Majesty, that you would be pleased to give us a full and satisfactory answer to our said petition and address: and that your Majesty would take such effectual order, that the proceedings in this matter may not, for the future, be drawn into consequence or example.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to the House of Peers,
March 1, 1673.*

My Lords,

YOU know that, at the opening of this session, I spake here to your satisfaction: it hath notwithstanding begotten a greater disquiet in the House of Commons than I could have imagined.

I received an address from them* which I looked not for; and I made them an answer that ought to have contented them: but, on the contrary, they have made me a reply, of such a nature, that I cannot think fit to proceed any further in this matter without your advice.

I have commanded the Chancellor to acquaint you with all the transaction, wherein you will find both me and yourselves highly concerned. I am sensible for what relates to me; and I assure you, my Lords, I am not less so for your privileges and the honour of this House.

Address of Thanks by the House of Peers to his Majesty.

WE, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, do unanimously present to your sacred Majesty our most humble thanks, for having been pleased to communicate to us what hath passed between your Majesty and the House of Commons; whereby you have graciously offered us the means of shewing our duty to your Majesty, and of asserting the ancient just rights and privileges of the House of Peers.

Joint Address of both Houses to the King.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, being very sensible of the great dangers and

mischiefs that may arise within this your Majesty's realm, by the increase of Popish recusants amongst us; and considering the great resort of priests and jesuits into this kingdom, who daily endeavour to seduce your Majesty's subjects from their religion and allegiance; and how desirous your loyal subjects are, that no Popish recusants be admitted into employments of trust and profit, and especially into military commands over the forces now in your Majesty's service; and having a tender regard to the preservation of your Majesty's person, and the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, do in all humility desire:

That your Majesty would be pleased to issue out your royal proclamation, to command all priests and jesuits (other than such as, not being natural-born subjects to your Majesty, are obliged to attend upon your royal consort the Queen) to depart within thirty days out of this your Majesty's kingdom; and that if any priest or jesuit shall happen to be taken in England after the expiration of the said time, that the laws be put in due execution against them; and that your Majesty would please, in the said proclamation, to command all judges, justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers, to put the said laws in execution accordingly.

That your Majesty would likewise be pleased, that the Lord Chancellor of England shall, on or before the five and twentieth day of March instant, issue out commissions of *deimus potestatem* to the judge advocate and commissaries of the musters, and such other persons as he shall think fit (not being officers commanding soldiers,) to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to all officers and soldiers now in your Majesty's service and pay; and that such as refuse the said oaths may be immediately disbanded, and not allowed or continued in any pay or pension; and that the Chancellor shall require due returns to be made thereof within some convenient time after the issuing out of the said commissions.

That the said commissaries of the musters be commanded and enjoined, by your Majesty's warrant, upon the penalty of losing their places, not to permit any officer to be mustered in the service and pay of your Majesty, until he shall have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and received the Sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the laws and usage of the church of England; and that every soldier serving at land shall take the said oaths before his first muster, and receive the sacrament in such manner before his second muster.

And this we present in all dutifulness to your Majesty's princely wisdom and consideration, as the best means for the satisfying and composing the minds of your loyal subjects;
humbly

humbly desiring your Majesty graciously to accept of this our petition, as proceeding from hearts and affections entirely devoted to your Majesty's service, and to give it your royal approbation.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 8, 1673.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YESTERDAY you presented me an address, as the best means for the satisfying and composing the minds of my subjects; to which I freely and readily agreed: and I shall take care to see it performed accordingly.

I hope, on the other side, you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, will do your part; for I must put you in mind, it is near five weeks since I demanded a supply; and what you voted unanimously upon it, did both give life to my affairs at home, and disheartened my enemies abroad: but the seeming delay it hath met withal since, hath made them take new courage; and they are now preparing for this next summer a greater fleet (as they say) than ever they had yet; so that, if the supply be not very speedily dispatched, it will be altogether ineffectual; and the safety, honour, and interest of England, must of necessity be exposed. Pray lay this to heart, and let not the fears and jealousies of some draw an inevitable ruin upon us all.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

If any scruple remain with you concerning the suspension of penal laws, I here faithfully promise you, that what hath been done in that particular shall not for the future be drawn either into consequence or example; and as I daily expect from you a bill for my supply, so, I assure you, I shall as willingly receive and pass any other you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving you satisfaction in all your just grievances.

Then, the Lord Chancellor reported, that both Houses waited upon the King yesterday, and presented him with the address against the growth of popery; and his Majesty hath been pleased to return this answer:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I DO heartily agree with you in your address, and shall give speedy order to have it put in execution: there is one part to which I believe it is not your intention that it should ex-

* Orig. meet.

tend;

tend ; for I can scarce say those are in my pay that are presently to be employed abroad ; but as for all the other parts, I shall take care it shall be done as you desire.

After which, the Lord Chancellor said, “ He had somewhat more to impart to the House, by the King’s command ; which was, that his Majesty last night, having spoken with several members of both Houses, found some dissatisfaction remained concerning his answer to their address, in the particular of the officers to be employed abroad ; of which number he had five or six that were of the best officers of France or Flanders ; and, being his own subjects, he hath been very solicitous to get : but if that breed any umbrage, the King commanded him to let them know ; that he resolves to give both his Houses full satisfaction to their desires.”

“ There was another particular, (the Lord Chancellor said) he thought fit to acquaint them with ; which, though it was by his Majesty’s leave, yet it was not by his command : however, he thought it his duty to acquaint the House with it (Mr. Secretary Coventry intending to acquaint the House of Commons with the same) : that his Majesty had the last night, in pursuance of what he then intended, and declared this morning, concerning the suspension of penal laws not being for the future drawn either into consequence or example, caused the original declaration under the great seal to be cancelled in his presence ; whereof himself and several other Lords of the council were witnesses.”

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
March 24, 1673.*

CHARLES REX.

I AM commanded by his Majesty, in pursuance of his late message, to acquaint you, that his Majesty intendeth you shall rise before Easter ; and therefore expects an expedition of such bills as are of most importance ; the bill of popery, and that of supply, particularly : and, for such other bills, that concern either the public, or particular, and cannot be so soon ready ; that they may not receive a disappointment, his Majesty resolveth to make this an adjournment, till the beginning of October ; when you may continue their prosecution : and, in the mean time, his Majesty will take such care of the protestant religion, as you shall have no occasion to complain.

At the court at Whitehall, this 24th day of March, 1673.

Two Addresses by the Commons to the King, March 25, 1673.

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, conceiving ourselves bound, in necessary duty to your Majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, truly to inform your Majesty of the estate of this your kingdom; and, though we are abundantly satisfied that it hath always been your royal will and pleasure, that your subjects should be governed according to the laws and customs of this realm; yet finding, that contrary to your Majesty's gracious intentions, some grievances and abuses are crept in; we crave leave humbly to represent them to your Majesty's knowledge; and to desire,

That the imposition of twelve pence a chaldron upon coal, for the providing of convoys, by virtue of an order of council, dated the fifteenth of May 1672, may be recalled; and all bonds, taken by virtue thereof, cancelled.

That your Majesty's proclamation of the fourth of December 1672, for prevention of disorders which may be committed by soldiers; and whereby the soldiers, now in your Majesty's service, are, in a manner, exempted from the ordinary course of justice, may likewise be recalled.

And, whereas great complaints have been made, out of several parts of this kingdom, of divers abuses committed in quartering of soldiers, that your Majesty would be pleased to give order to redress those abuses; and, in particular, that no soldiers be hereafter quartered upon any private houses; and that due satisfaction may be given to the innkeepers and victuallers where they lie, before they remove.

And, since the continuance of soldiers in this realm will necessarily produce many inconveniencies to your Majesty's subjects, we do humbly present it as our petition and advice, that, when this present war is ended, all the soldiers, which have been raised since the last session of Parliament, may be disbanded:

That your Majesty would likewise be pleased to consider of the irregularities and abuses of pressing soldiers; and to give order for the prevention thereof for the future.

And, although it hath been the course of former Parliaments to desire redress in their grievances, before they proceeded to give a supply; yet we have so full assurance of your Majesty's tenderness and compassion towards your people, that we humbly prostrate ourselves at your Majesty's feet with these our petitions; desiring your Majesty to take them into your princely consideration, and to give such order for relief of the subjects,

and the removing these pressures, as shall seem best to your royal wisdom.

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, taking into consideration the great calamities which have formerly befallen your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland from the popish recusants there, who, for the most part, are professed enemies to the protestant religion, and the English interest; and how they, making ill use of your Majesty's gracious disposition and clemency, are, at this time, grown more insolent and presumptuous than formerly, to the apparent danger of that kingdom, and your Majesty's protestant subjects there; the consequence thereof may likewise prove very fatal to this your kingdom of England, if not timely prevented; and having seriously weighed, what remedies may be most properly applied to these growing distempers, do, in all humility, present your Majesty with these our petitions:

That for establishing and quieting the possessions of your Majesty's subjects in that kingdom, your Majesty would be pleased to maintain the act of settlement, and the explanatory act thereupon; and to recall the commission of inquiry into Irish affairs, bearing date the seventeenth of January last; as containing many new and extraordinary powers, not only to the prejudice of particular persons, whose estates and titles are thereby made liable to be questioned; but, in a manner, to your overthrow of the said acts of settlement; and, if pursued, may be the occasion of great charge and attendance to many of your subjects in Ireland; and shake the peace and security of the whole kingdom.

That your Majesty would give order, that no papist be either continued or admitted to be a commander or soldier in that kingdom: and, that because the Irish papists have furnished themselves with great quantities of arms, that your Majesty would please to give directions so to disarm them, that they may not be dangerous to the government there; and that their arms be brought into the public magazine.

That the like order may be given, that no papists be either continued, or hereafter admitted to be judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, mayors, sovereigns, or portreves in that kingdom.

That the titular popish archbishops, bishops, vicars general, abbots, and all other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Pope's authority, and in particular Peter Talbott, pretended Archbishop of Dublin, for his notorious disloyalty to your Majesty,

jeſty, and diſobedience and contempt of your laws, may be commanded by proclamation forthwith to depart out of Ireland, and all other your Maſteſty's dominions; or otherwiſe to be proſecuted according to law: and that all convents, ſeminaries, and public popiſh ſchools may be diſſolved and ſuppreſſed, and the regular prieſts commanded to depart, under the like penalty.

That no Irith paſtiſts be admitted to inhabit in any corporation of that kingdom, unleſs duly licenſed, according to the aforeſaid acts of ſettlement: and that your Maſteſty would be pleaſed to recal your letters of the twenty-fixth of February 1671, and your proclamation thereupon; whereby general licence is given to ſuch paſtiſts to inhabit in corporations there.

That your Maſteſty's letter of the twenty-eighth of September 1672, and the order of council thereupon, whereby your Maſteſty's ſubjects are required not to proſecute any actions againſt the Irith, for any wrongs or injuries committed during the late rebellion, may likewise be recalled.

That Colonel Richard Talbott, who hath notoriously aſſumed to himſelf the title of agent of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, be immediately diſmiſſed out of all command, either civil or military; and forbid an acceſs to your Maſteſty's court.

That your Maſteſty would be pleaſed, from time to time, out of your princely wiſdom, to give ſuch further orders and directions to your Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor of Ireland for the time being, as may beſt conduce to the encouragement of the Engliſh planters, and proteſtant intereſt there; and the ſuppreſſion of the intolencies and diſorders of the Irith paſtiſts.

Theſe our humble deſires we preſent to you^r Maſteſty, as the beſt means to preſerve the peace and ſafety of that your kingdom, which hath been ſo much of late endangered by the practices of the ſaid Irith paſtiſts, and particularly of the ſaid Richard and Peter Talbott: and we doubt not but your Maſteſty will find the happy effects thereof, to the great ſatisfaction and ſecurity of your Maſteſty's perſon and government: which of all earthly things is moſt dear to your Maſteſty's moſt loyal and obedient ſubjects.

Joint Addreſs by both Houſes, March 27, 1673.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Maſteſty's moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, do humbly beſeech your Maſteſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed, by your own example, to encourage
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the constant wearing of the manufactures of your own kingdoms and dominions ; and to discountenance such persons (men or women in your court) as shall wear any manufactures made in foreign countries.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 29, 1673.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you very kindly for the supply you have given me ; and, that you may see how kindly I take it, I have given to my subjects a general pardon, which I have made as large as ever was granted by any of my predecessors. What you have now left undone, I hope you will finish at your next meeting ; and so you may adjourn yourselves to the twentieth day of October next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 27, 1673.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THOUGHT this day to have welcomed you with an honourable peace ; my preparations for the war, and concessions at the treaty, gave me great reason to believe so : but the Dutch have disappointed me in that expectation, and have treated my ambassadors at Cologne with the contempt of conquerors, and not as might be expected from men in their condition. They have other thoughts than peace.

This obligeth me to move you again for a supply : the safety and honour of the nation necessarily requiring it. It must be one proportionable to the occasion. And I must tell you besides, that if I have it not speedily, the mischief will be irreparable in my preparations for the next spring.

The great experience I have had of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, will not suffer me to believe, that the artifices of our enemies can possibly divert you from giving me this supply ; or that you can fail of adjusting the proportion of it.

I hope I need not use many words to persuade you, that I am steady in maintaining all the professions and promises I have made you concerning religion and property : and I shall be very ready to give you fresh instances of my zeal for preserving the established religion and laws, as often as any other occasion shall require.

In the last place, I am highly concerned to recommend to your consideration and care, the debt I owe the goldsmiths, in which very many other of my good subjects are involved : I
heartily

heartily recommend their condition to you ; and desire your assistance for their relief.

A Message from His Majesty, October 30. 1673.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having received an address from the House of Commons, presenting their humble desire, that the intended marriage between his Royal Highness and the Duchess of Modena be not consummated ; commandeth this answer to be returned :

That he perceiveth the House of Commons have wanted a full information of this matter ; the marriage not being barely intended, but completed according to the forms used among princes, and by his royal consent and authority : nor could he in the least suppose it disagreeable to his House of Commons, his Highness having been, in the view of the world, for several months, engaged in a treaty of marriage with another catholic princess ; and yet a Parliament held during that time, and not the least exception taken at it.

Address by the House of Commons, October 31, 1673.

WE your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, being full of an assurance of your Majesty's gracious intentions to provide for the establishment of religion, and the preservation of your people in peace and security ; and foreseeing the dangerous consequences which may follow the marriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of York with the Princess of Modena, or any other person of the popish religion ; do hold ourselves bound in conscience and duty to represent the same to your sacred Majesty ; (not doubting but those constant testimonies that we have given your Majesty of our true and loyal affections to your sacred person, will easily gain a belief, that these our humble desires proceed from hearts still full of the same affections toward your sacred Majesty, and with intentions to establish your royal government upon those true supports of the protestant religion, and the hearts of your people ;) with all humility, desiring your Majesty to take the same into your princely consideration ; and to relieve your subjects from those fears and apprehensions which at present they lie under, from the progress that has been made in that treaty.

We

We do therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that if this marriage do proceed, it will be a means to disquiet the minds of your protestant subjects at home, and to fill them with endless jealousies and discontents; and will bring your Majesty into such alliances abroad, as may prove highly prejudicial, if not destructive, to the interest of the very protestant religion itself.

That we find, by sad experience, that such marriages have increased and encouraged popery in this kingdom; and given opportunity to priests and jesuits to propagate their opinions; and seduced great numbers of your protestant subjects.

And we do already observe, how much that party are animated with the hopes of this match, which were lately discouraged by your Majesty's gracious concessions in the last meeting of this Parliament.

That we greatly fear this may be an occasion to lessen the affections of the people to his Royal Highness, who is so nearly related to the crown; and whose whole honour and esteem we desire may be always entirely preserved.

That, for another age, at least, this kingdom will be under continual apprehensions, of the growth of popery, and the danger of the protestant religion.

Lastly, we consider, that this Princess, having so near a relation and kindred to many eminent persons of the court of Rome, may give them great opportunities to promote their designs, and carry on their practices amongst us; and by the same means penetrate into your Majesty's most secret councils, and more easily discover the state of the whole kingdom.

And, finding, that by the opinions of very many learned men it is generally admitted, that such treaties and contracts by proxy are dissolvable; of which there are several instances to be produced; we do, in all humbleness, beseech your Majesty to put a stop to the consummation of this intended marriage: and this we do the more importunately desire, because we have not, as yet, the happiness to see any issue of your Majesty's, that may succeed in the government of these kingdoms: which blessing we most heartily pray Almighty God in his due time to bestow upon your Majesty and these kingdoms, to the unspeakable joy and comfort of all your loyal subjects; who desire nothing more than to continue under the reigns of your Majesty, and your royal posterity for ever.

Petition presented to His Majesty, November 3, 1673.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WHE your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, being passionately sensible of the calamitous condition of this kingdom, not only by reason of the war, wherein it is at present involved, but many other intestine differences and divisions amongst us, which are chiefly occasioned by the undermining contrivances of popish recusants, whose numbers and insolencies are greatly of late increased, and whose restless practices threaten a subversion both of church and state, all which our sins have justly deserved; and, being now assembled in Parliament, as the great council of this your kingdom, to consult on such means as we shall think fit to redress the present evils wherewith we are surrounded: we do, in the first place, humbly beseech your Majesty, that, by your especial command, one or more days may be forthwith solemnly set apart, wherein both ourselves, and this your kingdom, may, by fasting and prayer, seek a reconciliation at the hands of Almighty God; and, with humble and penitent hearts beseech him to heal our breaches, to remove the evils we lie under, and to avert those miseries wherewith we are threatened, and continue the mercies we yet enjoy; and that he will be graciously pleased to bestow his abundant blessing upon your Majesty, and this present Parliament, that all our counsels and consultations may tend to his glory, and the honour, safety, and prosperity, of your Majesty, and all your people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 7, 1674.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN I parted with you last, it was but for a little time, and with a resolution of meeting suddenly again: that alone was enough to satisfy my friends, they need not fear; and my enemies, that they could not hope for, a breach between us: I then told you, that the time of this short recess should be employed in doing such things as might add to your satisfaction. I hope I have done my part towards it; and, if there be any thing else, which you think wanting to secure religion or property, there is nothing which you shall reasonably propose, but I shall be ready to receive it. I do now expect you shall do your parts too; for our enemies make vigorous preparations for war; and yet their chief hopes are too disunite us at home: it

is their common discourse, and they reckon upon it as their best relief.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is not possible for me to doubt your affections at any time, much less at such a time as this, when the evidences of your affections are become so necessary to us all. I desire you to consider, that, as the war cannot be well made without a supply, so neither can a good peace be had without being in a posture of war. I am very far from being in love with war for war's sake; but if I saw any likelihood of peace, without dishonour to myself, and damage to you, I would soon embrace it: but no proposals of peace have yet been offered, which can be imagined with intent to conclude, but only to amuse. Therefore the way to a good peace is, to set out a good fleet, which we have time enough to do very effectually, if the supply be not delayed. If, after this, a peace should follow, yet the supply would be well given; for, whatever remains of it, I am willing should be appropriated for building more ships.

To conclude, a speedy, a proportionable, and, above all, a cheerful aid, is now more necessary than ever, and I rely upon you for it.

I lately put you in mind of my debt to the goldsmiths: I hope a fit time will come to take that into consideration.

I cannot conclude without shewing you the entire confidence I have in you. I know you have heard much of my alliance with France; and, I believe, it hath been very strangely misrepresented to you, as if there were certain secret articles of dangerous consequence; but I will make no difficulty of letting the treaties, and all the articles of them, without any the least reserve, to be seen by a small committee of both Houses, who may report to you the true scope of them: and I assure you, there is no other treaty with France, either before or since, not already printed, which shall not be made known. And, having thus freely trusted you, I do not doubt, but you will have a care of my honour, and the good of the kingdom.

The rest I refer to my Lord Keeper.

Then the Lord Keeper spake to this effect:

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, of the House of Commons,

THE King hath already, in part, told you what he hath done for you since the last recess; what he is still ready to do; and what it is he doth now expect from you; and this in terms
so

so full, and so obliging, so generous, and so satisfactory, that he, whose affections are not raised by that discourse; he, who cannot acquiesce in the fulness of this assurance; he, whose heart is not established by it in such a belief as may entirely dispose him to the service of the crown, will hardly be recovered to a better disposition by any other expedient.

For, indeed, what better way can be found to undeceive those who have been abused? the King refers you to the time past, not to his promises, but to his performances; gives men leave to judge by what they see, of what they hear; by what hath been done since the last session, of what is offered you now; and what is likely to be done for the time to come.

And doth not every man see, that the King hath given new life and motion to such laws as were long dead, or fast asleep? that he hath once more repaired the hedge about our vineyard, and made it a fence indeed against all those who are enemies to the planting of it; who would be glad to see it trodden down, or rooted up, and study how to sap and undermine our very foundations.

Do you not see, that the King hath made it his care, and his business, to do all that is possible to preserve us in our civil rights too? That he makes the laws of his kingdom the measures not only of his power but his prudence? That he suffers no man to be wiser than the law; and he thinks he cannot judge of the healths or sicknesses of his state, by any better indication than the current of his laws; and suffers nothing to remain, that may, in the least measure, hinder justice from flowing in its due and proper channels?

A very few instances, of many that might be used, will serve to demonstrate it.

If the conviction of all recusants, and bringing them under the penal laws, can suppress popery;

If, without staying for the forms of law, in points of conviction, the present forbidding of all papists, or reputed papists, to come to court, and the extending this prohibition to his royal palace at St. James's, be enough to discountenance them;

If the not extending his prerogative beyond its due limits can secure your liberties;

If his Majesty's lessening and reducing all his land forces, and maintaining so few extraordinary, that they will scarce be enough to help to man his fleet this summer, can extinguish the fears of a standing army;

If a rigorous and severe prosecution at law, of all the officers, and soldiers in his Majesty's ordinary guards, when they misbehave themselves towards the meanest subjects, can secure your properties;

If the abrogation of all the privileges from arrests, which were claimed by his Majesty's servants extraordinary, who are very numerous, can prevent the delays and obstructions of justice;

Then surely his Majesty has reason to believe, that nothing is wanting which can lawfully be done, or modestly be wished, either for your satisfaction or your security.

These are not single and transient acts, but such acts as flow from habits; these are not leaves and blossoms, but true, solid, and lasting fruits. Long, long, may that royal tree live and flourish upon which these fruits do grow!

And yet his Majesty's indulgence to you rests not here. He gives you leave to study and contrive your own assurance; and if you think you want any further security, if any thing have escaped his Majesty's care, (who meditates nothing more than your preservation) you see you have free leave to make any reasonable proposition; and his gracious promise that he will receive it.

This is a satisfaction equal to all your wishes: now, if ever your joys are full, there wants no more to the improvement of this happiness, but the wisdom of the Parliament, to use these advantages with due moderation.

If therefore, upon inquiry, you shall think it needful to apply any other remedies, it is extremely to be wished, that those remedies may be few; and withal, that they may be gentle and easy too.

For they that are sick, perish as often by too many remedies, as by none at all; but none fall so fatally and so finally as they, who, being entered into some degree of convalescence, resolve to recover in an instant; and had rather make some great effort, or try some bold experiment upon themselves, than observe the methods, or attend those gradual progressions, which are necessary to perfect that health, and complete that recovery.

I must not omit one instance more of his Majesty's care for you; and that it is the great industry and application of mind, which his Majesty hath used all along, in hopes to obtain, by this time, (if it had been possible) an honourable and a just peace.

A very few words will serve to give you the whole deduction of it, from the first original to this present moment.

Much time was spent in agreeing the places of treaty, where the Dutch were gratified in their desires; and the city of Cologne is accepted for the place.

When his Majesty's ambassadors arrived there, the very first meeting with those from the States General made it evident, that their plenipotentiaries came not with any intention to
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enter upon a serious treaty, but only to draw the matter out in length, until their affairs might meet with a better and more pleasing conjuncture.

For their very credentials or plenipotentiaries were so penned, that there were no less than four gross equivocations in the body of them; which was so manifest, and without all reply, that they were fain to send to their masters at the Hague, to get them mended.

And that which gave greatest offence of all, and was purposely done for that end, was the preamble; wherein they take upon them to beg the question, to desire the justice of the cause, and to affirm such matters of fact as they had reason to believe would never be admitted.

No arguments of our ambassadors, no instance of the mediators, though never so importunate, could prevail then, or yet prevail to have it altered.

The treaty should naturally have stopped here, but that his Majesty was resolved to give a beginning to it; and which was all that could be done, suffered his ambassadors to enter upon it with a protestation.

Our demands are no sooner given in, but presently two of the Dutch ambassadors go away to the Hague, on pretence to consult their masters, where they staid a full month without any kind of answer given, or exceptions taken, to his Majesty's demands, or any the least step made in this negotiation.

When they came back, their answer was a remonstrance rather than an answer; and such a remonstrance, as was fitter for a rupture than a treaty: there was scarce one period in it, which did not rather give occasion of new offence, than any satisfaction for what was passed.

Their very conversation, from that time forward, wanted much of its former civility.

They waited for the conclusion of a treaty with Spain; wherein one article was, that, as soon as Spain had broke with France, they would presently break off their treaty at Cologne.

And now this article is in effect performed; for two of their principal ambassadors are actually gone away from Cologne, as they long threatened they would do, leaving only two other for form sake; who, in all probability, either must not, or will not, conclude without their colleagues.

His Majesty, notwithstanding, hath not suffered himself to be diverted from using all the ways and means that were possible to facilitate a peace: to this end, he directed his ambassadors, from time to time, to moderate their demands in such particulars as were capable of it; and wholly relaxes some

points which were of the highest importance to the Dutch to gain, and very considerable abatements of his Majesty's just satisfaction.

A condescension well esteemed and received by the mediators, though it hath not yet found any suitable reception from the Dutch ministers, as their superior lords.

By this time they began to hope, that the subjects of England would grow weary of the war; and that they should be able to profit themselves very much by our impatience.

To increase this as much as was possible, they prepare a letter, which they send by a trumpeter, sitting the Parliament, or very near it, and cause it to be given out, that nothing could be more desired than they had offered.

His Majesty quickly made that letter, and his answer to it, public; and, for that time, defeated the design of this paper stratagem.

The next recourse was, to such proposals as they could procure the Spanish ambassadors to deliver on their behalves.

Wherein, besides the demands of restitution of prizes, which was wholly impracticable, there was a total omission of any regulation of trade in the Indies; no mention made of releasing his Majesty's subjects at Surinam, where they remain in a state of bondage; no recompense offered, nor so much as leave asked, for the liberty of fishing upon our coast.

And yet the right of our sole fishing is so clear, that we find in our ancient rolls of Parliament, in the time of Richard II. a tax laid upon all strangers who fish in our seas; and this not by way of custom, when they came into our ports, but by way of tribute, for fishing in our seas.

And this evidence of his Majesty's dominion in the British seas hath been, in all ages downward, preserved in some measure, until the time of the late usurper, who, for private reasons, first abandoned it.

As for that satisfaction in the matter of the flag, which the proposals mention, it is but reasonable to understand it in that sense, wherein they sometimes used to express themselves at Cologne:

That is, the thing shall be done: whole fleets shall strike their sails to single ships; and they shall do it out of the British seas too: but that, of right, they ought to do it within the British seas, will never be acknowledged.

So they desire to change the ancient inheritance of the crown into a new purchase, and to turn that purchase into a matter of civility; which they may equally pay to all crowned heads, and equally resume, according to their good pleasure and occasions.

Now,

Now, though these proposals have been backed with some kind of intimation of a war with Spain, in case of refusal, yet his Majesty, who knows the articles of peace between himself and that king, and his own care to preserve them; who knows the usefulness of his alliance to that king, and the many good offices he hath always been ready to do for him; and, withal, considers the great wisdom and prudence of that council, and how carefully they use to deliberate, before they come to great and important resolutions; will not easily believe it possible for that king to proceed to such extremities:

The rather, because the Dutch themselves have since departed from those very proposals, which they procured the Spanish ambassador so earnestly to recommend: for they afterwards sent the ambassador a reply to his Majesty's answer to their letter; wherein they abate much of what the ambassadors had offered, and seek to reduce things to the state they were in at Breda.

So that it is hard to know, by what kind of proposals they intend to be bound; but it is most reasonable to believe, they intend those made by themselves, rather than those made for them: and yet this reply, besides the disrespect it carried to Spain, whose proposals it thrunk from, was so offensive to his Majesty, that the ambassador, like a wife and great minister, that is, like himself, thought it became him to send it back again, without offering to present it.

Nevertheless, this paper hath since stolen into the press, and is printed at the Hague, as a letter delivered; and hath been sent hither, under covers to several members of the House of Commons, whom they libelled in the former war for their zeal, and now pretend to reverence for their deliberation.

And all this, in hopes you will not think them obstinate, who refuse to treat at the place of their own appointment, or, to be well understood any where else: how is it possible to understand these proceedings to be real, and with a true desire of peace; and if they should yet send, during this session, any new proposal, (for who knows the design of an enemy) what forms soever these overtures may be dressed in, we may justly suspect, that their end is, if they cannot divide us, at least amuse us, and lessen our care in providing for the war.

Perhaps it is more than an honourable war doth allow, to go about to raise sedition, though in the country of an enemy: but surely the artifice of appealing in a manner to the people, and making them the judges of peace and war, is a little plain and open to take any effect here.

I have done with these few instances of his Majesty's care; those of his kindness are infinite: that which you have heard

this morning, is of a transcendent, and, indeed, a very surprising nature; it is an act of so entire a confidence on his Majesty's part, that can never be repaid by any other tribute on your part, but that of a true and humble assiance in him.

I must now proceed to put you in mind, that there are some other things which his Majesty, with great justice, and great assurance, doth expect from you again.

The first is, his speedy and a proportionable supply; and this is of absolute necessity both for war and peace.

His Majesty is well assured his fleet is in such a forwardness, that, if the supply come in any reasonable time, you will find no time hath been lost in preparation; and it was no small matter to bring it to that pass, that we may be as forward as our enemies, if we please, or very near it.

If the supply be at all delayed, it will have as ill effect almost as if it were denied; for we may chance to be found like Archimedes, drawing lines in the dust, while the enemy is entering into our ports; and, if the further progress of this fleet be stopped for want of your concurrence;—make account all hopes of peace are stopped too: for though the fruit of the war be peace, yet it is such a fruit as we must not hope to gather without our arms in our hands.

It is not the way to a brave peace, to shew ourselves weary of the war: who ever trusted to the good-nature of their enemies?

It is a vigorous assistance of the crown, that must not only make your arms considerable, but your treaties too.

On the other side, if the putting of yourselves into a good posture of war should produce a peace, as possibly it may do, yet you will have the best account of your supply your hearts can wish: for his Majesty is content it be appropriated to the building of more ships.

Therefore, if the discourse upon this subject be a little more pressing than ordinary, you may be sure the occasion is so too.

There cannot be a higher gratification of your enemies, than to be backward in this point; the very opinion they have that you would be so hath already done us so much harm, that, perhaps, it is one great cause of the continuance of the war.

Had the enemy despaired of any division here, it is likely his proceedings had been more sincere, and our peace had not been so far off as now it seems to be.

There is one thing more the King hath mentioned, and only mentioned to you, that is, the consideration of the goldsmiths; which involves so many persons and families, that the concern is little less than national: it is an affair the King lays very
much

much to heart, and hopes a proper time will come, when a favourable regard may be had of it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King doth not only assure himself of your affections to him at this time ; but, from such affections, so known, and so tried, as your's, he doth yet expect far greater things than these.

He doth expect, that you should do your endeavours to restore and improve the mutual confidence between him and his people ; and that you should do it to such a degree, that it may recover its full strength, and quite extinguish all their fears and jealousies.

For the King takes notice, that the malice of his enemies hath been very active in sowing so many tares as are almost enough to spoil that harvest of love and duty, which his Majesty may justly expect to reap from the good seed which he himself had sown.

Among the many venomous insinuations which have been made use of by * * * *, fears and jealousies of religion and liberty are of the worst sort, and the most dangerous impressions.

Certainly malice was never more busy than it hath been in these reports ; and it hath been assisted by a great deal of invention.

But it is to be hoped, that no man's judgment or affections will be either misled or disturbed by such reports.

For calumnies and slanders of this nature are like comets in the air ; they may seem, perhaps, especially to the fearful, to be ill prognostics, and the direct forerunners of mischief ; but, in themselves, they are vain apparitions, and have no kind of solidity, no permanence or duration at all ; for, after a little time, the vapour spends itself, and then the base exhalation quickly falls back again into that earth from whence it came.

Religion and liberty stand secured by the most sacred ties that are ; nay, the King hath a greater interest in the preservation of both than yourselves ; for as religion, the Protestant religion, commands your indispensable obedience, so it is a just and lawful liberty which sweetens that command, and endears it to you.

Let other princes therefore glory in the most resigned obedience of their vassals, his Majesty values himself upon the hearts and affections of the people, and thinks his throne, when seated there, better established than the most exalted sovereignty of those who tread upon the necks of them that rise up against them.

Since.

Since the world stood, never any King had so great a cause to rest upon this security ; they were your hearts that mourned in secret for the absence of the King ; they were your hearts and affections to the King, which tired out all the late usurpations, by your invincible patience and fortitude : it was you that taught our English world to see and know, that no government could be settled here, but upon the true foundations of honour and allegiance.

This, this alone, made way for all the happy changes which have followed.

And yet posterity will have cause to doubt, which was the greater felicity of the two ; that Providence which restored the crown, or that which sent us such a Parliament to preserve it when it was restored. What may not the King now hope from you ? what may not you assure yourselves from him ? can any thing be difficult to hearts so united, to interest so twilled and interwoven together, as the King's and your's are ?

Doubtless the King will surpass himself at this time, in endeavouring to procure the good of the kingdom : do but you excel yourselves too in the continued evidences of your affections ; and then the glory of reviving this state will be entirely due to this session.

Then they, who wait for the languishing and the declination of the present government, will be amazed to see so happy a crisis, so blessed a revolution :

And ages to come will find cause to celebrate your memories, as the truest physicians, the wisest counsellors, the noblest patriots, and the best session of the best Parliament, that ever king or kingdom met with.

Petition of both Houses, January 12, 1674.

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, being passionately sensible of the calamitous condition of this kingdom, not only by reason of the war, wherein it is at present involved, but many other intestine differences and divisions amongst us, which are chiefly occasioned by the undermining contrivances of Popish recusants, whose numbers and insolencies are greatly of late increased, and whose restless practices threaten a subversion both of church and state ; all which our sins have justly deserved ; and being now assembled in Parliament, as the great council of this your kingdom, to consult on such means as we shall think fittest to redress the present evils, wherewith we are surrounded ; we do, in the first place, humbly

bly beseech your Majesty, that, by your special command, one or more days may be solemnly set apart, wherein both ourselves and this your kingdom may, by fasting and prayer, seek a reconciliation at the hands of Almighty God ; and with humble and penitent hearts beseech him to heal our breaches ; to remove the evils we lie under ; and to avert those miseries wherewith we are threatened ; and continue the mercies we yet enjoy ; and that he will be graciously pleased to bestow his abundant blessing upon your Majesty and this present Parliament, that all our councils and consultations may tend to his glory, and the honour, safety, and prosperity of your Majesty, and all your people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 24, 1674.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AT the beginning of this session I told you (as I thought I had reason to do) that the States General had not yet made me any proposals which could be imagined with intent to conclude, but only to amuse.

To avoid this imputation, they have now sent me a letter by the Spanish ambassador, offering me some terms of peace, upon conditions formerly drawn up, and in a more decent style than before.

It is upon this that I desire your speedy advice : for, if you shall find the terms such as may be embraced, your advice will have great weight with me : and if you find them defective, I hope you will give me your advice and assistance, how to get better terms.

Upon the whole matter, I doubt not but you will have a care of my honour, and the honour and safety of the nation, which are now so deeply concerned.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 11, 1674.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE pursued your advice ; and I am come hither to tell you, according to your advice and desire, I have made a speedy, honourable, and, I hope, a lasting peace ; which is signed already.

Mr.

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I told you yesterday, in the Banqueting House, that I would give you a speedy answer to your address, about disbanding the forces therein mentioned: and I do assure you, that, before you had made that address, I had given orders for doing of it as soon as I should be sure of the peace; and I shall reduce them to a less number than they were in the year 1663.

As for those forces that came out of Ireland, I shall give directions for their march hence thither: but as our forces are lessened at land, it will be necessary to build more great ships; seeing we shall not be safe, unless we equal the strength of our neighbours at sea: therefore I shall recommend it to your care, to give me means for the effectual doing thereof; and this is all I have to say to you at this time.

Address by both Houses.

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do return their humble thanks to his Majesty for his gracious speech made this day; and concluding a peace, according to their humble advice and desire.

Effect of his Majesty's Speech, February 24, 1674.

THAT when his Majesty was here last, he told them that the peace was signed: he was come now to tell them that it is ratified; and his Majesty hopes it will be a happy and a lasting peace to both nations.

This, and the spring coming on so fast, his Majesty said, he knows they will all desire to be at home in their several countries, where they may do their own business, and his Majesty's also. His Majesty therefore thinks it fit to make a recess at this time; the winter being more fit for business and consultation here. In the mean while, his Majesty will do his endeavour to satisfy the world of his steadfastness to the protestant religion, as it is now established; and of his desire for the securing of their properties. And so, his Majesty said, he hath given order to the Lord Keeper to prorogue the Parliament to the tenth of November next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April-19, 1675.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

THE principal end of my calling you now is, to know what you think may be yet wanting to the securing of religion and property, and to give myself the satisfaction of having used the utmost of my endeavours to procure and settle a right and lasting understanding between us ; for, I must tell you, I find the contrary so much laboured, and that the pernicious designs of ill men have taken so much place under specious pretences, that it is high time to be watchful in preventing their contrivances ; of which it is not the least, that they would, by all the means they can devise, make it unpracticable any longer to continue this present Parliament : for that reason, I confess, I cannot think such have any good meaning to me ; and, therefore, when I consider how much the greatest part of this Parliament has, either themselves, or fathers, given me testimony of their affections and loyalty, I should be extreme loath to oblige those enemies, by parting with such friends ; and they may be assured, that none shall be able to recommend themselves to me by any other way than their good services.

I have done as much as on my part was possible, to extinguish the fears and jealousies of popery, and will leave nothing undone that may shew the world my zeal for the protestant religion as it is established in the church of England, from which I will never depart.

I must needs recommend to you the condition of the fleet, which I am not able to put into that state it ought to be ; and which will require so much time to repair and build, that I should be sorry to see this summer (and consequently a whole year) lost, without providing for it.

The season of the year will not admit any long session ; nor would I have called you now, but in hopes to do something that may give content to all my subjects, and lay before you the consideration of the fleet ; for I intend to meet you again at winter.

In the mean time, I earnestly recommend to you all, such a temper and moderation in your proceedings, as may tend to unite us all in counsel and affection, and disappoint the expectation of those who hope only by violent and irregular motions to prevent the bringing of this session to a happy conclusion.

The rest I leave to the Lord Keeper.

Then

Then the Lord Keeper spake as followeth :

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes,
of the Houſe of Commons,

THE ſolemnity of this day's appearance is equal to the weight and importance of the occaſion. The matters to be treated or deſerve no leſs than an aſſembly of the three eſtates, and a full concourſe of all the wiſe and excellent perſons who bear a part in this great council, and do conſtitute and complete this high and honourable court.

The King hath called you, at this time, to examine and concur with him in the beſt expedients for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, for ſecuring the eſtabliſhment of it by a due execution of the laws, for providing for the ſafety of the kingdom, and for the improvement of its honour and reputation; and withall, in order to theſe ends, and above all the reſt, to unite the hearts of his Parliament and people to himſelf, by all the emanations of grace and goodneſs that from a great and generous prince can be expected.

To all which the King is pleaſed to add, the conſideration of your liberties and properties; and while he does ſo, you may be ſure, that he who is ſo careful of your rights, will be mindful of his own too; for he that does juſtice to all, can never be wanting to himſelf.

Theſe points are ſuch, as though they be but mentioned by the King, though they are but only touched, as I may ſay, by his golden ſceptre, yet this royal declaration of himſelf, joined to what he hath already done, doth not only raiſe all our hopes, but carries in itſelf ſo evident an aſſurance, and is ſtamped by ſo ſacred an authority, that there remains no place for doubting, nothing can be added to the efficacy of it.

His Maſteſty begins with the conſideration of religion. He ſees it is the firſt thing in all your thoughts; and you cannot but ſee that it hath been; and ſtill is, the firſt and principal part of his care.

His Maſteſty hath conſidered religion, firſt, in general, as it is proteſtant, and ſtands in oppoſition to popery; and upon this account it is that he hath awakened all the laws againſt the papists: there is not one ſtatute extant in all the volume of our laws, but his Maſteſty hath now put it in a way of taking its full courſe, againſt them; and upon this account alſo it is, that, in a league lately renewed with a proteſtant crown, his Maſteſty hath made it one article of that league, that there ſhall be a mutual defence of the proteſtant religion.

His

His Majesty hath considered religion again more particularly, as it is the protestant religion established by law in the church of England: he sees, that as such, it is not only best suited to the monarchy, and most likely to defend it, but most able to defend itself against the enemies of all reformation; and therefore upon this account it is, that his Majesty, with equal and impartial justice, hath revived all the laws against dissenters and non-conformists: but not with equal severity; for the laws against the papists are edged, and the execution of them quickened, by new rewards proposed to the informers; those against dissenters are left to that strength which they have already. Both these, and all other laws whatsoever, are always understood to be subject to the pleasure of a Parliament, which may alter, amend, or explain themselves, as they see cause, and according unto public convenience.

For, when we consider religion in Parliament, we are supposed to consider it as a Parliament should do, and as Parliaments in all ages have done; that is, as it is a part of our laws, a part, and a necessary part, of our government: for, as it works upon the conscience, as it is an inward principle of the divine life by which good men do govern all their actions, the state hath nothing to do with it, it is a thing which belongs to another kind of commission than that by which we sit here.

Now, as it relates to government, it is somewhat an unpleasant observation, to see how few many inferior magistrates are in the discharge of this part of their duty, which refers to the safety of the church against the enemies on both sides of it, the papists and the dissenters: for this is that which opens men's mouths to object against the laws themselves; this is that which encourages offenders to dispute that authority which they should obey, and to judge those laws by which they ought to be judged. They have found a way to make even justice itself criminal, by giving it a hard name, and calling it persecution.

To what a strange kind of perplexity do men labour to reduce this government: if the laws against recusants be not executed, the church of England is abandoned; if they be, all sorts of recusants complain of persecution, as if the abandoning of the church of England were not in some sense a persecution too.

Let us suppose that possible, which the piety and goodness of the King hath made next to impossible: but let it be for once supposed, that the church of England were forsaken, her authority made insignificant, her government precarious; suppose her disarmed of all those laws by which she is guarded, denied all aid from the civil magistrate, and that none were
obliged

obliged to obey her commands but those that have a mind to it ; would not this turn a national church into nothing also but a tolerated sect or party in the nation ? Would it not take away all appearance of establishment from it ? Would it not drive the church into the wilderness again, where she should be sure to find herself encompassed with all sorts of enemies, if at least she could find herself at all, in the midst of so many tolerations ?

Seeing then no way can be taken, but one side or other will either call or think it persecution, the choice is not difficult ; it is better to have a strict rule than none at all ; better to make the law that rule, than to leave every man to be a law and a rule unto himself.

Happy is that government when men complain of the strict execution of the laws, especially when a Parliament is sitting which can take the truest measures, and where the wisdom of the nation is to judge of the interest of it.

In the next place, the King hath thought fit to direct your considerations upon the safety and honour of the state ; both which are then best provided for, when we keep up the strength and reputation of our fleet.

So the Roman state thought, (when, as the orator tells us) they decree, *Non solum præsidit, sed etiam ornandi imperii causâ navigandum esse.*

It is not altogether the natural decay of shipping, no, nor the accidents of war, that have lessened our fleet, though something may be attributed to both these ; but our fleet seems rather to be weakened for the present, by being outgrown, and outbuilt by our neighbours.

Now, as the times of youth and health are best employed in providing against the incommodities and inconveniencies of sickness and old age ; so there cannot be a better use made of times of peace, than to provide for times of war ; there cannot be a greater security against your enemies, than to be always in a posture ready to receive them.

Fleets may secure you abroad, but good laws are necessary to preserve you at home. Nothing recommends the present age unto posterity so much as the wisdom and the temper of the laws that are made in it ; for all succeeding ages judge of our laws, as we do of our ancestors, by the true and unerring rule of experience.

In making of laws, therefore, it will import us to consider, that too many laws are a snare, too few are a weakness in the government ; too gentle are seldom obeyed, too severe are as seldom executed ; and sanguinary laws are, for the most part, either the cause or the effect of a distemper in the state.

To

To establish this state, there seems not to need many new laws: some will always be wanting; and though all that is wanting should not now be finished, yet whatever shall remain unfinished, may be perfected in winter; at which time, we have a gracious intimation from his Majesty, that we shall meet again.

But, lest your greater and weightier affairs should make you pass by things of lesser moment, it may not be amiss to put you in mind to provide against the excess of new buildings near London and Westminster: it is a growing mischief, which nothing but a new law can put a stop to; a mischief which for a long time hath depopulated the country, and now begins to depopulate the city too, by leaving a great part of it uninhabited.

Yet, that you may not only entertain yourselves with careful and provident thoughts for the future, be pleased a little to consider and rejoice in the happiness of our present estate.

If we look upon the state of things abroad, we shall find ourselves in such circumstances, that it were great impiety not to acknowledge those mercies which, by a rare felicity, have distinguished us from our now miserable neighbours.

Wars and confusions cover the face of the rest of the christian world; while we have no other part in all these afflictions but that of a christian compassion.

We are newly gotten out of an expensive war, and gotten out of it upon terms more honourable than ever. The whole world is now in peace with us, all ports are open to us, and we exercise a free and uninterrupted trade through the ocean; and we are reaping the fruits of all this peace, by a daily improvement of our trade, and in the increase of our shipping and navigation.

Our constitution seems to be so vigorous and so strong, that nothing can disorder it but ourselves.

No influences of the stars, no configurations of the heavens, are to be feared, so long as these two Houses stand in a good disposition to each other, and both of them in a happy conjunction with their Lord and Sovereign.

Why should we doubt it? Never was discord more unreasonable.

A difference in matters of the church would gratify the enemies of our religion, and do them more service than the best of their auxiliaries.

A difference in matters of state would gratify our enemies too, the enemies of our peace, the enemies of this Parliament; even all these, both at home and abroad, that hope to see,

and practise to bring about, new changes and revolutions in the government.

They understand well enough that the best health may be destroyed by too much care of it ; an anxious scrupulous care, a care that is always tampering, a care that labours so long to purge all ill humours out of the body, that, at last, it leaves neither good blood nor spirits behind.

In like manner, there are two symptoms which are dangerous in every state, and of which the historian hath long since given us warning.

One is, when men do *quarta movere*, when they stir those things or questions which are and ought to be in peace ; and, like unskilful architects, think to mend the building by removing all the materials which are not placed as they would have them.

Another is, *Cum res parvæ magnis motibus aguntur*, when things that are not of the greatest moment, are agitated with the greatest heat, and as much weight is laid upon a new, and not always very necessary proposition, as if the whole sum of affairs depended upon it.

Who doth not see that there are in all governments difficulties more than enough, though they meet with no intestine divisions ; difficulties of such a nature, that the united endeavours of the state can hardly struggle with ? But, after all is done that can be, they will still remain insuperable.

This is that which makes the crowns of princes, when they are worn by the clearest and the noblest title, and supported with the mightiest aids, yet at the best but wreaths of glorious thorns. He that would go about to add to the cares and solitudes of his prince, does what in him lies to make those thorns pierce deeper, and sit closer to the royal diadem than ever they did before.

No zeal can excuse it ; for, as there may be a religious zeal, a zeal for God, which is not according to knowledge, so there may be a state zeal, a zeal for the public, which is not according to prudence, at least not according to the degree of prudence which the same men have when they are not under the transport of such a fervent passion.

Hath it not been a strange mistake in some general councils, and a mistake which is fatal at this day to the peace of the christian church, that in most of their canons and sanctions they have more considered whom they should oppose, than what they should establish ?

And may it not prove a piece of as ill conduct in any secular assembly, to pursue good ends by violent means, and,

in the heat of that pursuit, to chuse rather to lose that good they might have compassed, than to fall short of any of those good ends which they have once proposed unto themselves?

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King is far, infinitely far, from fearing any excess of this kind here. He knows too well the wisdom, the honour, and the loyalty of this great assembly, to apprehend any kind of error, either in your judgments or your affections.

He does not only find himself safe, but he thinks himself armed too, while he is attended with such a nobility, such a gentry, as this.

You that were able to raise the King's affairs when they were in their lowest and most deplored condition, will surely be able to keep them from any relapse.

You that were able to make this government take root again, will surely be able to preserve it in a growing and flourishing state.

Such pilots need not fear a storm. If you could, this consideration alone were enough to support you, that you carry Cæsar and his fortunes: you serve a prince, in whose preservation miracles are become familiar; a prince, in whose style *Dei Gratia* seems not to be written by a vulgar pen, but by the arm of Omnipotence itself.

Raise up then, by your example, the hearts and hopes of all those whom ill men have wrought upon to such a degree, as to cast them into sadness, and into a despondency, which is most unreasonable. What the Romans scorned to do after the battle of Cannæ, what the Venetians never did when they had lost all their *terra firma*, that men are now taught to think a virtue, and the sign of a wise and good man, *desperare de republica*; and all this in a time of as much justice and peace at home, as good laws for the security of religion and liberty, as good execution of these laws, as great plenty of trade and commerce abroad, and as likely a conjuncture of affairs for the continuance of these blessings to us, as ever nation prospered under.

Confirm the faith, then, of those that are made weak, by shewing them the steadfastness of your belief. Give the King the hearts of all his subjects, by making him a present of your's.

Then will the King esteem himself a richer prince than if he were possessed of all the treasures of the East. Then, though this session should close in a few weeks, yet it may be perpetual, for the fruit it shall produce, and for the commemoration that will follow it. Then will this year be a true

year of jubilee; and we shall have nothing left to wish or pray for in this world, but the blessed continuance of his Majesty's long and happy reign over us.

Address by the House of Commons, April 23, 1675.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, with humble thankfulness, acknowledge your Majesty's care for the safety of your people, in calling us together at this time, to consult of the best means for the preservation of our religion and properties: and though we have great cause to rest assured of the continuance of your Majesty's gracious disposition towards us; yet we find, upon a serious examination of the state of this kingdom, that there is a great jealousy arisen from some late proceedings in the hearts of your subjects, that some persons in great employment under your Majesty have fomented designs contrary to the interest both of your Majesty and your people, intending to deprive us of our ancient rights and liberties, that thereby they might the more easily introduce the Popish religion, and an arbitrary form of government over us, to the ruin and destruction of the whole kingdom.

Amongst those who are at present employed under your Majesty, we have just reason to accuse for a promoter of such designs, the Duke of Lauderdale, lately created Earl of Guilford; because we have had it testified in our House, by several of our own members, that, in the hearing before the council of the case of Mr. Penytone Whaley, who had committed Mr. John James, contrary to your Majesty's declaration of the 15th of March, 1671, he the said Duke of Lauderdale did openly affirm, in the presence of your Majesty sitting in council, and before divers of your subjects then attending there, that your Majesty's edicts ought to be obeyed; for your Majesty's edicts are equal with laws, and ought to be observed in the first place; thereby, as much as in him lay, justifying the said declaration, and the proceedings thereupon; and declaring his inclination to arbitrary councils, in terror of your good people.

And we are further confirmed in this opinion by two late acts of Parliament, of a very strange and dangerous nature, which we have observed amongst the printed statutes of the kingdom of Scotland; the first whereof was in the third session of the first Parliament held there under your Majesty, cap. 25. and the other in your Majesty's second Parliament, cap. 2. the like whereof have never passed since the union of the two crowns;

crowns ; and are directly contrary to the intention of an act passed here in the fourth year of the reign of King James, for the better abolition of all memory of hostility, and the dependencies thereof, between England and Scotland, and for the repressing of occasions of discords and disorders in time to come ; and of a like act, passed about the same time in the kingdom of Scotland ; by force of which said late acts there is a militia settled in that kingdom, of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, who are obliged to be in a readiness to march into part of this kingdom, for any service wherein your Majesty's honour, authority, or greatness may be concerned ; and are to obey such orders and directions as they shall from time to time receive from the privy council there.

By colour of which general words, we conceive, this realm may be liable to be invaded, under any pretence whatsoever. And this hath been done, as we apprehend, principally by the procurement of the said Duke of Lauderdale ; he having all the time of these transactions been principal secretary of the said kingdom, and chiefly intrusted with the administration of affairs of state there ; and himself commissioner for holding the Parliament at the time of passing the latter of the said acts, whereby the providing of the said horse and foot is effectually imposed upon the said kingdom, and this extraordinary power vested in the privy council there : and we conceive we have just reason to apprehend the ill consequences of so great and unusual a power ; especially while the affairs of that kingdom are managed by the said Duke, who hath manifested himself a person of such pernicious principles.

We do therefore, in all humility, implore your sacred Majesty, considering how universal a fame and clamour of the said misdemeanors runneth openly throughout all your realm, that for the ease of the hearts of your people, who are possessed with extreme grief and sorrow to see your Majesty thus abused, and the kingdom endangered, that your Majesty would graciously be pleased to remove the said Duke of Lauderdale from all his employments, and from your Majesty's presence and councils, for ever, as being a person obnoxious and dangerous to the government.

Answer to the above Address, May 7, 1675.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty has considered of the address against the Duke of Lauderdale, and the reasons accompanying it. As to the acts of Parliament, mentioned to have been passed in 1643

land, his Majesty observes, that the first of those acts was in the year 1663; which was long before the Duke of Lauderdale was his Majesty's commissioner in that kingdom; the latter was in pursuance of the former. As to the words, "by the time of Mr. Penistone Whaley's case," His Majesty perceives, that if they had been spoken, they must have been spoken before the last act of general pardon: and his Majesty, being sensible how great a satisfaction and security the inviolable preservation of the former act of indemnity and oblivion has been to all his subjects, cannot but apprehend the dangerous consequences of inquiring into any thing that has been pardoned by an act of general pardon, lest the example of that might give men cause to fear their security under the first act of oblivion.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the seventh of May, 1675.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 9, 1675.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THINK I have given sufficient evidence to the world, that I have not been wanting, on my part, in my endeavours to procure the full satisfaction of all my subjects in the matters both of religion and property. I have not only invited you to those considerations at our first meeting; but I have been careful through this whole session, that no concern of my own should divert you from them.

Besides, as I had only designed the matter of it to be the procuring of good laws: so, for the gaining of them, I have already waited much longer than I intended; and should have been contented still to have continued my expectation, had there any hopes remained of a good conclusion: but, I must confess, the ill designs of our enemies have been too prevalent against those good ones I had proposed to myself in behalf of my people; and those unhappy differences between my two Houses are grown to such an height, that I find no possible means of putting an end to them, but by a prorogation.

It is with great unwillingness that I make use of this expedient; having always intended an adjournment, for the preserving of such bills as were unfinished: but my hopes are, that, by this means the present occasion of differences being taken away, you will be so careful hereafter of the public, as not to seek new ones, nor to revive the old.

I intend to meet you here again in winter; and have directed my Lord Keeper to prorogue you till the thirteenth of October next.

Then

Then the Lord Keeper said,

My Lords, and you, Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Houſe of Commons,

IT is his Majeſty's pleaſure that this Parliament be prorogued to the thirteenth day of October next : and this Parliament is prorogued to the thirteenth day of October next.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech, October 13, 1675.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I MEET you now with a more than uſual concern for the event of this ſeſſion ; and I know it is but what may reaſonably be expected from that care I owe to the preſervation of the government. The cauſes of the laſt prorogation, as I, for my part, do not deſire to remember, ſo I hope, no man elſe will, unleſs it be to learn from thence how to avoid the like occasions for the future : and I pray, conſider how fatal the conſequences may be, and how little benefit is like to redound to the people by it. However, if any thing of that kind ſhall ariſe, I deſire you would defer thoſe debates, till you have brought ſuch public bills to perfection, as may conduce to the good and ſafety of the kingdom : and particularly I recommend to you whatever may tend to the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, as it is now eſtabliſhed in the church of England. I muſt likewiſe deſire your aſſiſtance in ſome ſupplies ; as well to take off the anticipations which are upon my revenue, as for building of ſhips. And, though the war hath been the great cauſe of theſe anticipations, yet I find, by a late account I have taken of my expenſes, that I have not been altogether ſo good an huſband as I might have been, and as I reſolve to be for the future ; although, at the ſame time, I have had the ſatisfaction to find, that I have been far from ſuch an extravagancy in my own expenſe, as ſome would have the world believe. I am not ignorant that there are many who would prevent the kindneſſes of my Parliament to me at this time ; but I as well know, that your affections have never failed me ; and you may remember it is now above three years ſince I have aſked you any thing for my own uſe.

Address to his Majesty, November 10, 1675.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, taking notice, to our great satisfaction, of your Majesty's royal proclamation, bearing date the nineteenth of May, 1675, intituled, "A Proclamation, commanding the immediate Return of all your Majesty's Subjects who have gone into the Service of the French King, as Soldiers, since the late Treaty of Peace with the States General of the United Provinces, and prohibiting all your Majesty's Subjects to enter into the said Service for the Time to come:" And finding there hath not been that observance paid to it, which your Majesty might have expected, and all your loyal subjects could have wished, do, out of our earnest desires that your royal intentions, so agreeable to the interest and welfare of your people, should no longer be disappointed, humbly make this our petition and address unto your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to renew your former proclamation, strengthening it with such additional severities, upon those who shall not obey it, as shall be agreeable to law.

Address to his Majesty, March 10, 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burghers, in Parliament assembled, find ourselves obliged, in duty and faithfulness to your Majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us by those whom we represent, most humbly to offer to your Majesty's serious consideration, that the minds of your Majesty's people are much disquieted with the manifest danger arising to your Majesty's kingdoms by the growth and power of the French King; especially by the acquisitions already made, and the further progress likely to be made by him in the Spanish Netherlands; in the preservation and security whereof, we humbly conceive the interest of your Majesty, and the safety of your people, are highly concerned: and, therefore, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to take the same into your royal care, and to strengthen yourself with such stricter alliances, as may secure your Majesty's kingdom, and preserve and secure the said Netherlands; and thereby quiet the minds of your Majesty's people.

His

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 15, 1677.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE called you together again, after a long prorogation, that you might have an opportunity to repair the misfortunes of the last session ; and to recover and restore the right end and use of Parliaments.

The time I have given you to recollect yourselves in, and to consider whither those differences tend, which have been so unhappily managed and improved between you, is enough to leave you without all excuse, if ever you fall into the like again.

I am now resolved to let the world see, that it shall not be my fault, if they be not made happy by your consultations in Parliament : for I declare myself very plainly to you, that I come prepared to give you all the satisfaction and security in the great concerns of the protestant religion, as it is established in the church of England, that shall reasonably be asked, or can consist with christian prudence. And I declare myself as freely, that I am ready to gratify you in a further securing of your liberty and property, as you can think you want it, by as many good laws as you shall propose, and as can consist with the safety of the government ; without which there will neither be liberty nor property left to any man.

Having thus plainly told you what I am ready to do for you, I shall deal as plainly with you again, and tell you, what it is I do expect from you.

I do expect and require from you, that all occasions of difference between the two Houses be carefully avoided ; for else they who have no hopes to prevent your good resolutions, will hope, by this reserve, to hinder them from taking any effect. And let all men judge who is most for arbitrary government ; they that foment such differences as tend to dissolve all Parliaments ; or I, that would preserve this and all Parliaments from being made useless by such dissensions.

In the next place, I desire you to consider the necessity of building more ships ; and how much all our safeties are concerned in it. And since the additional revenue of excise will shortly expire, you that know me to be under a great burthen of debts, and how hard a shift I am making to pay them off as fast as I can, I hope will never deny me the continuance of this revenue ; and some reasonable supply to make my condition more easy.

And that you may be satisfied, how impossible it is (whatever some men think) to support the government with less than
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the present revenue, you may at any time see the yearly established charge; by which it will appear, that, the constant and unavoidable charge being paid, there will remain no overplus towards the discharging those contingencies which may happen in all kingdoms, and which have been a considerable charge to me this last year.

To conclude, I do recommend to you the peace of the kingdom, in the careful prevention of all differences; the safety of the kingdom, in providing for some greater strength at sea; and the prosperity of the kingdom, in assisting the necessary charge and support of the government.

And, if any of these good ends should happen to be disappointed, I call God and men to witness this day, that the misfortune of that disappointment shall not lie at my door.

Address to his Majesty, April 10, 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in this present Parliament assembled; having, at the petition of divers commoners, greatly concerned in the preservation of the life and estate of the Duke of Norfolk, entered into consideration of the present condition of the said Duke; and, upon solemn hearing of counsel on both sides, and examination of several witnesses before the House, having found that the said Duke is a lunatick, and hath been so for many years past; and during all that time to have been kept in parts beyond the sea, at Padua, under the dominion of the state of Venice; notwithstanding his condition is such, as we conceive, that he may be safely and conveniently, and to the great benefit of his person, (considering his distemper) be removed thence into England; do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would graciously be pleased to take some effectual course, that the said Duke may be speedily brought over into this kingdom; that thereby he may be more immediately under your Majesty's care; which will be not only to the great comfort and relief of the said petitioners, but the general satisfaction of your Majesty's subjects; who think themselves, and all others in whom they are concerned, most safe and secure under your Majesty's royal protection.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, April 11, 1677.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having considered your last address, and finding some late alteration in the affairs abroad, thinks it necessary to put you in mind, that the only way to prevent the danger which may arise to these kingdoms, must be, by putting his Majesty timely in condition to make such fitting preparations as may enable him to do what shall be most for the security of them. And if, for this reason, you shall desire to sit any longer time, the King is content you adjourn now before Easter, and meet again suddenly after ; to ripen this matter, and to perfect some of the most necessary bills now depending.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the eleventh day of April, 1677.

Address to his Majesty, April 13, 1677.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do, with great satisfaction of mind, observe the regard your Majesty is pleased to express to our former addresses, by intimating to us the late alteration in affairs abroad ; and do return our most humble thanks for your Majesty's gracious offer made to us thereupon in your last message : and, having taken a serious deliberation of the same, and of the preparations your Majesty hath therein intimated to us were fitting to be made, in order to these public ends ; we have for the present, provided a security, in a bill for an additional duty of excise ; upon which your Majesty may raise the sum of two hundred thousand pounds : and if your Majesty shall think fit to call us together again for this purpose, in some short time after Easter, by any public signification of your Majesty's pleasure commanding our attendance, we shall, at our next meeting, not only be ready to reimburse your Majesty what sums of money shall be expended upon such extraordinary preparations as shall be made in pursuance of our former addresses ; but shall likewise, with most cheerful hearts, proceed, both then, and at all other times, to furnish your Majesty with so large proportions of assistances and supplies upon this occasion, as may give your Majesty and the whole world an ample testimony of our loyalties and affections to your Majesty's service ; and may enable your Majesty, by the help of Almighty God, to maintain such stricter al-
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liances as you shall have entered into, against all opposition whatsoever.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
April 16, 1677.*

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having considered the answer of this House to his last message, about enabling him to make fitting preparations for the security of these kingdoms, finds by it, that they have only enabled him to borrow two hundred thousand pounds, upon a fund given him for other uses: his Majesty desires, therefore, the House should know, and he hopes they will always believe of him, that not only that fund, but any other within his power, shall be engaged to the utmost for preservation of his kingdoms.

But, as his Majesty's condition is, (which, he doubts not but is as well known to this House as to himself,) he must tell them plainly, that, without a sum of six hundred thousand pounds, or credit for such a sum upon new funds, it will not be possible for him to speak, or act those things which should answer the ends of their several addresses; without exposing the kingdoms to much greater dangers.

His Majesty does further acquaint them, that having done his part, and laid the true state of things before them, he will not be wanting to use the best means for the safety of his people, which his present condition is capable of.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the sixteenth day of April, 1677.

Address by the House of Commons, April 16, 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, having considered your Majesty's last message, and the gracious expressions therein contained, for employing your whole revenue, at any time, to raise money for the preservation of your Majesty's kingdoms, do find great cause to return our most humble thanks for the same; and to desire your Majesty to rest assured, that you shall find as much duty and affection in us, as can be expressed by a most loyal people to a most gracious sovereign. And, whereas your Majesty is pleased to signify to us, that the sum of two hundred thousand pounds is not sufficient, without further supplies, to enable your Majesty to speak and act those things

things which are desired by your people, we humbly take leave to acquaint your Majesty, that many of our members being, upon an expectation of adjournment before Easter, gone into their several countries; we cannot think it parliamentary, in their absence, to take upon us the granting of money; but do therefore desire your Majesty to be pleased, that this House may adjourn itself for some short time, before the sum of two hundred thousand pounds can be expended, as your Majesty shall think fit; and by your royal proclamation command the attendance of all our members at the day of meeting: by which time we hope your Majesty may have so formed your affairs, and fixed your alliances, in pursuance of our former addresses, that your Majesty may be graciously pleased to impart them to us in Parliament.

And we no ways doubt, but, at our next assembling, your Majesty will not only meet with a compliance in the supply your Majesty desires, but with all such assistances, as the posture of your affairs shall require: in confidence whereof, we hope your Majesty will be encouraged, in the mean time, to speak and act such things, as your Majesty shall judge necessary for attaining those great ends we have formerly represented to your Majesty.

His Majesty's Answer, May 23, 1677.

Gentlemen,

I SENT for you hither, that I might prevent those mistakes and distrusts, which I find some are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get money from you for other uses than you would have it employed.

I do assure you, upon the word of a king, that you shall not repent any trust you repose in me for the safety of my kingdoms; and I desire you to believe, I would not break my credit with you.

But as I have already told you, that it will not be possible for me to speak or act those things, which should answer the ends of your several addresses, without exposing my kingdoms to much greater dangers; so I declare to you again, that I will neither hazard my own safety nor your's, until I be in a better condition than I am able to put myself, both to defend my subjects, and offend my enemies.

I do further assure you, that I have not lost one day since your last meeting, in doing all I can for your defence; and I tell you plainly, it shall be your fault, and not mine, if our securities be not sufficiently provided for.

Address

Address by the Commons to the King, May 25, 1677.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

YOUR Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having taken into their serious consideration your Majesty's gracious speech, do beseech your Majesty to believe it is a great affliction to them, to find themselves obliged, at present, to decline the granting your Majesty the supply your Majesty is pleased to demand; conceiving it is not agreeable to the usage of Parliament, to grant supplies for maintenance of wars and alliance, before they are signified in Parliament: which the two wars against the States of the United Provinces, since your Majesty's happy restoration, and the league made with them in January 1668, for preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, sufficiently prove, without troubling your Majesty with instances of greater antiquity. From which usage if we should depart, the precedent might be of dangerous consequence in future times; though your Majesty's goodness gives us great security during your Majesty's reign; which we beseech God long to continue. This consideration prompted us, in our last address to your Majesty before our late recess, humbly to mention to your Majesty our hopes, that, before our meeting again, your Majesty's alliances might be so fixed, as that your Majesty might be graciously pleased to impart them to us in Parliament; that so our earnest desires of supplying your Majesty for prosecuting those great ends we had humbly laid before your Majesty, might meet with no impediment or obstruction; being highly sensible of the necessity of supporting as well as making the alliances humbly desired in our former addresses: and which we still conceive so important to the safety of your Majesty and your kingdoms, that we cannot, without unfaithfulness to your Majesty, and those we represent, omit, upon all occasions, humbly to beseech your Majesty, as we now do, to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States General of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French king; and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with such other of the confederates as your Majesty shall think fit and useful to that end. In doing which, that no time may be lost, we humbly offer to your Majesty these reasons for the expediting it:

I. That, if the entering into such alliances should draw on a war with the French king, it would be least detrimental to your Majesty's subjects at this time of the year; they having, now, fewest effects within the dominions of that king.

II. That

II. That though we have great reason to believe the power of the French king to be dangerous to your Majesty and your kingdoms, when he shall be at more leisure to molest us; yet we conceive the many enemies he hath to deal with at present, together with the situation of your Majesty's kingdoms, the unanimity of your people in this cause, the care your Majesty hath been pleased to take of your ordinary guard for the sea; together with the credit provided by the late act, entituled, "An Act for an additional Excise for Three Years;" make the entering into and declaring alliances very safe; until we may, in a regular way, give your Majesty such further supplies as may enable your Majesty to support your alliances, and defend your kingdoms.

III. Because of the great danger and charge which must necessarily fall upon your Majesty's kingdoms, if through want of that timely encouragement and assistance, which your Majesty's joining with the States of the United Provinces, and other the confederates, would give them, the said States, or any other considerable part of the confederates, should this next winter, or sooner, make a peace or truce with the French king (the prevention whereof hitherto must be acknowledged to be a singular effect of God's goodness;) which if it should happen, your Majesty would afterwards be necessitated with fewer, perhaps with no alliances or assistances, to withstand the power of the French king, which hath so long and so successfully contended with so many and potent adversaries: and, whilst he continues his overbalancing greatness, must always be dangerous to his neighbours; since he would be able to oppress any one confederate before the rest could get together, and be in so good a posture of offending him as they now are, being jointly engaged in a war: and if he should be so successful as to make a peace, or disunite the present confederation against him; it is much to be feared, whether it would be possible ever to reunite it: at least, it would be a work of so much time and difficulty, as would leave your Majesty's kingdoms exposed to much misery and danger.

Having thus discharged our duty, in laying before your Majesty the dangers threatening your Majesty and your kingdoms; and the only remedy we can think of for preventing it, and securing and quieting the minds of your Majesty's people; with some few of those reasons which have moved us to this and our former addresses on this subject, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to take this matter into your most serious consideration; and to take such resolutions, as may not leave it in the power of any neighbouring prince to rob your people of that happiness which they enjoy under your Majesty's gracious government; beseeching

befeeching your Majesty to rest confident and assured, that, when your Majesty shall be pleased to declare such alliances in Parliament, we shall hold ourselves obliged, not only by our promises and assurances given, and now with great unanimity renewed in a full House, but by the zeal and desires of those whom we represent, and by the interest of all our safeties, most cheerfully to give your Majesty such speedy supplies and assistances, as may fully and plentifully answer the occasions; and, by God's blessing, preserve your Majesty's honour, and the safety of your people.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty's great wisdom.

His Majesty's Answer, May 28, 1677.

GENTLEMEN,

COULD I have been silent, I would rather have chosen to be so, than to call to mind things so unfit for you to meddle with, as are contained in some part of your address; wherein you have entrenched upon so undoubted a right of the crown, that I am confident it will appear in no age (when the sword was not drawn) that the prerogative of making peace and war hath been so dangerously invaded. You do not content yourselves with desiring me to enter into such leagues, as may be for the safety of the kingdom; but you tell me what sort of leagues they must be, and with whom: and as your address is worded, it is more liable to be understood to be by your leave, than your request, that I should make such other alliances as I please with other of the confederates. Should I suffer this fundamental power of making peace and war to be so far invaded (though but once) as to have the manner and circumstances of leagues prescribed to me by Parliament, it is plain, that no prince or state would any longer believe, that the sovereignty of England rests in the crown; nor could I think myself to signify any more to foreign princes, than the empty sound of a king. Wherefore you may rest assured, that no condition shall make me depart from, or lessen, so essential a part of the monarchy: and I am willing to believe so well of this House of Commons, that I am confident these ill consequences are not intended by you.

These are, in short, the reasons, why I can by no means approve of your address. And yet, though you have declined to grant me that supply, which is so necessary to the ends of it, I do again declare to you, that, as I have done all that lay in my power, since your last meeting, so I will still apply myself,
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by all means I can, to let the world see my care, both for the security and satisfaction of my people; although it may not be with those advantages to them, which, by your assistance, I might have procured.

A Message from his Majesty, December 3, 1677.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty, having given notice by his proclamation, that he intended the Houses should be adjourned till the fourth of April, hath now, for weighty considerations, thought fit to meet with both Houses sooner: and therefore his pleasure is, that this House be adjourned to the fifteenth day of January next.

A Message from his Majesty, January 15, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty hath matters of very great importance to communicate to both Houses, in order to the satisfaction of their late addresses for the preservation of Flanders: but it so happening that matters are not yet so ripe, as within a few days they will be: therefore his Majesty's pleasure is, that this House be immediately adjourned till Monday, the twenty-eighth of this instant January.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 28, 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN we parted last, I told you, that, before we met again, I would do that which should be to your satisfaction. I have accordingly made such alliances with Holland as are for the preservation of Flanders; and which cannot fail of that end, unless prevented either by want of due assistances to support those alliances, or by the small regard the Spaniards themselves must have to their own preservation.

The first of these I cannot suspect, by reason of your repeated engagements to maintain them; and I know you are so wise, as to consider, that a war, which must be the necessary consequence of them, ought neither to be prosecuted by halves, nor to want such assurances of perseverance, as may give me encouragement to pursue it: besides, it will not be less necessary to let our enemies have such a prospect of our resolutions, as may let them see certainly, that we shall not be weary of our

arms, till Christendom be restored to such a peace, as shall not be in the power of any prince alone to disturb.

I do acknowledge to you, that I have used all the means possible, by a mediation, to have procured an honourable and safe peace for Christendom; knowing how preferable such a peace would have been to any war, and especially to this kingdom; which must necessarily own the vast benefits it has received by peace, whilst its neighbours only have yet smarted by the war: but, finding it no longer to be hoped for by fair means, it shall not be my fault, if that be not obtained by force, which cannot be had otherwise. For this reason I have recalled my troops from France; and have considered, that, although the Dutch shall do their parts, we cannot have less on our's, than ninety sail of capital ships constantly maintained; nor less than thirty or forty thousand landmen, with their dependencies, to be employed upon our fleets, and elsewhere. And because there shall be no jealousy or fear of misemploying what you shall give to these uses, I am contented, that such money be appropriated to those ends as strictly as you can desire. I have given testimony enough of my care in that kind, by the progress I have made in building the new ships; wherein, for the making them more useful, I have directed such larger dimensions, as will cost me above one hundred thousand pounds more than the act allows. I have gone as far as I could in repairing the old fleet, and in buying of necessary stores for the navy and ordnance: and in this and other provisions for the better securing both my foreign plantations, and the islands nearer home, I have expended a great deal more than the two hundred thousand pounds you enabled me to borrow upon the excise; although I have not found such credit as I expected upon that security.

I have borne the charge both of a rebellion in Virginia, and a new war with Algiers: I stand engaged to the Prince of Orange for my niece's portion; and I shall not be able to maintain my constant necessary establishments, unless the new imposts upon wines, &c. be continued to me; which would otherwise turn only to their profit, to whom we least intend it.

I hope these things will need little recommendation to you, when you consider your promises in some, and the necessity of the rest. And, to let you see, that I have not only employed my time and treasure for your safety, but done all I could to remove all sorts of jealousies, I have married my niece to the Prince of Orange; by which I hope I have given full assurances, that I shall never suffer his interests to be ruined, if I can be assisted as I ought to be to preserve them.

Having done all this, I expect from you a plentiful supply suitable to such great occasions; whereon depends not only the honour,

honour, but, for aught I know, the being of an English nation ; which will not be saved by finding faults afterwards ; but may be prevented by avoiding the chief fault of doing weakly and by halves what can only be hoped from a vigorous and thorough prosecution of what we undertake.

These considerations are of the greatest importance that ever concerned this kingdom : and therefore I would have you enter immediately upon them, without suffering any other business whatsoever to divert you from bringing them to good resolutions.

Address by the House of Commons, January 31, 1678.

WE your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, in all duty and gratitude, render our most humble thanks to your most sacred Majesty, for the great care your Majesty hath expressed for the preservation and encouragement of the protestant religion, by concluding a marriage between the Lady Mary, your Majesty's niece, and the Prince of Orange ; being a Prince professing the same religion with us, and engaged in arms for the defence of the common cause of Christendom : for the promoting of which we do, in all humility, and with the highest zeal to your Majesty's honour, and the safety of your people, beseech your Majesty not to admit of any treaty of peace, whereby the French King shall be left in the possession of any larger dominions and territories, or of any greater power, than what he retained by the Pyrenean treaty : less than which, we conceive, cannot secure your Majesty's kingdoms, and the rest of Europe, from the growth and power of the said King ; but that he alone may be able to disturb the peace thereof, whensoever he is minded to attempt it ; the places reserved by that treaty to the King of Spain, in the Netherlands, being advantageous, as well by the vicinity of some important towns and garrisons to the kingdom of France, as by the extent of the territory. And we do most humbly desire, that in all treaties, articles, and confederations, in order to the obtaining that end, your Majesty would be pleased to provide, that none of the parties that shall join with your Majesty in making war for that purpose, may lay down their arms, or depart from their alliances, until the said King be reduced at least to the said treaty : and we do further desire, as one of the most effectual means to obtain those ends, that it may be agreed between your Majesty and the confederates, that neither ourselves, nor any of them, shall hold any commerce or trade with the French King, or his subjects, during such war ; and that no commodity of the

growth, product, or manufacture of France, or of any of the territories or dominions of the French King, be admitted to be brought into your Majesty's, or any of their countries and dominions, either by land or sea ; or to be sold within the same : but that they be seized and destroyed wheresoever they be found ; and days to be limited for the same, in as short a time as the nature of such affairs will permit : and that in all treaties, articles, and confederations, made in order to or for the prosecution of such war, it may be agreed and declared, that no vessel of any nation whatsoever shall be permitted to enter into, or come out of the ports of France, but that the ship and men shall be seized, and the goods destroyed.

We do therefore must humbly desire your Majesty to proceed in making such alliances and confederations, as shall be necessary for the attaining those ends : and though we believe your Majesty can never doubt of the affections of your people, yet, upon this occasion, we do, with all alacrity, and, with one unanimous consent, renew our former promises and engagements : beseeching your Majesty to rest confidently assured of our perseverance in the prosecution of the said war ; and that, when your Majesty shall please to impart such alliances and confederations to us in Parliament, we shall, upon all occasions, give your Majesty such ready assistance and supports, as may, by the blessing of God, bring the said war to a happy conclusion.

His Majesty's Answer to the above Address, February 4, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty hath received and perused the late address of this House ; and thereunto returneth this answer.

He is not a little surprised to find so much inserted there, of what there should not be, and so little of what should.

In the first place, his Majesty's speech was to both Houses jointly : and the matter being of so public a concern, it is certainly very convenient the return to that speech should be made jointly : for to receive several addresses, and possibly very different, cannot but administer matter of distraction to his counsels, and consequently to the affairs of the nation : nor is it the House of Peers reasonably to be left out, in transacting those things which at last must needs pass by them.

In the next place, he observes in the address of this House, of the twentieth of May last, you invite his Majesty to a league, offensive and defensive, with Holland, against the growth and power of the French King, and for preservation of the Spanish Netherlands ; and, upon his declaration of such alli-

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ances, you assure his Majesty of such speedy assistances and supplies, as may fully and plentifully answer the occasions: his Majesty hath made, accordingly, the alliances, offensive and defensive, with Holland; and declared it to you in Parliament, so his part is performed: but, as to that of this House for supplies, though he asked it in his speech, you give no answer, nor the least hint: ⁶ affording him any thing to support the treaties he hath made: only the old promises are put to new conditions; and so he may be used to eternity, should he seem satisfied with such proceedings.

You are not to think, that either his Majesty, or the States General, being to embark in so great a design, would deprive themselves of the other so considerable alliances. Some ministers of the most concerned princes have known and approved his treaty with the States General: and, that he hath not formerly concluded one with them, the reason is, that the distance of the places the princes concerned reside in, would not give time to perfect so many treaties, to be ratified in places so remote: and, laying well the foundation in Holland, there could not be much doubt of their consent, for whose interest that treaty is made: but nothing can delay, or indeed disappoint, those treaties, more than the failing of this House to support these his Majesty hath made: he must acquit his credit there, and see his word shall be maintained, before he can engage it elsewhere afresh.

In his Majesty's answer to the address of this House, of the twentieth of May, he told you how highly he was offended at that great invasion of his prerogative: but you take no notice of it; but, on the contrary, add to your former ill conduct new invasions, equally offensive to his Majesty's authority, as contrary to his, and, he thinks, most other men's judgments.

This House desires his Majesty to oblige his confederates never to consent to a peace, but upon condition the Most Christian King be reduced to the Pyrenean treaty at least: a determination fitting only for God Almighty; for none can tell what can be fitting conditions for a peace, but he that can certainly foretell the events of the war.

You advise his Majesty to enjoin not only his allies, but all the world, not to let a ship of their's to go to, or come from France, upon pain of loss of goods, capture of ships and men, not excepting either ally, prince, or ambassador, (if amongst them): he doth not believe that ever any assembly of men gave so great and public a provocation to the whole world, without either having provided, or so much as considered how to provide, one ship, one regiment, or one penny, towards justifying it, (at least as far as you have acquainted him.) However, to shew you how willing his Majesty is to give all reasonable

satisfaction to this House, how unreasonable soever the propositions made him are, he doth again repeat to you what he said on the twenty-eighth past, that if, by your assistance, he may be put into arms sufficient for such a work, his Majesty will not be weary of them, till Christendom be restored to such a peace, as it shall not be in the power of any prince alone to disturb.

This is, in the consequence of it, as much as a prince that valueth his word, can say to you : and he is such a one. But, to say he will make no other peace, than such a particular peace, whether able or not able, whether abandoned by his allies or not, is not to be said upon solemn engagement ; because not certainly to be performed.

In sum, Gentlemen, the right of making and managing war and peace is in his Majesty : and if you think he will depart from any part of that right, you are mistaken. The reins of government are in his hands ; and he hath the same resolution and concern to preserve them there, as he hath to preserve his own person ; and he keeps both for his people's protection and safety ; and will employ them so far as he can. If this House encourage his Majesty to go farther in alliances, by supplying him in maintaining those he hath made, his care and utmost endeavour will be employed for you. If this House doth intend this, it must be speedy : the time and conjuncture afford not leisure to consult long : and therefore his Majesty desireth, that, without further loss of time, you apply yourselves to the consideration of that supply ; for from thence he must take his measures.

Address by the House of Commons, March 15, 1678.

WE your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, in all duty and faithfulness to your Majesty's service, humbly present your Majesty with this our advice : that, for the satisfying the minds of your good subjects, who are much disquieted with the apprehensions of the dangers arising to this kingdom from the growth and power of the French King ; and for the encouragement of the princes and states confederated against him ; your Majesty would graciously be pleased immediately to declare, proclaim, and enter into an actual war against the said French King : for the prosecution whereof, as we have already passed a bill of supply, which only wants your royal assent, so we desire your Majesty to rest constantly assured, that we will, from time to time, proceed to stand by and aid your Majesty with such plentiful supplies and assistances, as

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your Majesty's occasions for so royal an undertaking shall require. And because your Majesty's endeavours, by way of mediation, have not produced those good effects your Majesty intended, we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would graciously be pleased to recal your ambassadors from Nimeguen and France, and to cause the French ambassador to depart from hence ; that your Majesty being publicly disengaged from acting as a mediator, or upon such terms and conditions as were then proposed, your Majesty may enter into the war to no other end, than that the said French King may be reduced unto such a condition, as he may be no longer terrible to your Majesty's subjects ; and that Christendom may be restored to such a peace, as may not be in the power of the said King to disturb.

Message from his Majesty, March 19, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty hath received the notice sent him by this House, that the poll bill was now ready for the royal assent: which his Majesty was well pleased to hear, and resolveth to pass it to-morrow. His Majesty desireth this House to dispatch the rest of the supply promised him, with all expedition: the sea and land preparations run great danger of being disappointed, if those supplies be retarded: and it would be a satisfaction to his Majesty, that no more time should be lost in a work so necessary for the safety and reputation of the nation, as the finishing those supplies.

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, April 29, 1678.

My Lords, and you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, of the House of Commons,

HIS Majesty, having made a league offensive and defensive with Holland, and endeavoured to improve that league by entering into further and more general alliances, for the prosecution of the war, hath nevertheless thought fit, before he make his last step, to take the further advice of both his Houses of Parliament ; and resolves to govern himself by it.

And to the end his Parliament may be able to give a clear and certain judgment in this matter, his Majesty hath commanded that the present state and condition of affairs should be fully and plainly opened to you. And this I shall do in few words.

The address to his Majesty from both Houses was upon the sixteenth of March, one thousand six hundred and seventy-six ; wherein the dangerous growth of the French monarchy being observed, and the conquests made in Flanders, together with the ill consequences arising from thence, his Majesty is desirous to strengthen himself by such stricter alliances as may secure his own kingdoms, and preserve the Spanish Netherlands.

But this address did neither desire nor seem to intend, that his Majesty should so suddenly and so abruptly depart from his figure of mediator, as immediately to become a party in the war, before any such alliances were made : for this address was followed with several other addresses from the Commons, in the months of March, April, and May following, all of them pressing his Majesty to hasten his entry into such alliances ; and one of them particularly pointing at a league offensive and defensive with the States General. And, in truth, as no alliances could well be made, till we had concluded with Holland ; so no entry could be made upon any alliance with Holland, until the mind of the Prince of Orange were perfectly known ; for upon him would depend much of that certainty and secrecy which was absolutely necessary to bring such a treaty to perfection : but the Prince was in so great a hurry of business, and such a heat of action, that no time could possibly be found all that summer to enter upon this treaty. And yet that no time might be lost, his Majesty did all he could at home, to fit and prepare himself for such an alliance, when the time should come : he repairs his old fleet ; buys in necessary stores for the navy and ordnance : and in this and other provisions, for better securing his foreign plantations and islands nearer home, expended a great deal more than the two hundred thousand pounds which he was enabled to borrow upon the excise : and if he could have then prevailed to have had the six hundred thousand pounds completed, as he desired, the expense of that in other stores and provisions, both for land and sea, would by this time have given an universal content and satisfaction.

Nor did his Majesty rest here, but he continued all the rest of that summer to make all the steps he could towards an alliance with Holland. To this end he did, in the month of June, send for his ambassador, Sir Wm. Temple, to come to him from Nimeguen, in order to his being employed to negotiate with the Prince of Orange, touching those measures which were necessary to be taken for the common safety : but the Prince's continual action caused it to be deferred ; and yet, in August following, the King appoints his ambassador Mr. Hyde to wait upon the Prince, and to know of him what course he thought

thought best to be taken, as things then stood ; and to desire him, that he would either write his own mind, or send some person hither, instructed with it, or come himself. The Prince was pleased to chuse the latter.

By that conversation with his Highness, his Majesty quickly understood to what a low estate the affairs of Holland were reduced ; and in what great disorders the rest of the confederates were ; they in Flanders totally desponding, and the people in Holland being violent for a peace. So that there seemed to be no other remedy or expedient left, but for His Majesty to try whether a peace could be obtained upon reasonable conditions ; this being the main and principal point to which the King had been all that year earnestly solicited by the States ; that is to say, in the months of January, May, and September last, just before the Prince came over : and his Majesty had reason to believe, that such endeavours would be grateful to the States ; and took thereby an opportunity to engage the States, that, in case of refusal, they should enter into such an alliance with his Majesty, as might enable him to obtain his desires by force of arms : for his Majesty did well perceive, that the States of Holland, whom he had so long found weary of the war, would never enter into any alliance with his Majesty for the prosecution of this war without a prospect of a peace.

And, to convince the world that his Majesty was resolved to espouse the interest of the States General to the uttermost, his Majesty (who could not but see that the happiness and prosperity of the Prince did very much depend upon the quiet and repose of these countries,) did, in the time of their most pressing dangers, give his own niece in marriage to the Prince ; which act alone was enough to extinguish all the fears at home, and raise the hopes of all that were abroad. And with this assurance, and this evidence of the King's good intentions to the States, the Prince returned.

And now, to the end it might be known whether his Most Christian Majesty would consent to such conditions of peace, as might be grateful to the States ; and that such measures might be taken as were fit, in case of refusal, conditions were prepared and sent to Paris, by the Earl of Feverham, in November last ; and in December following, the Earl of Feverham returns with an answer very dissatisfactory.

This ill answer being returned, his Majesty hastened the meeting of the Parliament ; and proceeded to close up the treaty with the States General, for obtaining of those conditions by force of arms, which could not be obtained by fair means.

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And this is the league offensive and defensive made with Holland, and concluded in the beginning of January last : which his Majesty is graciously pleased may be communicated to the Parliament, if they shall desire to see it.

And his Majesty, at the same time, and for the fuller satisfaction of his Parliament, and the better securing of his kingdoms, in all events, did further take care to conclude another perpetual defensive treaty with the States General.

In execution of the offensive and defensive league, his Majesty sent to the States, to have the number of forces by sea and land adjusted ; and did agree what his own quota by sea should be ; and sent over some forces into Flanders ; and had sent more, but that some difficulties were made on that side ; which his Majesty, for the friendship sake which he hath with them, does not think fit to remember.

The next thing absolutely necessary to be done, was, to have one common alliance for all parties to enter into for the carrying on of the war, by disposing the several stations of the joint forces, by the general prohibition of commerce, and by providing against all possibilities of any separate peace : for which causes, his Majesty appoints his own commissioners, to meet and treat with the foreign ministers ; but to the King's great disappointment, it appeared, that the Dutch ambassador had no power to treat ; which made the other ministers refuse to enter upon any discourse ; and therefore, to obtain these powers to be sent, his Majesty, besides the repeated and pressing instances of his own ambassadors in Holland, was pleased to write himself to the States very earnestly in this matter. At last powers come : but then the ambassador wants instructions ; so that nothing at all could be concluded touching those points which were most essential and necessary to be settled between us ; and which the King hath never ceased to press for, to this very day. But hitherto the King finds what he always feared, that the Dutch are making haste to get out of the war ; and are so far from disposing themselves to enter into any new alliance for the more vigorous prosecution of it, that whether they will persevere in the league offensive and defensive which they have made with the King, or to what degree they will act, if they should persevere, depends upon very many and very great uncertainties : for they are at this very time entered upon considerations of accepting such a peace, as the Most Christian King hath thought fit to offer lately at Nimeguen, though it be without his Majesty's consent or privity, and contrary to that league by which they stand obliged to him to prosecute the war, till a much better peace can be obtained.

To prevent this, the King hath sent an express, on purpose to know what they intend by this manner of proceeding; and to dissuade them from it, by letting them see, that this will be as ill a peace for themselves and the rest of Christendom, as their enemies could wish.

But the King, as yet, can receive no other account from them, but complaints of their great poverty and utter inability to be any further charge in carrying on the war: and the King is informed by his ambassador, that they intend to send over an envoy extraordinary to his Majesty, to beg his Majesty to accept of these propositions; and to excuse themselves for this, upon the general impatience of their people.

This is the state of the case; and thus it stands at this day between us and Holland; from whom we have little hopes now, that they should ever so far enter into this new and common alliance, as to make it quadrupartite.

And now, upon the whole matter, the King demands your advice. what may be fit for him to do in this difficult conjuncture; and resolves to pursue it: and therefore desires you to take this matter into your most speedy and most serious considerations.

Addrefs by the House of Commons to the King, May 10, 1678.

WE, your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, in all duty and thankfulness, humbly acknowledge your Majesty's great grace and favour, in demanding our advice upon the state of your affairs in this present juncture, wherein your Majesty's honour and the safety of this kingdom is so nearly concerned: according to which command of your Majesty's, we did immediately enter upon consideration of what was imparted to us by your Majesty's order, and after serious examination and weighing of the matter, we did resolve upon an advice; which, because of the urgency of affairs, and the exhibition they require, we did present in that form as was not usual in a matter of so great importance; and which we then directed to excuse to your Majesty, upon that consideration. And because we apprehended the dangers were so eminent, that the delay of the least time might be of great prejudice to your Majesty's service, and the safety of your kingdom, after so much time already lost, we thought it necessary to apply immediately to your Majesty by ourselves; which in matters of this nature is wholly in the choice of this House, and hath been frequently practised by us. And because these occasions are so pressing upon your Majesty, and the whole kingdom so deeply sensible thereof:

thereof ; we most earnestly beseech your Majesty to communicate to us the resolutions your Majesty hath taken upon our said advice, that thereby these imminent dangers may be timely prevented.

And whereas the Commons conceive, that the present inconveniencies and dangers under which the kingdom now lies, might either totally, or in a great measure, have been prevented, if your Majesty had accepted of that advice, which in all humility and faithfulness we presented to your Majesty upon the 26th of May last ; and which we reiterated to your Majesty upon the one and thirtieth of January ensuing : the refusing of which advice, and dissolving of the Parliament in May last, was the occasion of those ill consequences, which have since succeeded both at home and abroad ; all which hath arisen from those misrepresentations of our proceedings, which have been suggested to your Majesty by some particular persons, in a clandestine way, without the participation and advice, as we conceive, of your council board ; as though we had invaded your Majesty's prerogative of making peace and war ; whereas we did only offer our humble advice in matters wherein the safety of the kingdom was concerned : which is a right was never yet questioned in the times of your royal predecessors, and without which your Majesty can never be safe : upon which grounds your Majesty was induced to give us such answers to those two addresses, rejecting our advice, as thereby your Majesty's good subjects have been infinitely discouraged, and the state of your Majesty's affairs reduced to a most deplorable condition : we do therefore most humbly desire, that, for the good and safety of this kingdom, and the satisfaction of your subjects, your Majesty would graciously be pleased to remove those counsellors who advised the answers to our addresses of the six and twentieth of May, and the one and thirtieth of January last, or either of them.

And we do further most humbly desire your Majesty favourably to accept this our humble petition and address, as proceeding from hearts entirely devoted to your Majesty's service ; and that as we have never yet failed of giving testimonies of our affections and loyalty to your Majesty's person and government, so your Majesty may rest confidently assured, that we shall never be wanting to support your Majesty's greatness and interest whilst your Majesty relies upon our councils ; which can have no other end than what sincerely tends thereunto, notwithstanding any sinister or self-interested endeavours to make impressions in your Majesty to the contrary.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 23, 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN I met you last, I asked your advice upon the great conjunctures abroad. What return you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, made me, and whether it was suitable to the end I intended (which was the saving of Flanders) I leave to yourselves, in cold blood, to consider. Since I asked your advice, the conjunctures abroad, and our distempers, which influence them so much, have driven things violently on towards a peace: and where they will end I cannot tell; but will say this only to you, that I am resolved, as far as I am able, to save Flanders, either by a war, or a peace, which way soever I shall find most conducing towards it: and that must be judged by circumstances, as they play from abroad.

For my own part, I should think being armed were as necessary to make peace as war; and therefore, if I were able, would keep up my army and navy at sea for some time, till a peace were concluded, if that must be: but, because that will depend upon your supplies, I leave it to you to consider, whether to provide for their subsistence so long, or for their disbanding sooner; and to take care in either case, not to discourage or use ill so many worthy gentlemen, and brave men, who came to offer their lives and service to their country upon this occasion; and in pursuit of your own advices and resolutions. I must put you likewise in mind of a branch of my revenue, which is now expiring; and of another greater, which is cut off by a clause in the Poll Bill; as also of the two hundred thousand pounds, taken up upon the credit of the excise at your request: and I shall consent to any reasonable bills you shall offer me, for the good and safety of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I shall say no more, but only to assure you, whatsoever some ill men would have believed, I never had any intentions but of good to you and my people, nor ever shall; but will do all that I can for your safety and ease, as far as you yourselves will suffer me: and since these are my resolutions, I desire you will not drive me into extremities, which must end ill both for you and me, and (which is worst of all) for the nation; which we ought all to have equal care of: therefore I desire we may prevent any disorders or mischiefs that may befall them by our disagreement: and, in case they do, I shall leave it to God Almighty to judge between us, who is the occasion of it.

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One thing more I have to add ; and that is, to let you know, that I will never more suffer the course and method of passing laws to be changed : and that, if several matters shall ever again be tacked together in one bill, that bill shall certainly be lost, let the importance of it be never so great.

The rest I leave to my Lord Chancellor.

Message from his Majesty, May 28, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having perused the vote of this House of the twenty-seventh of May, hath thought fit to return this answer : that the most Christian King hath made such offers for a cessation, till the twenty-seventh of July, as his Majesty does not only believe will be accepted, but does also verily believe will end in a general peace : yet since that is not certain, his Majesty does by no means think it prudent to dismiss either fleet or army before that time ; nor does he think it can add much to the charge ; because the raising of the money, and paying them off, would take as long time as that, although the speediest disbanding that is possible were intended.

That, in the mean time, his Majesty desires some supply may be provided for their subsistence, that as hitherto they have been the most orderly army that ever were together, they may be encouraged to continue so.

That there is another thing which presses his Majesty with very great inconvenience in his domestic affairs ; which is the want of the two hundred thousand pounds you promised to repay him at your next meeting after ; and which does affect that whole branch of his revenue, by having a fifth part taken out of every payment, which should be applied to the necessary uses of his household : he does therefore desire you will immediately apply yourselves to the repayment of that money to him.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the twenty-eighth day of May, 1678.

Message from his Majesty, June 7, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty, in his speech to both Houses, on the three and twentieth of May last, told you, that, if he were able, he would keep up his army, and navy at sea, for some time, till a peace were concluded, if that must be : but, because
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that would depend upon your supplies, he left it to you to consider, whether to provide for their subsistence, or to disband them sooner. His Majesty hath often since had his thoughts employed upon the same subject; and is every day more and more confirmed in his first opinion; viz. That the saving a few days expence can no way countervail the prejudice that would arise from the parting with his fleet and army, if, after that, peace should not follow. And though it should, yet the hazarding so much, upon a bare presumption of the issue of a thing in itself altogether uncertain, and quite out of his own power, is hardly to be countenanced by any precedent: his Majesty therefore again recommendeth to the consideration of this House, his advice of the three and twentieth of May last; that they would see the effects of the cessation in Flanders, before his Majesty be necessitated to disarm himself; but more especially, that you would consider of that part of the army which is in Flanders; which if he should recall before the peace, it would be liable to a very bad construction, viz. that, having taken several of the King of Spain's towns into his protection, he had, without any reasonable warning, in order to their re-garrisoning, withdrawn his forces, and abandoned those towns to the discretion of the enemy.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 18, 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I KNOW very well, that the season of the year requires this session should be short; and that, both for my health and your occasions, we may all have liberty to go into the country by the middle of the next month at furthest. I think it a matter of yet more importance, that we part, not only fairly, but kindly too, and in perfect confidence one of another; since nothing else can render us either safe and easy at home, or considered so far abroad as this crown has ever been, and is now more necessary than ever, both for the safety of Christendom and our own: therefore I shall at this time open my heart freely to you, in some points that nearest concern both you and me; and hope you will consider them so; because I am sure our interests ought not to be divided; and for me, they never shall.

I told you at the opening of this session, how violently things abroad were driving on towards a peace; and that I could not tell where they would end; but that I was resolved to save Flanders, either by a war or peace; in which I am still fixed, as in the greatest foreign interest of this nation. I must
now

now tell you, that things seem already to have determined in a peace, at least as to Spain and Holland, who have so far accepted the terms offered by France, that my ambassador at Nimeguen writes me word, he expected to be called upon to sign by the last of this month. My part in it will be not only of a mediator, but to give my guarantee to it ; which the confederates will call upon me for, and I am resolved to give in the strongest manner they themselves will desire, and I am able. How far this will go I cannot tell ; but they send me word already, that unless England and Holland will both join in the charge of maintaining Flanders, even after the peace, the Spaniards will not be in a condition of supporting it alone, and must fall into other measures : on the other side, they think France will be left so great, that nothing abroad can treat with them hereafter upon any equal foot without the hopes of being supported by this crown : and to this end I am sure it will be necessary, not only to keep our navies constantly strong at sea, but to leave the world in some assurance of our being well united at home ; and thereby in as great an opinion of our conduct hereafter, as they are already of our force.

Upon this occasion I cannot but say, that though after our joint resolutions of a war, and the supplies you have given towards it, you may think the peace an ill bargain, because it will cost you money ; yet perhaps you will not believe it so, if you consider, that by it so great a part of Flanders is like to be saved ; whereas without the paces we made towards war, there is nothing so certain as that the whole of it would have been absolutely lost this campaign, if not by this very time : and I believe you would give much greater sums than this will cost you, rather than the single town of Ostend should be in the French hands, and forty of their men of war in so good a haven, over against the river's mouth : besides, both you and I (as we are true Englishmen) cannot but be pleased, and understand the importance of that reputation we have gained abroad, by having in forty days raised an army of near thirty thousand men, and prepared a navy and ninety ships ; which would have been now ready at sea if we had gone into a war.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, I know, that in so great conjunctures you desire I should keep the honour of my crowns, and look to your safety by some balance in the affairs abroad ; and I should be very glad if I were able to do it : but I do not see how it will be possible for me, even in a time of peace, with a revenue so impaired as mine is, by my debts long since contracted, and the present anticipations ; and, at the best, so disproportioned, not only to that of the kings my neighbours, but even to that of the United Provinces themselves,

selves, though of no larger extent than two or three of our countieſ: therefore, as I ſaid I would open my heart freely to you, ſo I muſt tell you, that if you would ſee me able in any kind to influence the great conjunctures abroad, wherein the honour and ſafety of the nation are ſo much concerned, and wherein the turns are ſometimes ſo ſhort as not to give me leave to call in time either for your advice or aſſiſtances; if you would have me able but to purſue ſuch a war as this of Algiers with honour; and at the ſame time keep ſuch fleets about our own coaſts, as may give our neighbours the reſpect for us that has been always paid this crown; if you would have me paſs any part of my life in eale or quiet, and all the reſt of it in perfect confidence and kindneſs with you and all ſucceeding Parliaments, you muſt find a way of ſettling for my life, not only my revenue, and the additional duties, as they were at Chriſtmas laſt, but of adding to them, upon ſome new funds, three hundred thouſand pounds a year: upon which I ſhall conſent, that an act may paſs for appropriating five hundred thouſand pounds a year to the conſtant maintenance of the navy and ordnance; which I take to be the greateſt ſafety and intereſt of theſe kingdoms: and I will at the ſame time, as I do now, aſſure you, that I ſhall not only this, or any other ſeſſion of Parliament, conſent to ſuch reaſonable and public bills as you ſhall offer me; but ſhall employ my whole life to advance the true and public good and ſafety of my people; and endeavour, while I live, that none elſe ſhall ever be able to do them harm.

I did not in my laſt ſpeech mention the fortythouſand pounds I am engaged to pay the Prince of Orange for my niece's portion, becauſe I had recommended it to you ſo lately before: but the firſt payment being already due, and demanded by him, I muſt again put you in mind of it, and deſire you will enable me to keep my word with him.

His Maſteſty's moſt gracious Speech, October 21, 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE thought the time very long ſince we parted laſt; and I would not have deferred your meeting by ſo many prorogations, if I could well have met you ſooner.

The part which I have had this ſummer, in the preſervation of our neighbours, and the well-ſecuring what was left of Flanders, is ſufficiently known and acknowledged by all that are abroad,

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And though, for this cause, I have been obliged to keep up my troops, without which our neighbours had absolutely despaired; yet both the honour and interest of the nation have been so far improved by it, that I am confident no man here would repine at it, or think the money raised for their disbanding to have been ill employed in their continuance: and I do assure you, I am so much more out of purse for that service, that I expect you should supply it.

How far it may be necessary, considering the present state of Christendom, to reduce the land and sea forces, or to what degree, is worthy of all our serious consideration.

I now intend to acquaint you (as I shall always do with any thing that concerns me) that I have been informed of a design against my person by the jésuits; of which I shall forbear any opinion, lest I may seem to say too much, or too little: but I will leave the matter to the law; and, in the mean time, will take as much care as I can, to prevent all manner of practices by that sort of men, and of others too, who have been tampering in a high degree by foreigners, and contriving how to introduce popery amongst us.

I shall conclude with the recommending to you my other concerns.

I have been under great disappointments by the defect of the poll bill. My revenue is under great anticipations; and, at the best, was never equal to the constant and necessary expense of the government; whereof I intend to have the whole state laid before you; and require you to look into it, and consider of it, with that duty and affection which I am sure I shall ever find from you.

Joint Address by both Houses to the King, October 20, 1678.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our serious consideration the bloody and traitorous designs of popish recusants against your Majesty's sacred person and government, and the protestant religion, wherewith your Majesty hath been graciously pleased to acquaint us: for the preventing whereof, we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty would graciously please, by your royal proclamation, to command all and every person and persons, being popish recusants, or so reputed, forthwith, under pain of your Majesty's highest displeasure, and severe execution of your laws against them, to depart and retire themselves and their families from
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your royal palaces of Whitehall, Somerset house, and St. James's, the cities of London and Westminster, and from all other places within ten miles of the same; and that no such person or persons do presume at any time hereafter to repair or return to your Majesty's said palaces, or the said cities, or either of them, or within ten miles of the same, other than houtholders being traders exercising some trade, or manual occupation, and settled for twelve months last past in houses of their own; and not having an habitation else; giving in their own names, and the names of all other persons in their families, to the two next justices of the peace: and that it may be inserted in the said proclamation, that, immediately after the day limited for their departure, the constables, churchwardens, and other the parish officers, go from house to house in their several parishes, hamlets, constaberies, and divisions, respectively, and there take an account of the names and surnames of all such persons as are popish recusants, or suspected so to be, as well householders as lodgers or servants; and to carry a list of their names to the two next justices of the peace; who are to be thereby required and enjoined to send for them, and every of them, and to tender them, and to every of them, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and to commit to prison, till the next succeeding sessions of the peace, all such persons as shall refuse the said oaths; and at the said sessions to proceed against them according to law: and that your Majesty will be pleased to direct commissions to be forthwith issued under the great seal of England to all justices within the cities of London and Westminster, and within ten miles of the same, to authorise and require them, or any two of them, to administer the said oaths accordingly: and that your Majesty would further please to command, that no warrant or licence be granted by the Lords of your Majesty's most honourable privy council, or any of them, or otherwise, for the stay, return, or repair of any such person or persons, in or to any of the said places, till some more effectual law be passed for preventing the said popish conspiracies, and for the preservation of your Majesty's sacred person, and the religion and government by law established; for which we your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects will always employ our utmost endeavours and daily prayers.

Joint Address by both Houses to the King, November 7, 1678.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, considering how restless the endeavours of priests and jesuits, and other popish recusants, have always been to pervert your loyal subjects, and to reduce this kingdom again under the bondage of popish superstition; and seeing how that, notwithstanding your Majesty's goodness and clemency, they have, for several years past, carried on a most wicked design, for the utter extirpation of the protestant religion and the government established in this kingdom; and since we find it necessary to proceed against them with greater severity than hath hitherto been used, we do humbly conceive, that the best way to satisfy the minds of your subjects, and to stop the mouths of our adversaries the papists, whose daily practice is to raise scandals upon your Majesty's person, and to defame the protestant religion, and those that profess the same will . . . to cause some undeniable evidences of their transactions here, and their correspondences abroad, to be divulged: we do therefore most humbly desire, that your Majesty would be pleased to order that Mr. Coleman's letter to Mons. Le Cheze, the French King's confessor, dated the twenty-ninth of September, 1675, wherein much of the said matter is contained; as also another letter of Mr. Coleman's to the same person, wherein he owns the sending of the said letter; and Mons. Le Cheze's answer, whereby he acknowledges the receipt thereof; may be speedily printed and published, for the present satisfaction of your Majesty's protestant subjects, until a further narrative of the particulars relating to this horrid conspiracy may be publicly set forth.

Joint Address by both Houses to the King, November 8, 1678.

YOUR Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do humbly beseech your most sacred Majesty to issue out your Royal proclamation, that certain persons, called George Conyers, * Simonds, Thomas Beddingfield, and John Cattaway, who stand charged as persons guilty of the damnable and hellish plot for the destruction of your Majesty's royal person, and the subversion of the government, and the extirpation of the Protestant religion, and are fled from justice, that they cannot be proceeded against according to law, do,
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by a day certain, after the proclamation thereof, render themselves to some one or more of your Majesty's justices of the peace; who are thereupon to commit the party or parties, so rendering him or themselves, to your Majesty's gaol of the county or place where he or they shall so render him or themselves, there to remain in safe custody; and to give present notice thereof to the Lord Chief Justice of your Majesty's Court of King's Bench, in order to their receiving their legal trial: willing and commanding therein all lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and all justices of the peace, sheriffs, constables, and other your Majesty's officers and loyal subjects, to do their utmost endeavour for the apprehending of the said persons, and every of them; and for their imprisonment and safe custody: and that it be inserted in the said proclamation, that the constables, churchwardens, headboroughs, tythingmen, borsholders, and other parish officers, within the cities, counties, liberties, and places of this your Majesty's realm, and the dominion of Wales and town of Berwick upon Tweed, do, with all possible expedition, make diligent search and inquiry in all houses within their respective parishes, hamlets, and villages; and there take an exact account of the names and surnames of all such persons as are popish recusants, or reputed so to be, as well householders as lodgers and servants, and every of them; and to make up a present list of the names and surnames, age and quality, of all such persons, being of the age of sixteen years, or upwards; and to deliver the same forthwith to one of the justices of the peace near adjoining, to send for the said persons so listed, and every of them, and to tender to them, and every of them, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and, in case of refusal, to enter into recognizance to appear at the next sessions of the peace for such city, county, or liberty; or, in default of entering into such recognizance, to commit them to the common gaol, there to remain under safe custody until the next quarter sessions of the peace; and then all such persons, so refusing, to be proceeded against according to law: and that special commissions be forthwith issued, under your Majesty's great seal of England, authorising the respective justices of the peace, or any two or more of them, to administer the said oaths: and that all the said lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, within their respective jurisdictions, do proceed without delay to disarm all such persons as shall so refuse to take the said oaths: and, for the better effecting thereof, and bringing to justice the aforesaid offenders, that your Majesty would graciously be pleased to declare, that a reward shall be given to such persons as shall discover any of the arms of popish re-

enants, or persons so reputed; and shall apprehend, and bring before any justice of the peace, any one of the said offenders: and further, that all your Majesty's officers of, or belonging to any of your Majesty's sea ports, may be enjoined to take special care for the apprehending all popish priests, and other persons, who they shall find cause to suspect, coming into, or going out of this your realm; and to carry every such person before some justice of the peace; who shall be required to tender to every of them the said oaths; and, upon refusal thereof to commit the person, so refusing, to the proper prison of the place; and to certify their proceedings therein to your Majesty's most honourable privy council, from time to time, that such further course may be taken for the safety of your Majesty and the government, as in your Majesty's wisdom shall be thought fit.

His Majesty's Answer, November 9, 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM so very sensible of the great and extraordinary care you have already taken, and still continue to shew, for the safety and preservation of my person in these times of danger, that I could not satisfy myself without coming hither, on purpose to give you all my most hearty thanks for it: nor do I think it enough to give you my thanks only; but I hold myself obliged to let you see, withal, that I do as much study your preservation too as I can possibly; and that I am as ready to join with you in all the ways and means that may establish a firm security of the protestant religion, as your own hearts can wish: and this not only during my time, (of which I am sure you have no fear) but in all future ages, even to the end of the world.

And therefore I am come to assure you, that whatsoever reasonable bills you shall present to be passed into laws, to make you safe in the reign of my successor, so as they tend not to impeach the right of succession, nor the descent of the crown in the true line; and so as they restrain not my power, nor the just rights of any protestant successor, shall find from me a ready concurrence.

And I desire you, withal, to think of some more effectual means for the conviction of popish recusants; and to expedite your counsels as fast as you can; that the world may see our unanimity, and that I may have the opportunity of shewing you how ready I am to do any thing that may give comfort and satisfaction to such dutiful and loyal subjects.

His

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, November 13, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having considered of the address of this House, of the twelfth instant, desiring his Majesty, that a special commission may be issued forth, for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to all the servants of his Majesty, and his Royal Highness, and to all other persons (except her Majesty's Portugal servants) residing within his Majesty's houses of Whitehall, St. James's, and Somerset house, and all other his Majesty's houses; and that there may, likewise, special commissions be issued forth for tendering the said oaths to all persons residing within the two Serjeants Inns, all the Inns of Court, and Inns of Chancery; his Majesty is pleased that, this answer be returned:

That as to all his Majesty's own servants, all the servants of his Royal Highness, all other persons residing in Whitehall, St. James's, Somerset house, or in any other of his Majesty's palaces or houses, except the menial servants of the Queen; and of the Dukes; as also, all persons within either of the Serjeants Inns, or any of the Inns of Court or Chancery, his Majesty willingly grants it: but, as to the Queen's menial servants, who are so very inconsiderable in number, and within the articles of marriage, his Majesty doth not think it fit. And his Majesty cannot but take notice, that in a late address from the House of Peers, for prohibiting all papists to come to court, the menial servants of the Queen and Dukes were excepted: and his Majesty hopes this House will proceed with the same moderation as to that particular.

Given at the court at Whitehall, the 14th day of November 1678.

Address by the House of Commons, November 16, 1678.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having information, that Charles Mehaine hath continued in custody, in the borough of Denbigh, in the county of Denbigh, since June last, upon violent suspicion of being a popish priest; and that William Lloyd now remains in gaol at Brecon, in the county of Brecon, upon a commitment for being a popish priest: and forasmuch as your Majesty's justice for the great sessions for

the county of Denbigh, at the great sessions held for the said county in September last, did not try the said Charles Mehaine for the said offence; your Majesty's protestant subjects being much disquieted, and popish recusants animated, by reason that delinquents of that kind are not brought to speedy justice, especially at this time of manifest danger to your Majesty's sacred person, government, and religion established by law, proceeding from the notorious conspiracies of popish priests, jesuits, and popish recusants: we humbly apprehending it to be highly necessary, as some ease to the hearts of your Majesty's good protestant subjects, filled with present fears of popery, to have the laws speedily and effectually executed upon popish priests; do, with all humility, beseech your Majesty, to grant one or more commissions of Oyer and Terminer, for the trial of the said Charles Mehaine and William Lloyd, according to the known and well-established laws of the kingdom.

And we do further and humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty may be pleased to command your Attorney General, with all care and diligence to prepare the whole evidence against James Colker, a Benedictine monk, and who assumes to himself the title of Bishop of London, for his trial, at the next gaol delivery for the county of Middlesex and city of London.

And we do further humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty will graciously be pleased to issue forth your proclamation, with a promise of a reward to any person that shall apprehend a popish priest or jesuit.

Address by the House of Commons, November 19, 1678.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and most dutiful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, cannot sufficiently admire your Majesty's love of justice, and care of your people, which have moved your royal heart to propose a pardon, and reward, to such as shall reveal the murderers of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey; whilst no encouragement is given unto such as shall make a further discovery of the persons designing against your Majesty's own life, (which we beseech God long to preserve): and therefore we humbly beseech your Majesty, so far to consider your own safety, the preservation of the protestant religion, and safety of your people, which so much depend upon it, as to issue out your proclamation, whereby some fitting encouragement may be given to any who shall do so important a service; that so men of such wicked principles

ciples* may be discouraged from the like attempts for the future.

Address by the House of Commons, November 19, 1678.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, your Commons, assembled in Parliament, having taken into our serious consideration, what your Majesty was pleased to deliver to us this day in the Banqueting house; and being most desirous, not only to express our loyalty and affections to your Majesty's service, but also to preserve your Majesty's good opinion of the manner of our proceedings, do humbly present to your Majesty the reason of our proceedings in the commitment of Sir Joseph Williamson, a member of the House.

That divers commissions were granted to popish officers, and countersigned by the said Sir Joseph Williamson; and delivered out in October last, since the meeting of this House, and the discovery of the present popish conspiracy.

Divers warrants have also been produced before us of dispensations, contrary to law, for popish officers to continue in their commands, and to be passed in muster, notwithstanding they have not taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and received the blessed sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the late act of Parliament in that behalf: all which said warrants were likewise countersigned by the said Sir Joseph Williamson.

Which being complained of to us, and confessed by the said Sir Joseph Williamson, in the House of Commons; we, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, having the immediate consideration before us of the imminent danger of your Majesty's person (the safety whereof is above all things most dear,) and likewise the dangers, from popish plots, so nearly threatening the peace and safety of your Majesty's government, and the protestant religion, were humbly of an opinion, we could not discharge our duties to your Majesty and the whole kingdom, without the committing of the said Sir Joseph Williamson; and therefore most humbly desire, that he may not be discharged by your Majesty.

And we further most humbly desire your Majesty to recall all commissions granted to all papists within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, or any other your Majesty's dominions and territories.

Address.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, November 22, 1678.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, taking into consideration the imminent dangers arising to your Majesty and the whole kingdom, from popish practices and conspiracies; and conceiving that nothing can so well resist their attempts, as some part of the militia, the settled legal forces of this kingdom, actually in arms, (on whom your Majesty may rely with the greatest confidence and security): we do therefore humbly desire your Majesty to command your lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the several counties of this kingdom, to give order to all their trained bands to be in a readiness; and to draw together one third part of their respective militia, and to continue them in a body for fourteen days; and after they are dismissed, to draw up another third part for the same time: and to require them to be very vigilant in the seizing all suspicious persons, especially such as travel with arms, or at unreasonable times, or in unusual numbers. And we likewise humbly desire your Majesty to command the sheriffs of the respective counties of this kingdom to be ready with their *posse commitatus*, to suppress any insurrection or disturbance of the peace that may happen within the precincts of their several jurisdictions.

His Majesty's Answer, November 23, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty, having received an address the nineteenth instant, from this House, is pleased to return this answer:

"That he released Mr. Secretary Williamson several hours before your address came;" as he told you in the Banqueting house he would do.

As to the reasons of granting those commissions, his Majesty acquainted you at large with them, in his speech, when you last attended him: but, in answer to your present address, his Majesty promiseth to recall all commissions whatsoever given to papists, or reputed papists, either in England or Ireland, immediately: and for his remoter dominions, they shall be likewise re-called, with all the expedition the safety of those places will permit.

His

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 25, 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I TOLD you in the beginning of this session how much I had been obliged to keep up my forces in Flanders; that without it our neighbours had absolutely despaired; and by this means, whatever had been saved of Flanders is acknowledged to be wholly due to my interposition: and I shewed you withal, that I had been forced to employ that money, which had been raised for disbanding those troops, in the continuance of them together; and not only so, but that I had been much more out of purse for that service; a service by which the honour and interest of the nation had been so far improved, that, as I am confident, no man would repine at it, so I did not doubt but you would all be willing to supply it.

I have now undergone this expense so long, that I find it absolutely impossible to support the charge any longer; and did therefore think of putting an end to that charge, by recalling my troops with all possible speed, who are already exposed to the utmost extremities of want and misery, being without any prospect of further pay or subsistence: but whilst I was about to do this, I have been importuned by the Spanish ministers to continue them a little longer, until the ratifications of the peace be exchanged: without which, all that hath hitherto been done, they say, will be utterly lost; and that which hath hitherto been saved of Flanders, will inevitably fall into the hands of their enemies.

And now, between their importunity to keep up these troops, and my own inability to pay them any longer, I find myself in great difficulties what to resolve.

If you do not think that the public safety may require their continuance, I do wish, as heartily as any man, that, for the public ease, they may be speedily disbanded and paid off.

I have thought fit thus to lay the matter before you: and, having acquitted myself to all the world, by asking your advice and assistance, I desire it may be speedy, and without any manner of delay.

His Majesty's Message, November 25, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having received an address from the House of Commons, desiring his Majesty, that Mr. Bedlow's pardon may extend to this day inclusive: his Majesty is pleased, that this answer be returned, "That Mr. Bedlow's pardon, to the

the first of November, is as full to all offences as can be desired :” if any offence hath been committed since that time, his Majesty ought to know it, before he pardon it : for a pardon for an offence to come (as a pardon for a whole day inclusively amounts to, when it is granted before the day is expired) will not be good in law.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the six and twentieth day of November, 1678.

Joint Address of both Houses, November 28, 1678.

WE your Majesty’s most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received informations by several witnesses, of a most desperate and traitorous design and conspiracy against the life of your most sacred Majesty ; wherein, to their great astonishment, the Queen is particularly charged and accused ; in discharge of our allegiance, and out of our affections and care for the preservation of your Majesty’s sacred person, and consequently of the whole kingdom, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that the Queen, and all her family, and all papists, and reputed or suspected papists, be forthwith removed from your Majesty’s court at Whitehall.

Message by his Majesty, December 2, 1678.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty, having received an address from the House of Commons, dated the eight and twentieth of November last past, hath thought fit to return this answer :

That his Majesty will give a pardon to Mr. Oates, for imprisonment of treason, from the beginning of the world till the said eight and twentieth of November last past : that he shall have liberty to walk where he pleaseth in Whitehall and St. James’s park ; and enjoy all other liberties of writing and conversing, which he had in Whitehall, before Sunday the four and twentieth of the said November.

He shall have a convenient allowance for all things necessary for him. But the guards his Majesty doth not think fitting to remove in respect of the safety of Mr. Oates his person.

Message

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
December 4, 1678.*

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty, to prevent all misunderstandings that may arise from his not passing the late bill of the militia, is pleased to declare, that he will readily assent to any bill of that kind, which shall be tendered to him, for the public security of the kingdom by the militia; so as the whole power of calling, continuing, or not continuing of them together, during the time limited, be left to his Majesty, to do therein as he shall find it to be most expedient for the public safety.

Joint Address to his Majesty, March 21, 1679.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, being deeply sensible of the sad and calamitous condition of this your Majesty's kingdom, occasioned chiefly by the impious and malicious conspiracies of a popish party; who have not only plotted and intended the destruction of your Majesty's royal person, but the total subversion of the government, and true religion established amongst us, (all which our many and grievous sins have justly deserved); and being now, by your gracious favour, assembled in Parliament, as the great council of your said kingdom, to consult on such means as we conceive fittest to redress the manifold evils wherewith the nation is surrounded; do, in all humility, beseech your Majesty, that, by your royal proclamation, one or more days may be solemnly set apart, wherein both ourselves, and all your Majesty's loyal subjects, may, by fasting and prayers, seek a reconciliation with Almighty God; and, with humble and penitent hearts implore him, by his power and goodness to infatuate and defeat the wicked councils and imaginations of our enemies; and continue his mercies, and the light of his gospel amongst us, and our posterities: and particularly to bestow his abundant blessings upon your sacred Majesty, and this present Parliament; that our consultations and endeavours may produce honour, safety, and prosperity, to your Majesty, and your people.

*Two Addresss by the House of Commons to the King,
April 8, 1679.*

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having according to our duty, made inquiry into the damnable and hellish plot against your Majesty's sacred person and government, and for the extirpation of the protestant religion, have, upon examination, discovered, that Nathanael Reading, Esquire, hath industriously, and against the duty of a loyal subject, held frequent correspondencies with several lords and other persons that stand committed for high treason; and also used his utmost endeavours to prevent and suppress your Majesty's evidence; and, as much as in him lay, to stifle the discovery of the said plot, and thereby to render the same fictitious, and of no reality; and by such undue means to prevent the malefactors from coming to justice: therefore we your said Commons do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to command, that a commission of Oyer and Terminer do immediately issue forth for the trial of the said Nathanael Reading for the said offence, that so he may be brought to public justice.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly represent to your Majesty, that Thomas, Earl of Danby, late High Treasurer of England, stands now impeached in Parliament of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors; and that he the said Thomas, Earl of Danby, with an intent to delay and obstruct the execution of justice upon him, hath concealed and withdrawn himself: your Majesty's obedient subjects do therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause your proclamation to issue forth, commanding the said Thomas, Earl of Danby, forthwith to render himself, in order to his trial: and that your Majesty will be pleased to command all your officers and ministers of justice to use their utmost diligence to apprehend the said Thomas, Earl of Danby; and also to require all your Majesty's subjects, that they, nor any of them, offer to conceal or harbour the said Earl of Danby: and likewise, that your Majesty will signify your royal pleasure, that all the officers of your Majesty's household do take care, that no person whatsoever
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do permit or suffer the said Thomas, Earl of Danby, to conceal himself in any of your Majesty's palaces. In the granting of all which, your Commons will have great cause to rejoice, and give your Majesty humble thanks, for your Majesty's great willingness to grant the humble desires of your people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 21, 1679.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THOUGHT it necessary to acquaint you what I have done this day; which is, that I have established a new privy council, the constant number of which shall never exceed thirty.

I have made choice of such persons, as are worthy and able to advise me: and am resolved, in all my weighty and important affairs, next to the advice of my great council in Parliament, (which I shall very often consult with,) to be advised by this privy council.

I could not make so great a change without acquainting both Houses of Parliament: and I desire you all to apply yourselves heartily (as I shall do) to those things which are necessary for the good and safety of the kingdom; and that no time may be lost in it.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, April 27, 1679.

WE, your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, taking into serious consideration the great and apparent dangers which have arisen to your Majesty's person and this kingdom, from the horrible conspiracies of popish recusants, who have been principally incited thereunto by priests and jesuits, daily resorting into this kingdom, and continuing here contrary to your Majesty's laws, (whereby they incur the penalty of high treason,) as also in contempt of several proclamations issued by your Majesty, by the advice of both your Houses of Parliament, commanding them to depart out of the realm; and having received certain information, that one Pickering, now a prisoner in Newgate, (who was employed by some of the conspirators to execute their execrable design of murdering your royal person; and upon his trial was found guilty thereof;) as also divers priests and jesuits, who have been condemned by your Majesty's judges at the Old Bailey, and in the several circuits; do remain as yet unexecuted, to the great emboldening of such offenders, in case they should escape without punishment; we do therefore

fore most humbly desire, that your Majesty would be pleased to give order to your Majesty's judges, and all other officers concerned therein, that immediate execution may be done upon the said offenders, to the terror of all such wicked persons, who, by their daily traitorous practices, do justify the prudence of our ancestors in making such laws, and the manifest necessity of putting them in execution.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 30, 1679.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE season of the year advancing so fast, I thought it necessary to put you in mind of three particulars ;

1. Prosecution of the plot.
2. Disbanding of the army.
3. Providing a fleet for our common security.

And to shew you, that, whilst you are doing your parts, my thoughts have not been misemployed ; but that it is my constant care to do every thing that may preserve your religion, and secure it for the future in all events ; I have commanded my Lord Chancellor to mention several particulars, which I hope will be an evidence, that, in all things that concerns the public security, I shall not follow your zeal, but lead it.

The Lord Chancellor's speech was as followeth :

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, of the House of Commons,

THAT royal care which his Majesty has taken for the general quiet and satisfaction of all his subjects, is now more evident by these new and fresh instances of it, which I have in commands to open to you.

His Majesty hath considered with himself, that it is not enough, that your religion and liberty is secure, during his own reign ; but he thinks, he owes it to his people, to do all that in him lies, that these blessings may be transmitted to your posterity : and so well secured to them, that no succession in after-ages may be able to work the least alteration.

And therefore his Majesty, who hath often said in this place, that he is ready to consent to any laws of this kind, (so as the same extend not to alter the descent of the crown in the right line, not to defeat the succession,) hath now commanded this to be further explained,

And,

And, to the end it may never be in the power of any papist, if the crown descend upon him, to make any change either in church or state ; I am commanded to tell you, that his Majesty is willing that provision may be made, first, to distinguish a popish from a protestant successor ; then to limit and circumscribe the authority of a popish successor in these cases following ; that he may be disabled to do any harm :

First, in reference to the church ;

His Majesty is content, that care be taken, that all ecclesiastical and spiritual benefices and promotions, in the gift of the crown, may be conferred in such a manner, that we may be sure the incumbents shall always be of the most pious and learned protestants ; and that no popish successor, while he continues so, may have any power to controul such presentments.

In reference to the state, and civil part of the government :

As it is already provided, that no papist can sit in either House of Parliament ; so the King is pleased, that it be provided too, that there may never want a Parliament, when the King shall happen to die ; but that the Parliament then in being may continue indissoluble for a competent time : or, if there be no Parliament in being, then the last Parliament which was in being before that time, may re-assemble, and sit a competent time without any new summons or elections. And, as no papists can by law hold any place of trust ; so the King is content, that it may be further provided, that no lords or others of the privy council, no judges of the common law, or in Chancery, shall, at any time, during the reign of any popish successor, be put in or displaced, but by the authority of the Parliament ; and that care also be taken, that none but sincere protestants may be justices of peace.

In reference to the military part ;

The King is willing that no lord lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant, nor no officer of the navy, during the reign of any popish successor, be put in or removed, but either by authority of Parliament, or of such persons as the Parliament shall entrust with such authority.

It is hard to invent another restraint to be put upon a popish successor, considering how much the revenue of the successor will depend upon the consent of Parliament, and how impossible it is to raise money without such consent : but yet, if any thing else can occur to the wisdom of the Parliament, which may further secure religion and liberty against a popish successor, without defeating the right of succession itself, his Majesty will most readily consent to it.

Thus watchful is the King for all your safeties : and, if he could think of any thing else that you do either want or wish

to make you happy, he would make it his business to effect it for you.

God Almighty long continue this blessed union between the King, and his Parliament, and people.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, May 8, 1679.

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, finding your Majesty's kingdoms involved in imminent dangers, and great difficulties, by the evil designs and pernicious counsels of some who have been and are in high place, trust, and authority about your royal person, who contrary to the duty of their places, by their arbitrary and destructive counsels, tending to the subversion of the rights, liberties, and properties of your subjects, and the alteration of the protestant religion established, have endeavoured to alienate the hearts of your loyal subjects from your Majesty and your government; amongst whom we have just reason to accuse John, Duke of Lauderdale, for a chief promoter of such counsels, and more particularly, for contriving and endeavouring to raise jealousies and misunderstandings between your Majesty's kingdoms of England and Scotland, whereby hostilities might have ensued, and may arise, between both nations, if not prevented: wherefore, we, your Majesty's loyal subjects, could not but be sensibly affected with trouble to find such a person (notwithstanding the repeated addresses of the last Parliament) continued in your councils at this time, when the affairs of your kingdom require none to be put into such employments but such as are of known abilities, interest, and esteem in the nation, without all suspicion of either mistaking or betraying the true interest of the kingdom, and consequently of advising your Majesty ill. We do therefore most humbly beseech your most sacred Majesty, for the taking away the great jealousies, disaffections, and fears, amongst your good subjects, that your Majesty will graciously be pleased to remove the Duke of Lauderdale from your Majesty's councils in your Majesty's kingdoms of England and Scotland, and from all offices, employments, and places of trust, and from your Majesty's presence for ever.

Address

Address by the House Commons to the King, May 14, 1679.

Most dread Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, with all humble gratitude, acknowledge your most gracious assurances your Majesty hath been pleased to give us, of your constant care to do every thing that may preserve the protestant religion; of your firm resolution to defend the same to the utmost; and your royal endeavours, that the security of that blessing may be transmitted to posterity: and we do humbly represent to your Majesty, that, being deeply sensible, that the greatest hopes of success against our religion, in the enemies thereof, the papists, are founded in the execrable designs which they have laid against the sacred person and life of your Majesty, (which, it is not only our duty, but our interest, with the greatest hazards to preserve and defend;) we have applied our counsels to the making such provision by law as may defeat these popish adversaries, their abettors and adherents, of their hopes of gaining an advantage by any violent attempts against your Majesty; and may utterly frustrate their expectation of subverting the protestant religion thereby in time to come: and, further to obviate, by the best means we can, all wicked practices against your Majesty, while any such laws are in preparation and bringing to perfection, it is our resolution, and we do declare, that, in defence of your Majesty's person, and the protestant religion, we will stand by your Majesty with our lives and fortunes; and shall be ready to revenge, upon the papists, any violence offered by them to your sacred person: in which, we hope your Majesty will graciously please to be the more assured, as we ourselves are the more encouraged, in that the hearts of all your Majesty's protestant subjects, with the most sincere affection and zeal, join with us herein.

Message from his Majesty, May 14, 1679.

CHARLES REX.

THOUGH his Majesty hath already, at the first meeting in Parliament, and since, by a word or two, mentioned the necessity of having a fleet at sea this summer; yet the season for preparing it being far advanced, and our neighbours before us in their preparations, he cannot hold himself discharged towards his people, if he do not now, with more

earnestness, again recommend the same to your present care and consideration: and the rather, from the daily expectation of the return of the fleet from the Streights; to which a great arrear is due: and he must acquit himself of the ill consequences, which the want of a fleet in such a juncture may produce: and he hath not done this without considering, that the entering on this work presently can be no hinderance to the other great affairs upon your hands; but rather a security in the dispatch thereof.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, October 27, 1680.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being highly zealous for the preservation of the protestant religion, your Majesty's sacred person and government; and resolving to pursue, with a strict and impartial inquiry, the execrable popish plot which was detected in the two last Parliaments; and has been supported, and carried on by potent and restless practices and machinations, especially during the late recesses of Parliament, whereby several persons have been terrified, and discouraged from declaring their knowledge thereof; most humbly beseech your Majesty, that, for the security of such persons who shall be willing to give evidence, or make further satisfactory discovery concerning the same to this House, your Majesty would be pleased to issue your royal proclamation, assuring all the said persons of your gracious pardon, if they shall give such evidence, or make such discovery, within two months after the date of such proclamation.

His Majesty was pleased to return his gracious answer to this effect:

THAT he did intend to direct such proclamation; and was resolved, not only to prosecute the plot, but popery also; and to take care of the protestant religion established by law: and if we join, and this House go on calmly in their debates without heat, he did not doubt to bear down popery, and all that belongs to it.

Address

Address by the House of Commons to the King, October 29, 1680.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, with most thankful hearts, acknowledge, not only your Majesty's many former royal declarations of your adherence to the protestant religion in the preservation and protection thereof, but your further manifestation of the same in your gracious speech to both Houses at the opening of this present Parliament; in which your Majesty is pleased to command us strictly and impartially to prosecute the horrid popish plot: without which, we do fully assent to your Majesty's great judgment, that neither your person nor government can be safe, nor your protestant subjects; it being part of the very religion of popery, where it can obtain, to extirpate all protestants, both prince and people; which hath caused, in the times of your royal ancestors, since the reformation, that great care to oblige the subjects against their return to the papal yoke, in the very same oaths, wherein they swear allegiance to their prince: and as now the eyes of all the protestant kingdoms and states abroad are upon us; and, looking upon your Majesty as the royal head of so many protestant countries, cannot but hope, upon a happy and solid security in our religion at home, that your Majesty will be the greatest protection to them, from whom we may expect a mutual assistance, as being involved in the same common danger; so we do humbly assure your Majesty that we shall be always ready to preserve your Majesty's person and government, and to support the protestant religion, both at home and abroad: and do humbly beseech your Majesty, to esteem all persons whatsoever, who shall otherwise represent us to your Majesty, as those who design to divide between the king and his people; and to defeat the meeting and sitting of Parliaments; that those popish designs may succeed, which, they well know, cannot otherwise prosper: and this they have made more undeniably evident in the interval of Parliament, by contriving, with unparalleled insolence, a most damnable and wicked design, to transfer their own crimes upon so many of your Majesty's loyal protestant nobility and gentry; hoping thereby to destroy those who, with the greatest zeal and integrity, endeavour to discover and prosecute them.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, November 9,
1680.*

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty desires this House, as well for the satisfaction of his people, as of himself, to expedite such matters as are depending before them, relating to popery, and the plot; and would have them rest assured, that all remedies they can tender to his Majesty conducing to those ends, shall be very acceptable to him; provided they be such as may consist with preserving the succession of the crown in its due and legal course of descent.

*Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, November 11,
1680.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

W E, your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, having taken into our most serious consideration your Majesty's gracious message, brought unto us the ninth day of this instant November, by Mr. Secretary Jenkins, do, with all thankfulness, acknowledge your Majesty's care and goodness in inviting us to expedite such matters as are depending before us, relating to popery and the plot: and we do, in all humility, represent it to your Majesty, that we are fully convinced, that it is highly incumbent upon us, in discharge both of our duty to your Majesty, and of that great trust reposed in us by those whom we represent, to endeavour, by the most speedy and effectual ways, the suppression of popery within this your kingdom; and the bringing to public justice all such as shall be found guilty of the horrid and damnable popish plot: and though the time of our sitting, abating what must necessarily be spent in choosing and presenting a speaker, appointing grand committees, and in taking the oaths and tests, enjoined by act of Parliament, hath not much exceeded a fortnight; yet we have, in this time, not only made a considerable progress in some things, which to us seem, and when presented to your Majesty in a parliamentary way will, we trust, appear to your Majesty to be absolutely necessary for the safety of your Majesty's person, the effectual suppression of popery, and the security of the religion, lives, and estates, of your Majesty's protestant subjects; but, even in relation to the trials of the five lords, impeached in Parliament, for the execrable popish plot, we have so far proceeded, as, we doubt not
but,

but, in a short time, we shall be ready for the same ; but we cannot, without being unfaithful to your Majesty, and to our countries, by whom we are intrusted, omit upon this occasion humbly to inform your Majesty, that our difficulties, even as to these trials, are much increased by the evil and destructive counsels of those persons who advised your Majesty first to the prorogation, and then to the dissolution of the last Parliament, at a time when the Commons had taken great pains about, and were prepared for those trials ; and, by the like pernicious counsels of those who advised the many and long prorogations of the present Parliament, before the same was permitted to sit ; whereby some of the evidence, which was prepared in the last Parliament, may possibly, during so long an interval, be forgotten or lost ; and some persons, who might probably have come in as witnesses, are either dead, have been taken off, or may have been discouraged from giving their evidence : but of one mischievous consequence of those dangerous and unhappy counsels we are certainly and fully sensible ; namely, that the testimony of a material witness against every of those five lords, and who could probably have discovered and brought in much other evidence about the plot in general, and those lords in particular, cannot now be given *viva voce* ; forasmuch as that witness is unfortunately dead between the calling and sitting of this Parliament.

To prevent the like or greater inconveniencies for the future, we make it our most humble request to your excellent Majesty, that, as you tender the safety of your royal person, the security of your loyal subjects, and the preservation of the true protestant religion, you will not suffer yourself to be prevailed upon by the like counsels, to do any thing which may occasion, in consequence, though we are assured never with your Majesty's intention, either the deferring of a full and perfect discovery and examination of this most wicked and detestable plot ; or the preventing the conspirators therein from being brought to a speedy and exemplary justice and punishment : and we humbly beseech your Majesty to rest assured, notwithstanding any suggestions which may be made by persons, who, for their own wicked purposes, contrive to create a distrust in your Majesty of your people, that nothing is more in the desires, and shall be more the endeavours of us your faithful and loyal Commons, than the promoting and advancing of your Majesty's true happiness and greatness.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
November 15, 1680.*

CHARLES REX,

HIS Majesty did, in his speech, at the opening of this session, desire the advice and assistance of his Parliament in relation to Tangier: the condition and importance of the place obliges his Majesty to put this House in mind again, that he relies upon them for the support of it; without which it cannot be much longer preserved: his Majesty does therefore very earnestly recommend Tangier to the due consideration and care of this House.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, Nov. 19, 1680.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received a complaint again Sir George Jefferyes, Knight, your Majesty's Chief Justice of Chester; and heard the evidence concerning the same; and also what he did allege and prove in his defence; and being thereupon fully satisfied, that the said Sir George Jefferyes, well knowing that many of your loyal protestant subjects, and particularly those of your great and famous city of London, out of zeal for the preservation of the protestant religion, your Majesty's royal person and government, and in hopes to bring the popish conspirators to speedy justice, were about to petition to your Majesty, in an humble, dutiful, and legal way, or the sitting of this Parliament, the said Sir George Jefferyes, not regarding his duty to his Majesty, or the welfare of your people, did, on purpose to serve his own private ends, and to create a misunderstanding between your Majesty and your good subjects, though disguised with pretence of service to your Majesty, maliciously declare such petitioning sometimes to be tumultuous, seditious, and illegal; and at other times did presume publicly to insinuate and assert, as if your Majesty would deprive your citizens of London of their charters, and divers other privileges, immunities, and advantages, and also of your royal favour, in case they should so petition, there should not be any meeting or sitting of Parliament; thereby traducing your Majesty, as if you would not pursue your gracious intentions, the rather, because they were grateful to your good subjects; do, in the most humble manner, beseech your Majesty to remove the said Sir George Jefferyes out of the said place of Chief Justice of Chester, and out of all other public offices and employments under your Majesty.

Address

Address by the House of Commons, November 22, 1680.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, being deeply sensible of the manifold dangers and mischiefs which have been occasioned to this your kingdom by the dissolution of the last Parliament, and by the frequent prorogations of this present Parliament; whereby the papists have been greatly encouraged to carry on their hellish and damnable conspiracies against your royal person and government, and the protestant religion now established amongst us; and have had many opportunities to conceive false and malicious plots against the lives and honours of several of your loyal protestant subjects; and having just reason to believe that the said dissolution was promoted by the evil and pernicious counsels of George, Earl of Halifax, do therefore most humbly pray your Majesty, for the taking away of occasions of distrust and jealousy between your Majesty and us your loyal Commons, and that we may with greater cheerfulness proceed to perfect those matters now before us, which tend to the safety and honour of your sacred person and government, and to the preservation of the true protestant religion, both to ourselves, and to our posterity, that you would be graciously pleased to remove the said George, Earl of Halifax, from your presence and counsels for ever.

Address by both Houses to the King, November 23, 1680.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, being deeply sensible of the sad and calamitous condition of this your Majesty's kingdom, occasioned chiefly by the impious and horrid conspiracies of a popish party, who have not only plotted and intended the destruction of your Majesty's royal person, but the total subversion of the government and true religion established amongst us; and finding the same detestable machinations still obstinately prosecuted by them, as well by fomenting divisions amongst your Majesty's loyal protestant subjects, as all other the most wicked contrivances, notwithstanding the many discoveries thereof by God's great mercy and wonderful providence lately brought to light; all which dreadful judgments are now impending over us, most deservedly, for our many and grievous sins; and cannot otherwise in human reason be prevented, but by the particular blessing of
God

God upon the consultations and endeavours of your great council now assembled in Parliament ; do, in all humility, beseech your Majesty, that by your royal proclamation, a day may be solemnly set apart, wherein both ourselves and all your Majesty's loyal subjects, may, by fasting and prayers, endeavour a reconciliation with Almighty God ; and with humble and penitent hearts implore him, by his power and goodness, to divert those judgments, and defeat the wicked counsels and devices of our enemies, to unite the hearts of your loyal protestant subjects, and to continue his mercy, and the light of his gospel, to us and our posterities ; and more especially to bestow his abundant blessings on your sacred Majesty, and this present Parliament, that our consultations and endeavours may produce honour, safety, and prosperity to your Majesty, and your people.

His Majesty's Answer, November 26, 1680.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having received the address of this House relating to the Earl of Halifax, hath thought fit to return this answer :

That he conceives the said address to be liable to several exceptions ; but having a great desire to preserve all possible good understanding with this House, he chuses to decline to enter into particulars, to avoid all occasions of dispute : he therefore thinks fit to tell them, that he doth not find the grounds in the address of this House to be sufficient to induce him to remove the Earl of Halifax : but he answers them at the same time, that, whenever this House shall, in a due and regular course, prove any crime either against the said Earl of Halifax, or any other person, who either now is, or shall hereafter be, in his council, he will leave him or them to their own legal defence, without interposing to protect them.

Address by the House of Commons, Nov. 27, 1680.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most obedient and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having, with all duty and regard, taken into our serious consideration your Majesty's late message relating to Tangier, cannot but account the present condition of it, as your Majesty is pleased to represent it in your said message, after so vast a treasure expended to
make

make it useful, not only as one infelicity more added to the afflicted estate of your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, but as the result also of the same counsels and designs, which have brought your Majesty's person, crown, and kingdoms, into those great and imminent dangers with which at this day they are surrounded: and we are the less surpris'd to hear of the exigencies of Tangier, when we remember, that, since it became part of your Majesty's dominions, it hath several times been under the command of popish governors; particularly, for some time under the command of a lord impeached, and now prisoner in the Tower, for the execrable and horrid popish plot that the supplies sent thither have been, in great part, made up of popish officers and soldiers; and that the Irish papists among the soldiers of that garrison have been the persons most countenanced and encouraged.

To that part of your Majesty's message, which expresses a reliance upon this House for the support of Tangier, and a recommendation of it to our speedy care, we do, with all humility and reverence, give this answer; that, although, in due time and order, we shall omit nothing incumbent on us for the preservation of every part of your Majesty's dominions, and advancing the prosperity and flourishing estate of this your kingdom; yet at this time, when a cloud, which has long threatened this land, is ready to break upon our heads in a storm of ruin and confusion, to enter into any further consideration of this matter, especially to come to any resolutions in it, before we are effectually secured from the imminent and apparent dangers arising from the power of popish persons and counsels, we humbly conceive will not consist either with our duty to your Majesty, or the trust reposed in us by those we represent.

It is not unknown to your Majesty, how restless the endeavours, and how bold the attempts of the popish party, for many years last past, have been, not only within this, but other your Majesty's kingdoms, to introduce the Romish, and utterly to extirpate the true protestant religion. The several approaches they have made towards compassing this their design, assisted by the treachery of perfidious protestants, have been so strangely successful, that it is matter of admiration to us, and which we can only ascribe to an over-ruling Providence, that your Majesty's reign is still continued over us, and that we are yet assembled to consult the means of our preservation.

This bloody and restless party, not content with the great liberty they had a long time enjoyed, to exercise their own religion privately amongst themselves, to ...take of an equal freedom of their persons and estates with your Majesty's protestant

tant subjects, and of an advantage above them, in being excused from chargeable offices and employments, hath so far prevailed, as to find countenance : from an open and avowed practice of their superstition and idolatry without controul, in several parts of this kingdom, great swarms of priests and jesuits have resorted hither, and have here exercised their jurisdiction, and been daily tampering to pervert the consciences of your Majesty's subjects, their opposers they have found means to disgrace ; and if they were judges, justices of the peace, or other magistrates, to have them turned out of commission : and, in contempt of the laws of the land, they have practised upon people of all ranks and qualities, and gained over divers to their religion ; some openly to profess it, others secretly to espouse it, as most conducive to the service thereof.

After some time, they became able to influence matters of state and government, and thereby to destroy those they cannot corrupt : the continuance or prorogation of Parliaments has been accommodated to serve the purposes of that party : money raised upon the people to supply your Majesty's extraordinary occasions, was, by the prevalence of popish counsels, employed to make war upon a protestant state, and to advance and augment the dreadful power of the French King ; though, to the apparent hazard of this, and all other protestant countries : great numbers of your Majesty's subjects were sent into, and continued in the service of that King ; notwithstanding the apparent interest of your Majesty's kingdoms, the addresses of the Parliament, and your Majesty's gracious proclamations to the contrary : nor can we forbear to mention, how that, at the beginning of the same war, even the ministers of England were made instruments to press upon that state the acceptance of one demand, among others, from the French King, for procuring their peace with him ; that they should admit the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the United Provinces ; the churches there to be divided ; and the Romish priests maintained out of the public revenue.

At home, if your Majesty did, at any time, by the advice of your privy council, and of your two Houses of Parliament, command the laws to be put in execution against papists ; even from thence they gained advantage to their party, while the edge of those laws was turned against protestant dissenters, and the papists escaped, in a manner, untouched : the act of parliament, enjoining a test to be taken by all persons admitted into any public office, and intended for a security against papists coming into employment, had so little effect, that either by dispensations obtained from Rome, they submitted to those tests, and held their offices themselves ; or those put in their places
were

were so favourable to the same interests, that popery itself has rather gained than lost ground since that act.

But, that their business in hand might yet more speedily and strongly proceed, at length a popish secretary, since executed for his treasons, takes upon him to set afoot and maintain correspondencies at Rome, (particularly with a native subject of your Majesty's, promoted to be a cardinal,) and in the courts of other foreign princes, to use their own form of speech, "for the subduing that pestilent heresy, which has so long domineered over this northern world;" that is, to root the protestant religion out of England; and thereby to make way the more easily to do the same in other protestant countries.

Towards the doing this great work (as Mr. Colman was pleased to call it,) jesuits, the most dangerous of all popish orders to the lives and estates of princes, were distributed to their several precincts within this kingdom; and held joint councils with those of the same order in all neighbour popish countries: out of these councils and correspondencies was hatched that damnable and hellish plot, by the good providence of Almighty God brought to light above two years since, but still threatening us; wherein the traitors, impatient of longer delay, reckoning the prolonging of your sacred Majesty's life, (which God long preserve,) as the great obstacle in the way to the consummation of their hopes; and having in their prospect a proselyted prince immediately to succeed in the throne of these kingdoms, resolved to begin their work with the assassination of your Majesty; to carry it on with armed force; to destroy your protestant subjects in England; to execute a second massacre in Ireland; and so, with ease, to arrive at the suppression of our religion, and the subversion of the government.

When this accursed conspiracy began to be discovered, they began the smothering it with the barbarous murder of a justice of the peace within one of your Majesty's own palaces, who had taken some examinations concerning it.

Amidst these distractions and fears, popish officers for the command of forces were allowed upon the musters, by special orders surreptitiously obtained from your Majesty, but countersigned by a secretary of state, without ever passing under the tests prescribed by the aforementioned act of Parliament: in like manner above fifty new commissions were granted about the same time to known papists; besides a great number of desperate popish officers, though out of command, yet entertained at half-pay.

When in the next Parliament, the House of Commons were prepared to bring to a legal trial the principal conspirators in
this

this plot, that Parliament was first prorogued, and then dissolved : the interval between the calling and the sitting of this Parliament was so long, that now they conceive hopes of covering all their past crimes, and gaining a seasonable time and advantages of practising them more effectually : witnesses are attempted to be corrupted ; and not only promises of reward, but of the favour of your Majesty's brother, made the motives for their compliance : divers of the most considerable of your Majesty's protestant subjects have crimes of the highest nature forged against them, the charge to be supported by subornation and perjury, that they may be destroyed by forms of law and justice.

A presentment being prepared for a grand jury of Middlesex against your Majesty's said brother, the Duke of York, under whose countenance all the rest shelter themselves, the grand jury were in an unheard-of, and unprecedented, and illegal manner discharged ; and that with so much haste and fear, lest they should finish that presentment, that they were prevented from delivering many other indictments by them at that time found among other popish recusants :

Because a pamphlet came forth weekly, called, " The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome," which exposes popery as it deserves, as ridiculous to the people ; a new and arbitrary rule was made in your Majesty's Court of King's Bench, rather like a Star-chamber, than a court of law, that the same should not for the future be printed by any person whatsoever.

We acknowledge your Majesty's grace and care in issuing forth divers proclamations since the discovery of the plot, for the banishing papists from about this great city, and residence of your Majesty's court, and the Parliament ; but, with trouble of mind, we do humbly inform your Majesty, that, notwithstanding all these prohibitions, great numbers of them, and of the most dangerous sort, to the terror of your Majesty's protestant subjects, do daily resort hither, and abide here.

Under these and other sad effects and evidence of the prevalence of popery, and its adherents, we, your Majesty's faithful Commons, found this your Majesty's distressed kingdom, and other parts of your dominions, labouring, when we assembled : and therefore, from our allegiance to your Majesty, our zeal to our religion, our faithfulness to our country, and our care of posterity, we have lately, upon mature deliberation, proposed one remedy of these great evils, without which, (in our judgments) all others will prove vain and fruitless : and, like deceitful securities against certain dangers, will rather
 se your Majesty's person to the greatest hazard, and
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the people, together with all that is valuable to them, as men or Christians, to utter ruin and destruction.

We have taken this occasion of an access to your Majesty's royal presence, humbly to lay before your Majesty's great judgment, and gracious consideration, this most dreadful design of introducing popery, and, as necessary consequences of it, all other calamities, into your Majesty's kingdoms: and if, after all this, the private suggestions of the subtle accomplices of that party and design should yet prevail, either to elude, or totally obstruct, the faithful endeavours of us, your Commons, for an happy settlement of this kingdom, we shall have this remaining comfort, that we have freed ourselves from the guilt of that blood and desolation which is likely to ensue.

But our only hope (next under God) is in your sacred Majesty; that, by your great wisdom and goodness, we may be effectually secured from popery, and all the evils that attend it; and that none but persons of known fidelity to your Majesty, and sincere affections to the protestant religion, may be put into any employment, civil or military: that, whilst we shall give a supply to Tangier, we may be assured we do not augment the strength of our popish adversaries, nor increase our own dangers.

Which desires of your faithful Commons, if your Majesty shall graciously vouchsafe to grant, we shall not only be ready to assist your Majesty in defence of Tangier; but do whatever else shall be in our power, to enable your Majesty to protect the protestant religion and interest at home and abroad, and to resist and repel the attempts of your Majesty's and the kingdom's enemies.

*Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons,
December 29, 1680.*

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, have taken into our serious consideration your Majesty's gracious speech to both your Houses of Parliament, on the fifteenth of this instant December; and do, with all the grateful sense of faithful subjects and sincere protestants, acknowledge your Majesty's great goodness to us, in renewing the assurances you have been pleased to give us, of your readiness to concur with us in any means for the security of the protestant religion; and your gracious invitation of us to make our desires known to your Majesty.

But,

But, with grief of heart, we cannot but observe, that to these princely offers your Majesty has been advised (by what secret enemies to your Majesty and your people we know not) to annex a reservation, which, if insisted on, in the instance to which alone it is applicable, will render all your Majesty's other gracious inclinations of no effect or advantage to us.

Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit your promise of concurrence in the remedies which shall be proposed; that they may consist with preserving the succession of the crown in its due and legal course of descent; and we do humbly inform your Majesty, that no interruption of that descent has been endeavoured by us, except only the descent upon the person of the Duke of York, who, by the wicked instruments of the church of Rome, has been manifestly perverted to their religion. And we do humbly represent to your Majesty, as the issue of our most deliberate thoughts and consultations, that for the papists to have their hopes continued, that a prince of that religion shall succeed in the throne of these kingdoms, is utterly inconsistent with the safety of your Majesty's person, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the prosperity, peace, and welfare of your protestant subjects.

That your Majesty's sacred life is in continual danger, under the prospect of a popish successor, is evident, not only from the principles of those devoted to the church of Rome, which allow, that an heretical prince (and such they term all protestant princes excommunicated and deposed by the pope) may be destroyed and murdered; but also from the testimonies given in the prosecution of the horrid popish plot, against divers traitors attainted for designing to put these accursed principles into practice against your Majesty.

From the expectation of this succession has the number of papists in your Majesty's dominions so much increased within these few years, and so many been prevailed with to desert the true protestant religion, that they might be prepared for the favours of a popish prince, as soon as he should come to the possession of the crown: and while the same expectation lasts, many more will be in the same danger of being perverted.

This it is that has hardened the papists of this kingdom, animated and confederated by their priests and jesuits, to make a common purse, provide arms, make application to foreign princes, and solicit their aid for imposing popery upon us: and all this even during your Majesty's reign, and while your Majesty's government and the laws were our protection.

It is your Majesty's glory and true interest to be the head and protector of all protestants, as well abroad as at home: but if these hopes remain, what alliances can be made for the advantage

vantage of the protestant religion and interest, which shall give confidence to your Majesty's allies to join so vigorously with your Majesty, as the state of that interest in the world now requires; while they see this protestant kingdom in so much danger of a popish successor; by whom, at the present, all their counsels and actions may be eluded (as hitherto they have been) and by whom, if he should succeed, they are sure to be destroyed?

We have thus humbly laid before your Majesty some of those great dangers and mischiefs which evidently accompany the expectation of a popish successor: the certain and unspeakable evils which will come upon your Majesty's protestant subjects, and their posterity, if such a prince should inherit, are more also than we can well enumerate: our religion, which is now so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to protect or defend it: the execution of old laws must cease, and it will be vain to expect new ones: the most sacred obligations of contracts and promises (if any should be given) that shall be judged against the interest of the Romish religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from argument and experience elsewhere, but from the sad experience this nation once had on the like occasion. In the reign of such a prince the pope will be acknowledged supreme, though the subjects of this kingdom have sworn the contrary; and all causes, either as spiritual, or in order to spiritual things, will be brought under his jurisdiction: the lives, liberties, and estates, of all such protestants, as value their souls and their religion more than their secular concerns, will be adjudged forfeited.

To all this we might add, that it appears in the discovery of the plot, that foreign princes were invited to assist in securing the crown to the Duke of York; with arguments, from his great zeal to establish popery and to extirpate protestants (whom they call heretics) out of his dominions; and such will expect performance accordingly.

We further humbly beseech your Majesty in your great wisdom to consider, whether, in case the imperial crown of this protestant kingdom should descend to the Duke of York, the opposition which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the farther descent in the royal line, but even monarchy itself.

For these reasons, we are most humble petitioners to your most sacred Majesty, that, in tender commiseration of your poor protestant people, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to depart from the reservation in your said speech: and, when a bill shall be tendered to your Majesty, in a parliamentary

way, to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the crown, your Majesty will give your royal assent thereto: and, as necessary to fortify and defend the same, that your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to assent to an act, whereby your Majesty's protestant subjects may be enabled to associate themselves for the defence of your Majesty's person, the protestant religion, and the security of your kingdoms.

These requests we are constrained humbly to make to your Majesty, as of absolute necessity for the safe and peaceable enjoyment of our religion. Without these things the alliances of England will not be valuable, nor the people encouraged to contribute to your Majesty's service.

As some farther means for the preservation both of our religion and property, we are humble suitors to your Majesty, that from henceforth such persons only may be judges within the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, as are men of ability, integrity, and known affection to the protestant religion; and that they may hold both their offices and salaries *quam diu se bene gesserint*: that (several deputy lieutenants and justices of the peace, fitly qualified for those employments, having been of late displaced, and others put in their room, who are men of arbitrary principles, and countenancers of papists and popery) such only may bear the office of a lord lieutenant as are persons of integrity, and known affection to the protestant religion: that deputy lieutenants and justices of the peace may be also so qualified, and may be, moreover, men of ability, of estates, and interest in their country: that none may be employed as military officers, or officers in your Majesty's fleet, but men of known experience, courage, and affection to the protestant religion.

These our humble requests being obtained, we shall, on our part, be ready to assist your Majesty for the preservation of Tangier; and for putting your Majesty's fleet into such a condition, as it may preserve your Majesty's sovereignty of the seas, and be for the defence of the nation. If your Majesty hath or shall make any necessary alliances for defence of the protestant religion and interest, and security of this kingdom, this House will be ready to assist and stand by your Majesty in the support of the same.

After this our humble answer to your Majesty's gracious speech, we hope no evil instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen your Majesty's esteem of that fidelity and affection we bear to your Majesty's service; but that your Majesty will always retain, in your royal breast, that favourable opinion of us your loyal Commons; that those other good bills which we have now under consideration, conducing to the great ends we have before

before mentioned ; as also all laws for the benefit and comfort of your people, which shall from time to time be tendered for your Majesty's royal assent, shall find acceptance with your Majesty.

Message from his Majesty, January 4, 1681.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty received the address of this House with all the disposition they could wish, to comply with their reasonable desires : but, upon perusing it, he is sorry to see their thoughts so wholly fixed upon the bill of exclusion, as to determine, that all other remedies for the suppressing of popery will be ineffectual : his Majesty is confirmed in his opinion against that bill, by the judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it : he therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to say, in answer to the address of this House, but to recommend to them the consideration of all other means for the preservation of the protestant religion ; in which they have no reason to doubt of his concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to him in a parliamentary way : and that they would consider the present state of the kingdom, as well as the condition of Christendom, in such a manner as may enable him to preserve Tangier, and secure his alliances abroad, and the peace and settlement at home.

His Majesty, JAMES the SECOND's first Speech, May 22, 1685.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AFTER it pleased Almighty God to take to his mercy the late King, my dearest brother, and to bring me to the peaceable possession of the throne of my ancestors, I immediately resolved to call a Parliament, as the best means to settle every thing upon those foundations that may make my reign both easy and happy to you ; towards which I am disposed to contribute all that is fit for me to do. What I said to my privy council at my first coming there, I am desirous to renew to you, wherein I fully declared my opinion concerning the principles of the church of England, whose members have shewed themselves so eminently loyal in the worst of times, in defence of my father, and support of my brother, of blessed memory ; that I will always take care to defend and support it : I will make it my endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is now by law established. And as I

will never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the crown, so I will never invade any man's property: and you may be sure, that, having hitherto ventured my life in the defence of this nation, I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties.

And, having given you this assurance concerning the care I will have of your religion and property, which I have chosen to do in the same words I used at my first coming to the crown, the better to evidence to you that I spoke them not by chance, and consequently that you may the more firmly rely on a promise so solemnly made; I cannot doubt, that I shall fail of suitable returns from you, with all imaginable duty and kindness on your part; and particularly in what relates to the settling of my revenue, and continuing it during my life, as it was in the time of the King my brother.

I might use many arguments to enforce this demand, from the benefit of trade, the support of the navy, the necessity of the crown, and the well being of the government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious: but I am confident, your own consideration of what is just and reasonable will suggest to you whatever might be enlarged upon this occasion. There is one popular argument, which I foresee may be used against what I ask of you, from the inclination men may have to frequent Parliaments; which some may think would be the best secured, by feeding me from time to time by such proportions as they shall think convenient: and this argument (it being the first that I speak to you from the throne) I will answer once for all, that this would be a very improper method to take with me, and that the best way to engage me to meet you often is always to use me well. I expect, therefore, that you will comply with me in what I have desired; and that you will do it speedily, that this may be a short session, and that we may meet again to all our satisfactions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must acquaint you, that I have had news this morning from Scotland, that Argyle is landed in the western islands with the men he brought with him from Holland; and that there are two declarations published, one in the name of those in arms there, the other in his own: it would be too long for me to repeat the substance of them; it is sufficient to tell you, that in both of them I am charged with usurpation and tyranny. The shorter of them I have directed to be forthwith communicated to you. I shall take the best care I can, that this declaration of their own treason and rebellion may meet with the reward it deserves; and I will not doubt, but that

that you will be more zealous to support the government, and give me my revenue, as I have desired it, without delay.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 30, 1685.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you very heartily for the bill you have presented me this day; and I assure you, the readiness and cheerfulness that has attended the dispatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the bill itself.

After so happy a beginning, you may believe I would not call upon you unnecessarily for an extraordinary supply: but when I tell you, that the stores of the navy and ordnance are extremely exhausted; that the anticipations upon several branches of the revenue are great and burdensome; that the debts of the king my brother to his servants and family are such as deserve compassion; that the rebellion in Scotland, without putting more weight upon it than it really deserves, must oblige me to a considerable expense extraordinary; I assure such considerations will move you to give me an aid to provide for those things, wherein the security, the ease, and the happiness of my government are so much concerned. But, above all, I must recommend to you the care of the navy, the strength and glory of this nation; that you will put it into such a condition as may make us considered and respected abroad. I cannot express my concern upon this occasion more suitable to my own thoughts of it, than by assuring you, I have a true English heart, as jealous of the honour of the nation as you can be: and I please myself with the hopes, that, by God's blessing and your assistance, I may carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world than ever it has been in the time of any of my ancestors. And, as I will not call upon you for supplies, but when they are of public use and advantage, so I promise you, that what you shall give me upon such occasions shall be managed with good husbandry, and I will take care it shall be employed to the uses for which I ask them.

Address by the House of Commons, June 13, 1685.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, do, with all duty, return our most humble and hearty thanks for your Majesty's gracious message, communicated to us by the Earl of Mid-

dleton, one of your Majesty's principal secretaries of state, of the invading this your kingdom by that ungrateful rebel James, Duke of Monmouth; and do, with all duty and loyalty, and utter detestation of such rebels and traitors, assure your Majesty that we are, and always shall be, ready to stand by and assist your Majesty with our lives and fortunes against the the said James, Duke of Monmouth, his adherents and correspondents, and all rebels and traitors; and all others whatsoever that shall assist them, or any of them.

And since the preservation of your Majesty's person is of the highest concern to the peace and happiness of this kingdom, we, your most dutiful and loyal subjects, do most humbly beseech your Majesty to take more than ordinary care of your royal person; which we beseech God long to preserve.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, June 18, 1685.

JAMES REX. :

HIS Majesty judges it necessary for the good of his service, that the Gentlemen of this House (on whose loyalty and affection he depends, wherever they are) should be present in their respective countries; and therefore designs there should be a recess in a very few days: but, because the rebellion in the west will occasion an extraordinary expense, his Majesty desires there may be a good fund of credit provided, for a present sum of money, to answer the immediate charge his Majesty must be at; and, to the end none of the bills now depending may be prejudiced, his Majesty is pleased, that this separation shall be an adjournment, and for some short time only.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the eighteenth day of June, 1685.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Aug. 4, 1685.

JAMES REX.

IT is his Majesty's pleasure, that this House be immediately adjourned till Monday the ninth day of November next.

Whitehall, the fourth day of August, 1685.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, Nov. 9, 1685.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AFTER the storm that seemed to be coming upon us when we parted last, I am glad to meet you all again in so great peace and quietness; God Almighty be praised, by whose blessing that rebellion was suppressed: but when we reflect, what an inconsiderable number of men began it, and how long they carried it on without any opposition, I hope every body will be convinced that the militia, which hath hitherto been so much depended on, is not sufficient for such occasions; and that there is nothing but a good force of well-disciplined troops in constant pay, that can defend us from such as either at home or abroad are disposed to disturb us: and, in truth, my concern for the peace and quiet of my subjects, as well as for the safety of the government, made me think it necessary to increase the number to the proportion I have done: this I owed as well to the honour as the security of the nation; whose reputation was so infinitely exposed to all our neighbours by having so evidently lain open to this late wretched attempt, that it is not to be repaired without keeping such a body of men on foot, that none may ever have the thought again of finding us so miserably unprovided.

It is for the support of this great charge, which is now more than double to what it was, that I ask your assistance in giving me a supply answerable to the expense it brings along with it; and I cannot doubt, but what I have begun, so much for the honour and defence of the government, will be continued by you with all the cheerfulness that is requisite for a work of so great importance.

Let no man take exception, that there are some officers in the army not qualified, according to the late tests, for their employments: the gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and, having formerly served with me in several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practice, I think fit now to be employed under me: and I will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their service in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to want of them, if there should be another rebellion to make them necessary for me.

I am afraid some men may be so wicked to hope and expect that a difference may happen between you and me upon this occasion: but when you consider, what advantages have arisen to us in a few months, by the good understanding we have hi-

therto had ; what wonderful effects it hath already produced in the change of the whole scene of affairs abroad, so much more to the honour of this nation, and the figure it ought to make in the world ; and that nothing can hinder a further progress in this way, to all our satisfactions, but fears and jealousies amongst ourselves ; I will not apprehend that such a misfortune can befall us as a division, or but a coldness, between me and you ; nor that any thing can shake you in your steadiness and loyalty to me ; who, by God's blessing, will ever make returns of all kindness and protection, with a resolution to venture even my own life in the defence of the true interest of this kingdom.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, Nov. 16, 1685.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do, in the first place, as in duty bound, return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your great care and conduct in the suppression of the late rebellion, which threatened the overthrow of this government both in church and state, and the utter extirpation of our religion by law established ; which is most dear to us, and which your Majesty has been graciously . . . to give us repeated assurances you will always defend and support ; which, with all grateful hearts, we shall ever acknowledge.

We further crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, that we have, with all duty and readiness, taken into our consideration your Majesty's gracious speech to us : and as to that part of it relating to the officers in the army, not qualified for their employments, according to an act of Parliament made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of your Majesty's royal brother of blessed memory, intituled, " An act for preventing dangers " which may happen from popish recusants," we do, out of our bounden duty, humbly represent unto your Majesty, that those officers cannot by law be capable of their employments ; and that the incapacities they bring upon themselves thereby, can no ways be taken off, but by an act of Parliament ; therefore, out of that great deference and duty we owe unto your Majesty, who has been graciously pleased to take . . . of their services to you, we are preparing a bill to pass both Houses for your royal assent, to indemnify them from the penalties they have now incurred. And because the continuance of them in their employments may be taken to be a dispensing with that

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law without act of Parliament (the consequence of which is of the greatest concern to the rights of all your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, and to all the laws made for security of their religion); we therefore, the knights, citizens, and burgessees, of your Majesty's House of Commons, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to give such directions therein, that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your Majesty's good and faithful subjects.

Answer by his Majesty, November 18, 1685.

I DID not expect such an address from this House of Commons; having so lately recommended to your consideration the great advantages a good understanding between us had produced in a very short time, and given you warning of fears and jealousies amongst ourselves.

I had reason to hope, that the reputation God hath blessed me with in the world, would have created and confirmed a greater confidence in you of me, and of all I say to you; and be very just to my word in every one of my speeches.

*His Highness the PRINCE of ORANGE's Declaration,
October 10, 1688.*

IT is both certain and evident to all men, that the public peace and happiness of any state or kingdom cannot be preserved, where the laws, liberties, and customs, established by the lawful authority in it, are openly transgressed and annulled; more especially where the alteration of religion is endeavoured, and that a religion, which is contrary to law, is endeavoured to be introduced; upon which those who are most immediately concerned in it are indispensably bound to endeavour to preserve and maintain the established laws, liberties, and customs, and above all, the religion and worship of God, that is established among them; and to take such an effectual care, that the inhabitants of the said state or kingdom may neither be deprived of their religion, nor of their civil rights: which is so much the more necessary, because the greatness and security both of kings, royal families, and of all such as are in authority, as well as the happiness of their subjects and people, depend in a most especial manner upon the exact observation and maintenance of these their laws, liberties, and customs.

Upon these grounds it is that we cannot any longer forbear to declare, that, to our great regret, we see, that those coun-
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fellors, who have now the chief credit with the King, have overturned the religion, laws, and liberties of those realms, and subjected them, in all things relating to their consciences, liberties, and properties, to arbitrary government; and that, not only by secret and indirect ways, but in an open and undisguised manner.

Those evil counsellors, for the advancing and colouring this with some plausible pretexts, did invent and set on foot the King's dispensing power; by virtue of which they pretend, that, according to law, he can suspend and dispense with the execution of the laws that have been enacted by the authority of the King and Parliament, for the security and happiness of the subject; and so have rendered those laws of no effect: though there is nothing more certain, than that, as no laws can be made but by the joint concurrence of King and Parliament, so likewise laws so enacted, which secure the public peace and safety of the nation, and the lives and liberties of every subject in it, cannot be repealed or suspended but by the same authority.

For though the King may pardon the punishment that a transgressor has incurred, and to which he is condemned, as in cases of treason or felony, yet it cannot be, with any colour of reason, inferred from thence, that the King can entirely suspend the execution of those laws relating to treason or felony, unless it is pretended, that he is clothed with a despotic and arbitrary power, and that the lives, liberties, honours, and estates of the subjects, depend wholly on his good will and pleasure, and are entirely subject to him; which must infallibly follow on the King's having a power to suspend the execution of laws, and to dispense with them.

Those evil counsellors, in order to the giving some credit to this strange and execrable maxim, have so conducted the matter, that they have obtained a sentence from the judges, declaring, that this dispensing power is a right belonging to the Crown; as if it were in the power of the twelve judges to offer up the laws, rights, and liberties of the whole nation to the King, to be disposed of by him arbitrarily, and at his pleasure, and expressly contrary to laws enacted for the security of the subjects. In order to the obtaining this judgment, those evil counsellors did, beforehand, examine secretly the opinion of the judges, and procured such of them, as could not in conscience concur in so pernicious a sentence, to be turned out, and others to be substituted in their rooms, till, by the changes which were made in the courts of judicature, they at last obtained that judgment. And they have raised some to those trusts, who make open profession of the Popish religion, though

though those are by law rendered incapable of all such employments:

It is also manifest and notorious, that, as his Majesty was upon his coming to the crown, received and acknowledged by all the subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as their King, without the least opposition, though he made then open profession of the Popish religion, so he did then promise and solemnly swear at his coronation, that he would maintain his subjects in the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties; and, in particular, that he would maintain the church of England, as it was established by law. It is likewise certain, that there have been, at divers and sundry times, several laws enacted for the preservation of those rights and liberties, and of the protestant religion; and, among other securities, it has been enacted, that all persons whatsoever, that are advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity, or to bear office in either university, as likewise all others that should be put in any employment civil or military, should declare, that they were not papists, but were of the protestant religion, and that, by their taking of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the test: yet these evil counsellors have, in effect, annulled and abolished all those laws, both with relation to ecclesiastical and civil employments.

In order to ecclesiastical dignities and offices, they have, not only without any colour of law, but against more express laws to the contrary, set up a commission of a certain number of persons, to whom they have committed the cognizance and direction of all ecclesiastical matters; in the which commission there has been, and still is, one of his Majesty's ministers of state, who makes now public profession of the popish religion; and who, at the time of his first professing it, declared, that for a great while before, he had believed that to be the only true religion. By all this, the deplorable state to which the protestant religion is reduced is apparent, since the affairs of the church of England are now put into the hands of persons who have accepted of a commission that is manifestly illegal, and who have executed it contrary to all law; and that now one of their chief members has abjured the protestant religion, and declared himself a papist; by which he is become incapable of holding any public employment. The said commissioners have hitherto given such proof of their submission to the directions given them, that there is no reason to doubt, but they will still continue to promote all such designs as will be most agreeable to them. And those evil counsellors take care to raise none to any ecclesiastical dignities, but persons that have no zeal for the protestant religion, and that now hide their unconcernedness for it under the specious pretence of moderation. The said
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commissioners have suspended the Bishop of London, only because he refused to obey an order that was sent him to suspend a worthy divine, without so much as citing him before him to make his own defence, or observing the common forms of process. They have turned out a president chosen by the fellows of Magdalen College, and afterwards all the fellows of that college, without so much as citing them before any court that could take legal cognizance of that affair, or obtaining any sentence against them by a competent judge: and the only reason that was given for turning them out, was, their refusing to chuse for their president a person that was recommended to them by the instigation of those evil counsellors, though the right of a free election belonged undoubtedly to them; but they were turned out of their freeholds contrary to law, and to that express provision in Magna Charta, that no man shall lose life or goods but by the law of the land: and now these evil counsellors have put the said college wholly into the hands of the papists; though, as is above said, they are incapable of all such employments, both by the law of the land, and the statutes of the college. These commissioners have also cited before them all the chancellors and archdeacons of England, requiring them to certify to them the names of all such clergymen as have read the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, and of such as have not read it, without considering that the reading of it was not enjoined the clergy by the bishops, who are their ordinaries. The illegality and incompetency of the said court of the ecclesiastical commissioners was so notoriously known, did so evidently appear, that it tended to the subversion of the protestant religion, that the most Reverend Father in God, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of England, seeing that it was raised for no other end but to oppress such persons who were of eminent virtue, learning, and piety, refused to sit or to concur in it.

And, though there are many express laws against all churches or chapels for the exercise of the popish religion, and also against all monasteries and convents, and more particularly against the order of the jesuits; yet those evil counsellors have procured orders for the building of several churches and chapels for the exercise of that religion: they have also procured divers monasteries to be erected; and, in contempt of the law, they have not only set up several colleges of jesuits in divers places, for corrupting of the youth, but have raised up one of the order to be a privy counsellor, and a minister of state: by all which they do evidently shew, that they are restrained by no rules or law whatsoever; but that they have subjected the honours and estates of the subjects, and the established religion,

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to a despotic power, and to arbitrary government: in all which they are served and seconded by those ecclesiastical commissioners.

They have also followed the same methods with relation to civil affairs; for they have procured orders to examine all lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and also all others that were in any public employment, if they would concur with the King in the repeal of the Test and the Penal laws: and all such whose consciences did not suffer them to comply with their designs, were turned out, and others were put in their places, who they believed would be more compliant to them in their designs of defeating the intent and execution of those laws, which had been made with so much care and caution for the security of the protestant religion: and in many of these places they have put professed papists; though the law has disabled them, and warranted the subjects not to have any regard to their orders.

They have also invaded the privileges, and seized on the charters of most of those towns that have a right to be represented by their burgesses in Parliament, and have secured surrenders to be made of them; by which the magistrates in them have delivered up all their rights and privileges to be disposed of at the pleasure of those evil counsellors; who have thereupon placed new magistrates in those towns, such as they can most entirely confide in; and in many of them they have put popish magistrates, notwithstanding the incapacities under which the law has put them.

And whereas no nation whatsoever can subsist without the administration of good and impartial justice, upon which men's lives, liberties, honours, and estates, do depend; those evil counsellors have subjected these to an arbitrary and despotic power. In the most important affairs they have studied to discover beforehand the opinions of the judges, and have turned out such as they found would not conform themselves to their intentions; and have put others in their places, of whom they were more assured, without having any regard to their abilities: and they have not stuck to raise even professed papists to the courts of judicature, notwithstanding their incapacity by law, and that no regard is due to any sentences flowing from them. They have carried this so far, as to deprive such judges, who, in the common administration of justice, shew, that they were governed by their consciences, and not by the directions which the others gave them: by which it is apparent, that they design to render themselves the absolute masters of the lives, honours, and estates of the subjects, of what rank or dignity soever they may be; and that, without having any regard either to the
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equity of the cause, or to the consciences of the judges ; whom they will have to submit in all things to their own will and pleasure : hoping, by such ways, to intimidate those other judges who are yet in employment ; as also, such others as they shall think fit to put in the rooms of those whom they have turned out ; and to make them see what they must look for, if they should at any time act in the least contrary to their good-liking ; and that no failings of that kind are pardoned in any persons whatsoever. A great deal of blood has been shed in many places of the kingdom, by judges, governed by those evil counsellors, against all the rules and forms of law, without so much as suffering the persons, that were accused, to plead in their own defence.

They have also, by putting the administration of justice in the hands of papists, brought all the matters of civil justice into great uncertainties, with how much exactness and justice soever that these sentences may have been given : for, since the laws of the land do not only exclude papists from all places of judicature, but have put them under an incapacity, none are bound to acknowledge or obey their judgments ; and all sentences given by them are null and void of themselves ; so that all persons, who have been cast in trials before such popish judges, may justly look on their pretended sentences as having no more force than the sentences of any private and unauthorized person whatsoever : so deplorable is the case of the subjects, who are obliged to answer to such judges, that must in all things stick to the rules which are set them by those evil counsellors ; who, as they raised them up to those employments, so can turn them out of them at pleasure ; and who can never be esteemed lawful judges : so that all their sentences are in the construction of the law of no force and efficacy. They have likewise disposed of all military employments in the same manner ; for, though the laws have not only excluded papists from all such employments, but have, in particular, provided, that they should be disarmed ; yet they, in contempt of those laws, have not only armed the papists, but have likewise raised them up to the greatest military trusts, both by sea and land ; and that, strangers as well as natives, and Irish as well as English ; that so, by these means, they having rendered themselves masters both of the affairs of the church, of the government of the nation, and of the course of justice, and subjected them all to a despotic and arbitrary power, they might be in a capacity to maintain and execute their wicked designs by the assistance of the army, and thereby to enslave the nation.

The dismal effects of this subversion of the established religion, laws, and liberties in England, appear more evidently to
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us by what we see done in Ireland ; where the whole government is put in the hands of papists ; and where all the protestant inhabitants are under the daily fears of what may be justly apprehended from the arbitrary power which is set up there : which has made great numbers of them leave that kingdom, and abandon their estates in it ; remembering well that cruel and bloody massacre which fell out in that island in the year 1641.

Those evil counsellors have also prevailed with the King to declare in Scotland, that he is clothed with absolute power, and that all the subjects are bound to obey him without reserve ; upon which he has assumed an arbitrary power, both over the religion and laws of that kingdom. From all which it is apparent, what is to be looked for in England, as soon as matters are duly prepared for it.

Those great and insufferable oppressions, and the open contempt of all law, together with the apprehensions of the sad consequences that must certainly follow upon it, have put the subjects under great and just fears, and have made them look after such lawful remedies as are allowed of in all nations : yet all has been without effect. And those evil counsellors have endeavoured to make all men to apprehend the loss of their lives, liberties, honours, and estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this oppression by petitions, representations, or other means authorized by law. Thus did they proceed with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops ; who, having offered a most humble petition to the King, in terms full of respect, and not exceeding the number limited by law, (in which they set forth, in short, the reasons for which they could not obey that order, which, by the instigation of those evil counsellors was sent them, requiring them to appoint their clergy to read, in their churches, the declaration for liberty of conscience) were sent to prison, and afterwards brought to trial, as if they had been guilty of some enormous crime. They were not only obliged to defend themselves in that pursuit, but to appear before professed papists, who had not taken the test, and, by consequence, were men, whose interest led them to condemn them : and the judges that gave their opinions in their favours were thereupon turned out.

And yet it cannot be pretended, that any kings, how great soever their power has been, and how arbitrary and despotic soever they have been in the exercise of it, have ever reckoned it a crime for their subjects to come, in all submission and respect, and in a due number not exceeding the limits of the law, and represent to them the reasons that made it impossible for them to obey their orders. Those evil counsellors have

also treated a peer of the realm as a criminal, only because he said, that the subjects were not bound to obey the orders of a popish justice of peace; though it is evident, that they being by law rendered incapable of all such trust, no regard is due to their orders; this being the security which the people have, by the law, for their lives, liberties, honours, and estates, that they are not to be subjected to the arbitrary proceedings of papists, that are, contrary to law, put into any employments, civil or military.

Both we ourselves, and our dearest and most entirely beloved consort the Princess, have endeavoured to signify in terms full of respect to the King, the just and deep regret which all these proceedings have given us; and, in compliance with his Majesty's desires signified to us, we declared, both by word of mouth to his envoy, and in writing, what our thoughts were, touching the repealing of the test and penal laws; which we did in such a manner, that we hoped we had proposed an expedient, by which the peace of those kingdoms, and a happy agreement among the subjects of all persuasions, might have been settled: but those evil counsellors have put such ill constructions on those our good intentions, that they have endeavoured to alienate the King more and more from us, as if we had designed to disturb the happiness and quiet of the kingdom.

The last and great remedy for all those evils is the calling of a Parliament, for securing the nation against the evil practices of those wicked counsellors; but this could not be yet compassed, nor can it be easily brought about: for those men apprehending that, a lawful Parliament being once assembled, they would be brought to an account for all their open violations of law, and for their plots and conspiracies against the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties of the subjects, they have endeavoured, under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience, first to sow divisions among protestants, between those of the church of England and the dissenters; the design being laid, to engage protestants that are all equally concerned to preserve themselves from popish oppression into mutual quarrellings, that so, by these, some advantages might be given to them to bring about their designs; and that, both in the election of the members of Parliament, and afterwards in the Parliament itself: for they see well, that if all protestants could enter into a mutual good understanding one with another, and concur together in the preserving of their religion, it would not be possible for them to compass their wicked ends. They have also required all the persons in the several counties of England, that either were in any employment, or were in any considerable esteem, to declare before-

beforehand, that they would concur in the repeal of the test and penal laws; and that they would give their voices in the elections to Parliament only for such as would concur in it. Such as would not thus pre-engage themselves were turned out of all employments; and others who entered into those engagements were put in their places, many of them being papists. And, contrary to the charters and privileges of those boroughs that have a right to send burgeses to Parliament, they have ordered such regulations to be made, as they thought fit and necessary for assuring themselves of all the members that are to be chosen by those corporations; and, by this means, they hope to avoid that punishment which they have deserved: though it is apparent, that all acts made by popish magistrates are null and void of themselves; so that no Parliament can be lawful, for which the elections and returns are made by popish sheriffs and mayors of towns: and therefore, as long as the authority and magistracy is in such hands, it is not possible to have any lawful Parliament. And though, according to the constitution of the English government, and immemorial custom, all elections of Parliament-men ought to be made with an entire liberty, without any sort of force, or the requiring the electors to chuse such persons as shall be named to them; and the persons thus freely elected, ought to give their opinions freely upon all matters that are brought before them, having the good of the nation ever before their eyes, and following, in all things, the dictates of their conscience; yet now, the people of England cannot expect a remedy from a free Parliament legally called and chosen; but they may perhaps see one called, in which all elections will be carried on by fraud or force: and which will be composed of such persons of whom those evil counsellors hold themselves well assured, in which all things will be carried on according to their direction and interest, without any regard to the good or happiness of the nation; which may appear evidently from this, that the same persons tried the members of the last Parliament, to gain them to consent to the repeal of the test and penal laws; and procured that Parliament to be dissolved, when they found, that they could not, neither by promises nor threatenings, prevail with the members to comply with their wicked designs.

But, to crown all, there are great and violent presumptions inducing us to believe, that those evil counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their complices, and for the discouraging of all good subjects, have published, that the Queen hath brought forth a son; though there hath appeared, both during the Queen's pre-

tended bigness, and in the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only we ourselves, but all the good subjects of those kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriously known to all the world, that many both doubted of the Queen's bigness, and of the birth of the child ; and yet there was not any thing done to satisfy them, or to put an end to their doubts.

And since our dearest and most entirely beloved consort the Princess, and likewise ourselves, have so great an interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the world knows, to the succession to the crown ; since also the English did, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-two, when the States General of the United Provinces were invaded in a most unjust war, use their utmost endeavours to put an end to that war, and that, in opposition to those who were then in the government ; and by their so doing, they run the hazard of losing both the favour of the court, and their employments ; and, since the English nation has ever testified a most particular affection and esteem, both to our dearest consort the Princess, and to ourselves, we cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their interests in a matter of such high consequence ; and from contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining, both of the protestant religion, and of the laws and liberties of those kingdoms ; and for the securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just rights : to the doing of which, we are most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks.

Therefore it is, that we have thought fit to go over to England, and to carry over with us a force sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the violence of those evil counsellors ; and we, being desirous that our intention in this may be rightly understood, have, for this end, prepared this declaration, in which we have hitherto given a true account of the reasons inducing us to it ; so we now think fit to declare, that this our expedition is intended for no other design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as is possible ; and that, in order to this, all the late charters, by which the elections of burgesses are limited, contrary to the ancient custom, shall be considered as null and of no force ; and likewise, all magistrates, who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former employments ; as well as all the boroughs of England shall return again to their ancient prescriptions and charters ; and more particularly, that the ancient charter of the great and famous city of London shall again be in force ; and that the writs for the members of Parliament shall be addressed
to

to the proper officers, according to law and custom ; that also none be suffered to chuse or to be chosen members of Parliament, but such as are qualified by law ; and that the members of Parliament being thus lawfully chosen, they shall meet and sit in full freedom, that so the two Houses may concur in the preparing of such laws as they, upon full and free debate, shall judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the law concerning the test, and such other laws as are necessary for the security and maintenance of the protestant religion ; as likewise, for making such laws as may establish a good agreement between the church of England and all the protestant dissenters ; as also, for the covering and securing of all such who would live peaceably under the government, as becomes good subjects, from all persecution upon the account of their religion, even papists themselves not excepted ; and for the doing of all other things, which the two Houses of Parliament shall find necessary for the peace, honour, and safety of the nation, so that they may be in no more danger of the nation's falling, at any time hereafter, under arbitrary government. To this Parliament we will also refer the inquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and of all things relating to it, and to the right of succession.

And we, for our part, will concur in every thing that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful Parliament shall determine ; since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government.

This is the design that we have purposed to ourselves in appearing upon this occasion in arms ; in the conduct of which, we will keep the forces under our command under all strictness of martial discipline, and take a special care that the people of the countries, through which we must march, shall not suffer by their means : and, as soon as the state of the nation will admit of it, we promise, that we will send back all those foreign forces that we have brought along with us.

We do therefore hope, that all people will judge rightly of us, and approve of these our proceedings ; but we chiefly rely on the blessing of God for the success of this our undertaking, in which we place our whole and only confidence.

We do, in the last place, invite and require all persons whatsoever, all the peers of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, all lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and all gentlemen, citizens, and other commons of all ranks, to come and

assist us, in order to the executing of this our design, against all such as shall endeavour to oppose us, that so we may prevent all those miseries which must needs follow upon the nation's being kept under arbitrary government and slavery, and that all the violences and disorders, which may have overturned the whole constitution of the English government, may be fully redressed in a free and legal Parliament.

And we do likewise resolve, as soon as the nations are brought to a state of quiet, we will take care that a Parliament shall be called in Scotland, for the restoring the ancient constitution of that kingdom; and for bringing the matters of religion to such a settlement, that the people may live easy and happy, and for putting an end to all the unjust violences that have been, in a course of so many years, committed there.

We will also study to bring the kingdom of Ireland to such a state, that the settlement there may be religiously observed; and that the protestant and British interest there may be secured. And we will endeavour, by all possible means, to procure such an establishment in all the three kingdoms, that they may all live in a happy union, and correspond together; and that the protestant religion, and the peace, honour, and happiness of these nations, may be established upon lasting foundations.

Given under our hand and seal, at our court in the Hague, the tenth day of October, in the year 1688.

WM. H. Prince of ORANGE.

By his Highness's special command, C. Hugins.

His Highness's additional Declaration.

AFTER we had prepared and printed this our declaration, we have understood that the subverters of the religion and laws of those kingdoms, hearing of our preparation to assist the people against them, have begun to retract some of the arbitrary and despotic powers that they had assumed; and to vacate some of their unjust judgments and decrees. The sense of their guilt, and the distrust of their force, have induced them to offer to the city of London some seeming relief from their great oppressions; hoping thereby to quiet the people, and divert them from demanding a secure re-establishment of their religion and laws under the shelter of our arms. They do also give out, that we intend to conquer and enslave the nation; and therefore it is that we have thought fit to add a few words to our declaration.

We are confident, that no persons can have such hard thoughts us, as to imagine that we have any other design in this undertaking,

taking, than to procure a settlement of the religion, and of the liberties and properties of the subjects, upon so sure a foundation, that there may be no danger of the nation's relapsing into the like miseries at any time hereafter. And as the forces that we have brought along with us are utterly disproportioned to that wicked design of conquering the nation, if we were capable of intending it; so the great numbers of the principal nobility and gentry, that are men of eminent quality and estates, and persons of known integrity and zeal, both for the religion and government of England, (many of them being also distinguished by their constant fidelity to the crown) who do both accompany us in this expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, will cover us from all such malicious insinuations: for it is not to be imagined, that either those who have invited us, or those that are already come to assist us, can join in a wicked attempt of conquest, to make void their own lawful titles to their honours, estates, and interests. We are also confident, that all men see how little weight there is to be laid on all promises and engagements that can be now made, since there has been so little regard had, in time past, to the most solemn promises. And as that imperfect redress that is now offered is a plain confession of those violations of the government that we have set forth, so the defectiveness is no less apparent; for they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleasure: and they reserve entire, and not so much as mentioned, their claims and pretences to an arbitrary and despotic power, which has been the root of all their oppression, and of the total subversion of the government. And it is plain, that there can be no redress nor remedy offered, but in Parliament, by a declaration of the rights of the subjects that have been invaded, and not by any pretended acts of grace, to which the extremity of their affairs has driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare, that we will refer all to a free assembly of the nation, in a lawful Parliament.

Given under our hand and seal, at our court in the Hague, the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1688.

WM. HENRY Prince, of ORANGE.
By his Highness's special command, C. Hugins.

Order by his Highness the Prince of Orange, Dec. 23, 1688.

WHEREAS the necessity of affairs do require speedy advice, we do desire all such persons as have served as knights, citizens, and burgeses, in any of the Parliaments that

that were held during the reign of the late King Charles the Second, to meet us at St. James's, upon Wednesday the six and twentieth of this instant December, by ten of the clock in the morning. And we do likewise desire that the lord mayor and court of aldermen of the city of London would be present at the same time, and that the common council would appoint fifty of their number to be there likewise. And hereof we desire them not to fail.

Given at St. James's, the three and twentieth day of December, 1688.

WM. HENRY, Prince of ORANGE.

By his Highness's special command, C. Hugins.

According to which order many of the persons above mentioned met at St. James's at the time affixed, and then his Highness spoke to them in these words :

YOU, Gentlemen, that have been members of the late Parliaments, I have desired you to meet me here, to advise the best manner how to pursue the ends of my declaration, in calling a free Parliament for the preservation of the protestant religion, and restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and settling the same, that they may not be in danger of being again subverted. And you, the aldermen, and members of the common council of the city of London, I desire the same of you. And, in regard your numbers are like to be great, you may, if you think fit, divide yourselves, and sit in several places.

Address to his Highness, December 26, 1688.

WE who have served as members of the Parliaments during the reign of the late King Charles the Second, together with the court of aldermen, and members of the common council of the city of London, assembled at your Highness's desire in this extraordinary conjuncture, do, with an unanimous consent, tender to your Highness our most humble and hearty thanks for your coming into this ~~business~~ ^{business}, exposing your person to so great hazards, for the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, and rescuing us from the miseries of popery and slavery :

And do desire your Highness, that, in pursuance of those ends, and for the preservation of the peace of the nation, your Highness will take upon you the administration of public affairs, both civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenue.

We

We do also desire, that your Highness will take into your particular care the present condition of Ireland ; and endeavour, by the most speedy and effectual means, to prevent the dangers threatening that kingdom.

All which we desire your Highness to undertake, and execute, until the meeting of the intended Convention, the two and twentieth of January next.

We do likewise desire your Highness to cause letters to be written, and subscribed by your Highness, to the Lords spiritual and temporal, being protestants, and to the several counties, universities, cities, boroughs, and cinque ports, of England, Wales, and to the town of Berwick upon Tweed ; the letters for the counties to be directed to the coroners of their respective counties, or any one of them, and, in default of coroners, to the clerk of the peace of the respective counties ; and the letters for the universities to be directed to the respective vice-chancellors ; and the letters to the several cities, boroughs, and cinque ports, to be directed to the chief magistrate of each respective city, borough, and cinque port ; containing directions for the choosing, in all such counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, within ten days after the receipt of the said respective letters, such a number of persons to represent them, as are of right to be sent to Parliament.

That for such elections, and the times and places thereof, the respective officer shall give notice in manner following ; that is to say, as to the elections for the counties, notice to be published in all market-towns in the respective counties, by the space of five days, at least, before such election ; and notice of the elections for the cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, to be published in the respective places by the space of three days before at the least.

That the said letters, and the execution thereof, be returned by such officer and officers who shall execute the same, to the clerk of the crown in the court of chancery, so as the persons, so to be chosen, may meet and sit at Westminster on the two and twentieth day of January next.

This we humbly offer your Highness as our best advice, in this exigency of affairs, for attaining the ends of your Highness's declaration, and as the best means tending to such an establishment, as that our religion, laws, and liberties, may not be in danger of being again subverted.

His Highness's Answer, December 28, 1688.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE considered of your advice; and, as far as I am able, I will endeavour to secure the peace of the nation, until the meeting of the Convention in January next, for the election whereof, I will forthwith issue out letters according to your desire. I will also take care to apply the public revenue to the most proper uses that the present affairs require: and likewise endeavour to put Ireland into such a condition, as that the protestant religion, and the English interest, may be maintained in that kingdom: and I further assure you, that as I came hither for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms; so I shall always be ready to expose myself to any hazard for defence of the same.

Letter to the House of Commons from his Highness the Prince of Orange, January, 22, 1689.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE endeavoured, to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the public peace and safety; and I do not know, that any thing hath been omitted, which might tend to the preservation of them, since the administration of affairs was put into my hands: it now lieth upon you to lay the foundations of a firm security for your religion, your laws, and your liberties.

I do not doubt, but that, by such a full and free representative of the nation as is now met, the ends of my declaration will be attained: and since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great success, I trust in him, that he will complete his own work, by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence your councils, that no interruption may be given to a happy and lasting settlement.

The dangerous condition of the protestant interest in Ireland requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that, next to the danger of unseasonable divisions amongst yourselves, nothing can be so fatal as too great delay in your consultations.

The States, by whom I have been enabled to rescue this nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their troops, which are now here, and of your early assistance against a powerful enemy,
who

who hath declared war against them: and as England is, by treaty, already engaged to help them, upon any such exigencies, so I am confident, that their cheerful concurrence to preserve this kingdom, with so much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the returns of friendship and assistance, which may be expected from you as protestants and Englishmen, whenever their condition shall require it.

Given at St. James's, this two and twentieth day of January, 1689.

Address by the Houses of Commons to his Highness the Prince of Orange, January 22, 1689.

WE the Commons, now assembled at Westminster, do, with all thankfulness, acknowledge the great deliverance this nation has received by the seasonable assistance which it has pleased Almighty God to put into your Highness's heart, to bring unto us against that power which had introduced popery and slavery; and for the care your Highness has been pleased to take in the administration of public affairs, in pursuance of the advice of divers Commoners of England, lately assembled, at your Highness's desire, in this extraordinary conjuncture.

In pursuance of the same advice, we are now met, and do sit, at Westminster, this twenty second day of January, being chosen upon your Highness's letters, directed to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, who have right to send members to Parliament, according to such right; and observing, that the desire and advice of that late assembly to your Highness, to take upon you the administration of public affairs, extended no further in time than this present twenty-second day of January; but, having in our eyes the same desirable ends for which that advice was given, the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, and the peace of the nation, do make it our unanimous request to your Highness, that you will continue the same administration in all particulars, in the aforesaid advice expressed, until further application, in reference thereto, shall be made to your Highness by us the City now assembled at Westminster as aforesaid.

Address by the Lords to his Highness the Prince of Orange, January 22, 1689.

WE the Lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, being highly sensible of the great deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power; and that our
preser-

preservation is (next under God) owing to your Highness, do return our most humble thanks and acknowledgment to your Highness, as the glorious instrument of so great a blessing to us.

We do further acknowledge the great care your Highness has been pleased to take in the administration of the public affairs of the kingdom to this time ; and we do most humbly desire your Highness, that you will take upon you the administration of public affairs, both civil and military, and the disposal of the public revenue, for the preservation of our religion, rights, laws, liberties, and properties, and of the peace of the nation ; and that your Highness will take into your particular care the present condition of Ireland, and endeavour, by the most speedy and effectual means, to prevent the dangers threatening that kingdom : all which we make our request to your Highness to undertake and exercise, till further application shall be made by us ; which shall be expedited with all convenient speed ; and shall use our utmost endeavours to give dispatch to the matters recommended to us by your Highness's letter.

His Highness's Answer, January 23, 1689.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM glad that what I have done hath pleased you ; and, since you desire me to continue the administration of affairs, I am willing to accept it. I must recommend to you the consideration of affairs abroad, which maketh it fit for you to expedite your business, not only for making a settlement at home upon a good foundation, but for the safety of all Europe.

Address to his Highness the Prince of Orange by the House of Commons, Jan. 29, 1689.

WE the knights, citizens, and burgeses, assembled at Westminster, do humbly represent to your Highness the great dangers and inconveniences that may happen to this nation, in this conjuncture, by the great number of shipping of this nation that at this season are going for France ; and therefore do make it our humble desire to your Highness, to take some effectual course, that an immediate stop be put to the going of any ships or vessels to France ; that so the seamen may be kept at home for the service of the nation.

Procla-

Proclamation by both Houses of Parliament, Feb. 12, 1689.

WHEREAS it hath pleased Almighty God, in his great mercy to this kingdom, to vouchsafe us a miraculous deliverance from popery and arbitrary power: and that our preservation is due, next under God, to the resolution and conduct of His Highness the Prince of Orange, whom God hath chosen to be the glorious instrument of such an inestimable happiness to us and our posterity: and, being highly sensible, and fully persuaded, of the great and eminent virtue of her Highness the Princess of Orange, whose zeal for the protestant religion will, no doubt, bring a blessing along with her upon this nation: and whereas the Lords and Commons, now assembled at Westminster, have made a declaration, and presented the same to the said Prince and Princess of Orange, and therein desired them to accept the crown: who have accepted the same accordingly: we, therefore, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, together with the lord mayor and citizens of London, and others of the Commons of this realm, do, with a full consent, publish and proclaim, according to the said declaration, William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, to be King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; who are, accordingly, so to be owned, deemed, accepted, and taken, by all the people of the aforesaid realms and dominions; who are, from henceforward, bound to acknowledge and pay unto them all faith and true allegiance: beseeching God, by whom kings reign, to bless King William and Queen Mary with long and happy years to reign over us.

God save King William and Queen Mary.

Declaration by both Houses by Parliament, Feb. 12, 1689.

WHEREAS the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers, employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom;

By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws without consent of Parliament;

By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the same assumed power;

By issuing and causing to be executed a commission, under the great seal, for erecting a court, called, The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes ;

By levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament ;

By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace without consent of Parliament ; and quartering soldiers contrary to law ;

By causing several good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law ;

By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament ;

By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament : and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses ;

And whereas, of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned, and served on juries in trials ; and, particularly, divers jurors, in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders ;

And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects ;

And excessive fines have been imposed ;

And illegal and cruel punishments inflicted ;

And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied ;

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm :

And whereas the said late King James the Second having abdicated the government ; and the throne being thereby vacant ;

His Highness the Prince of Orange, whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, did, by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons, cause letters to be written to the Lords spiritual and temporal, being protestants ; and other letters, to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the 22d day of January, in this year 1688, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion,
laws,

laws, and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted :

Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made ;

And thereupon, the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, (as their ancestors, in like case, have usually done) for the vindication and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare ;

That the pretended power of suspending of laws by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal :

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal :

That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious :

That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal :

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King ; and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal :

That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law :

That the subjects which are protestants may have arms for their defence, suitable to their conditions, as allowed by law :

That election of members of Parliament ought to be free :

That the freedom and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament :

That excessive bail ought not to be required ; nor excessive fines imposed ; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted :

That jurors ought to be impanelled and returned ; and judgments, which pass upon men in trials for high treason, ought to be freeholdes :

That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void :

And that, for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties ; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people, in any of the said premises, ought, in anywise, to be drawn hereafter into consequence, or example :

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange ; as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him ; and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted ; and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties ;

The said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve,

That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging ; to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them : and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives ; and, after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess : and, for default of such issue, to the Princess Ann of Denmark, and the heirs of her body : and, for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange.

And the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly.

And that the oaths, hereafter mentioned, be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them ; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance, to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

I *A. B.* do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope,

Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech, on receiving the Declaration,
Feb. 15, 1689.*

THIS is certainly the greatest proof of the trust you have in us that can be given; which is the thing that maketh us value it the more, and we thankfully accept what you have offered to us.

And, as I had no other intention in coming hither, than to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties, so you may be sure that I shall endeavour to support them: and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the good of the kingdom: and to do all that is in my power to advance the welfare and glory of the nation.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, Feb. 18, 1689.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE lately told you how sensible I am of your kindness, and how much I value the confidence you have reposed in me.

And I am come hither to assure you, that I shall never do any thing that may justly lessen your good opinion of me.

I think it necessary to acquaint you, that the condition of our allies abroad, and particularly that of Holland, is such, that, unless some speedy care be taken of them, they will run a greater hazard than you would have them exposed to.

You yourselves must be sensible, that the posture of affairs here require your serious consideration; and that a good settlement at home is necessary, not only for our own peace, but for the support of the protestant interest both here and abroad:

And particularly, the state of Ireland is such, that the dangers are grown too great to be obviated by any slow methods.

I must leave it to you to consider of the most effectual ways of preventing the inconveniencies which may arise by delays; and to judge what forms may be most proper to bring those things to pass, for the good of the nation, which I am confident

dent are in all your minds ; and which I, on my part, shall be always ready to promote.

His Majesty Message to the House of Commons, March 1, 1689.

WILLIAM REX.

HIS Majesty having been informed, that the revenue of the hearth-money is very grievous to the people, is therefore willing to agree, either to a regulation of it, or to the taking of it wholly away, as this House shall think most convenient : and as, in this, his Majesty doth consider the case of the subject, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful of the support of the crown.

Address to his Majesty by both Houses, March 1, 1789.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeses, in Parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration your Majesty's gracious message, wherein your Majesty is pleased to express your great goodness and sense of your people's condition, by your tender consideration, that the revenue of the hearth-money is very grievous to them ; and are pleased to agree, either to the regulation of it, or to the taking it wholly away. And as your Majesty is pleased in this, to consider the case of your people, we acknowledge ourselves obliged to declare, that your Majesty has filled our hearts with an entire satisfaction and gratitude, by this your most gracious and unprecedented offer : and we humbly crave leave to present this assurance to your Majesty, that we will make such grateful and affectionate returns, and be so careful of the support of the crown, that the world may see, to the discouraging of your enemies, and satisfaction of all good men, that your Majesty reigns in the hearts of your people : which God grant long to continue.

His Majesty's Answer, March 6, 1689.

I AM glad that I have done what is so acceptable to you : I shall always be ready to do any thing that may be for the ease of the subject, as well as for the safety and glory of the kingdom.

His

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 8, 1689.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IF any thing could add to the esteem and affection I have for Parliaments, and particularly for this, they would be much increased by the kindness you shew to me, and the zeal you express for the public good, in the address you have made, which, in the manner, as well as the matter, hath every thing in it that ought to recommend it to me.

I will assure you, that I will never abuse the confidence you shall put in me ; being fully persuaded, that there is no sure foundation of a good agreement between a King and his people, but by a mutual trust. When that is once broken, a government is half dissolved. It shall therefore be my chief care never to give any Parliament cause to distrust me : and the best method I can use for that purpose, is, never to expect any thing from them, but that which shall be their own interest to grant.

I came hither for the good of the kingdom ; and, since it is at your desire that I am in this station, I shall still pursue the same ends that brought me.

God hath been pleased to make me instrumental to redeem you from the ills you feared ; and it is still my desire, as well as my duty, to endeavour to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties ; which were the only inducements that brought me to England : and to those I ascribe the blessings that have attended this undertaking.

When I spoke last to you, I told you of the necessity of assisting our allies, and more especially the States of Holland, whose readiness to relieve you (at their so great hazard and expense) from the extremities you lay under, needs no other arguments to move you to the consideration of it.

As I was then a witness of their zeal and affection to promote the expedition, and to second my endeavours, even with a neglect of their own safety, so I am now sensible of the inevitable ruin they have drawn upon themselves by giving you this assistance, if you should not return it to them.

They have really exhausted themselves to such a degree, both in men and money, that it is not easily to be imagined : and I am confident your generosity will have as little bounds towards them, as their's had towards you ; and that you will not only enable me to make good the treaty with them, and repay what they have actually laid out upon this occasion, of which an account shall be given to you, but that you will further support them, to the utmost of your ability, against the power of their enemies ; who must be your's too, by their interest, and by

their religion ; and do certainly design the ruin of Holland to be a step to your destruction.

I need not take pains to tell you the deplorable condition of Ireland, which, by the zeal and violence of the Popish party there, and by the assistance and encouragements they have from France, is brought to that pass, that it is not adviseable to attempt the reducing of it otherwise than by a very considerable force, which, I think, ought not to be less than twenty thousand horse and foot : which, by the blessing of God, will make the work shorter, and, in consequence, the charge easier, though the first expense must be of necessity very great.

You are to consider, that, towards the more speedy and effectual success in relation to Ireland, as well as with regard to France, ~~there must be such a fleet, as may, in conjunction with the States, make us so entirely masters of the sea, that nothing can be sent from France, either to Ireland or any where else, that may give disturbances to us or our allies.~~

I must also recommend the consideration of the revenue to you, that it may be so settled, as that it may be collected without dispute.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

These things will amount to a great sum, and must, of consequence, be a present weight upon the people : but considering that neither your religion, nor your safety, can probably be secured without these means, I conclude you will think nothing can be too great a price for their preservation ; and I will engage my solemn word to you, that whatever you shall give, in order to these public ends, shall be strictly applied to them ; and that as you so freely offer to hazard all that is dear to you, so I shall as freely expose my life for the support of the protestant religion, and the safety and honour of the nation.

Address by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, presented March 13, 1689.

To the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, in Parliament assembled ;

WE the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled, presume to address ourselves to this honourable House, with our most humble thanks for your excellent conduct of affairs in this time of our great exigency and extremity, when our lives, our religion, and our estates, were so eminently threatened ; and especially, for your address to his Majesty, the fifth instant, declaring

declaring your resolution to assist and stand by his Majesty in supporting his allies abroad, in reducing Ireland, and in defence of the protestant religion, and laws of this kingdom.

Dated at Guildhall, the eighth day of March, 1689.

By order of the common council,

WAGSTAFFE.

After which the Sheriffs were introduced to the bar, and received the following thanks of the House.

Gentlemen,

THE House hath considered of the address you have presented from the city of London, and have commanded me to return you this answer :

That they have taken notice of the most eminent courage and constancy the city hath shewed in this late revolution, and the services they have done to the whole kingdom on this occasion, and particularly the advancing so considerable sums of money, as was lent by you to his Majesty, upon his first coming hither, at a time when the condition of the affairs of this kingdom did so much require it.

I am further commanded to tell you, that this House doth accept of your address with great kindness, and do give you their hearty thanks for the same ; with this further assurance, that your care for the public shall never fail of receiving from them the like returns.

Address to his Majesty, by both Houses, March 15, 1689.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received information, that divers officers and soldiers are in actual rebellion, and levying war within this kingdom, against your Majesty ; and that divers other soldiers, and traiterously affected persons, both within this kingdom and elsewhere, are corresponding with, and adhering to, those rebels and traitors ; do therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, to take such effectual course, as to your Majesty's wisdom shall seem meet, for the speedy suppression and bringing to justice the persons guilty thereof, with their adherents. And that, in the mean time, your Majesty will be pleased to issue forth your royal proclamation, declaring those persons, and their adherents, to be rebels and traitors ; and requiring all your good subjects to apprehend and profe-

cute them as such : that none may pretend ignorance of their duty by law in this case. The effect of such warning, we doubt not, will be a just terror to your enemies, and an encouragement to your Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects.

And we do humbly assure your Majesty, that, in further prosecution of that end, we shall be, at all times, ready to give your Majesty our humble advice and assistance, when your Majesty shall be pleased to require it.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 16, 1689.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

NOW I have the occasion of coming hither to pass this bill, which I hope will be for all our safeties, I shall put you in mind of one thing, which will conduce much to our settlement, as a settlement will, to the disappointment of our enemies.

I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in offices and places of trust by this late revolution.

I know you are sensible there is a necessity of some law, to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places.

I recommend it to your care, to make a speedy provision for it : and, as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against papists ; so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all protestants, that are willing and able to serve.

This conjunction in my service will tend to the better uniting you among yourselves, and the strengthening you against your common adversaries.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
March 25, 1689.*

WILLIAM REX.

HIS Majesty, out of an earnest desire to deliver his people from the guilt, reproach, and penalties, which many of them may be liable to ; and to put an end to all controversies arising between his subjects, by reason of any disorders in the late times ; and to take away all distinctions and occasions of discord among them, to the end that, they having an entire confidence in his Majesty, and perfect union amongst themselves, may be encouraged in their duty to his government, and more fully and securely enjoy the benefit of it : and his Majesty judging that the best way to render this his gracious purpose most extensive and effectual, is to pass an act of free and general

ral pardon, indemnity, and oblivion : his Majesty doth earnestly recommend the consideration thereof to both Houses of Parliament, that with all the expedition a matter of that kind will admit, they may prepare a bill for that purpose, for the royal assent ; with such exceptions only as to them shall seem necessary, for the vindication of public justice, the safety of their Majesties, and the settlement and welfare of the nation for the future.

Address of Thanks by the House of Commons, March 28, 1689.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons of England, now assembled in Parliament, being filled with joy and gratitude, by your most gracious message recommending to us the consideration of an act of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, humbly assure your Majesty, we now directly see, what we always believed, that justice and mercy are to be equally and indifferently extended and distributed to all your people in the administration of your government. This doth confirm our entire confidence in your sacred Majesty, and cannot but make us believe, and heartily hope, it will conduce much to a perfect union among your subjects. If any thing happen amiss, it must proceed from ourselves, and not from your Majesty ; since you are pleased to set no other bounds to your grace and clemency, than such as to your Parliament shall seem necessary. It is our duty, and shall ever be our principal care, to provide for your Majesty's safety, as well in this, as in all our proceedings, with exceptions agreeable to your most merciful purposes ; only, that we may manifest to the world, we desire to comply entirely with your Majesty's mercy, as far as is consistent with the security of your royal person and the government. As your Majesty hath been pleased to accept the imperial crown of this realm, so you are resolved all your good subjects shall partake of the blessings of your coronation ; which will oblige and dispose all good men to join and unite in all acts that may secure and support your Majesty's crown and government, under our present constitution and establishment, and never to depart from the same.

Message by his Majesty, April 1, 1689.

Gentlemen,

I AM pleased with doing what you like ; and do expect you will further proceed to expedite the indemnity and oblivion, which tends so much to an union : I shall be always forward to do my part in this, and all things that may unite my people.

Address by both Houses to the King, April 13, 1689.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do, with the utmost duty and affection render to your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks, for your gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that you will maintain the church of England, established by law, which your Majesty hath been pleased to rescue from that dangerous conspiracy that was laid for its destruction, with the hazard of your royal person.

The doctrine and practice of the church of England have evinced her loyalty, beyond the contradiction of her most malicious enemies ; and the misfortunes of former princes can be attributed to nothing more than their endeavours to subvert it, and disable the members thereof from contributing to their support and defence.

We therefore humbly pray your Majesty will be graciously pleased to continue your care for the preservation of the same ; whereby you will effectually establish your throne, by securing the hearts of your Majesty's subjects within these your realms ; who can no way better shew their zeal for your service, than by a firm adherence to that church, whose constitution is best suited to the support of this monarchy.

We likewise humbly pray, that according to the ancient practice and usage of this kingdom in time of Parliament, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to issue out your writs for calling a convocation of the clergy of this kingdom, to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters ; assuring your Majesty, it is our intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to protestant dissenters.

Speech by the Speaker to his Majesty, April 13, 1689.

YOUR most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons of England, assembled in this present Parliament, having, to their unspeakable joy, seen your Majesties placed upon the imperial throne of this kingdom, they have desired access at this time to your royal presence, humbly to congratulate your Majesties upon this occasion, and to wish your Majesties a long and prosperous reign, with all the blessings that ever did attend a crown.

We are all sensible that your Majesties greatness is the security of your subjects: it is from your power that we derive to ourselves an assurance of being defended from our enemies; and from your justice, that we expect a full enjoyment of our laws and liberties: but that which completes our happiness, is, the experience we have of your Majesties continual care to maintain the protestant religion; so that we can no longer apprehend any danger of being deprived of that inestimable blessing, either by secret practices, or by open violence.

To the King.—May the same Divine Providence which hath hitherto preserved your Majesty in the greatest dangers, and so often given you victory over your enemies, still crown your undertakings with success.

To the Queen.—And may those unparalleled virtues which adorn your Majesty's royal person, be the admiration of the present age, and an example to the future.

And may the lustre of both your names so far outshine the glory of your predecessors, that the memory of their greatest actions may be forgotten, and your people no longer date the establishment of their laws and liberties from St. Edward's days, but from the most auspicious reign of King William and Queen Mary.

His Majesty's Answer, April 13, 1689.

Gentlemen,

WE return you our hearty thanks for the kindness and respects that you have, upon all occasions, shewed to both of us: we shall take care, to the best of our power, of all things that conduce to the good of the kingdom; and I doubt not, but by God's assistance and your's, we shall be able, in a short time, to make you a flourishing people.

Address by the House of Commons, April 19, 1689.

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our most serious consideration the condition and state of this nation, in respect of France, and foreign alliances, in order to which we have examined the mischiefs brought upon Christendom, in late years, by the French King; who, without any respect to justice, has, by fraud and force, endeavoured to subject it to an universal monarchy.

In prosecution of this design, so pernicious to the repose and safety of Europe, he has neglected none of those means, how indirect soever, which his ambition or avarice could suggest to him: the faith of treaties among all princes, especially Christian princes, ever held most inviolable, has never been able to restrain him, nor the solemnest oaths to bind him, when any occasion presented itself for extending the limits of his kingdom, or oppressing those whom his interest inclined him to qualify by the name of his enemies: witness his haughty and groundless declaration of war against the States General of the United Provinces, in the year 1672; in which he assigned no other reason for disturbing that profound peace, which, through God's mercy, all Europe enjoyed at that time, but his own glory, and his resolution to punish the Dutch for some imaginary slights and disrespectts, which he would have had the world believe they had put upon him; whereas the true occasion of that war was nothing else but a formed design, laid down and agreed upon by that King and his accomplices, for the subversion of the liberties of Europe, and for abolishing the commonwealth of Holland, as being too dangerous an example of liberty to the subjects of the neighbouring monarchs. The zeal for catholic religion, which was pretended by him in this and the following wars, did afterwards sufficiently appear to the world to be no other than a cloak for his unmeasurable ambition; for, at the same time, when the persecution grew hottest against the protestants of France, letters were intercepted and published from him to Count Teckley, to give him the greatest encouragement, and promise him the utmost assistance in the war, which, in conjunction with the Turk, he then managed against the first and greatest of all the Roman Catholic princes.

Witness also the many open infractions of the treaties both of Aix-la-Chapelle and Nimeguen, (whereof your Majesty is the strongest guarantee,) upon the most frivolous pretences imaginable, of which the most usual was that of dependencies;

an invention set on foot on purpose to serve for a pretext of rupture with all his neighbours, unless they chose rather to satisfy his endless demands, by abandoning one place after another to his insatiable appetite of empire : and, for maintaining whereof, the two chambers of Metts and Brissach were erected, to find out and forge titles, and to invent equivocable constructions for eluding the plain meaning of treaties concluded, and sworn with the greatest solemnity : than which nothing can be more sacred among mankind.

From hence it was also, that Straßburgh was so infamously surpris'd by the French King, in a time of full peace : and though great conditions were agreed and promised to the inhabitants of that city, yet no sooner was he in possession of it, but all stipulations were forgotten, and that ancient free city doth now groan under the same yoke with the rest of that King's subjects.

The building the fort of Hunninghen, contrary to so many solemn assurances given to the Swisses, and the affair of Luxemburgh, are too well known to need a particular deduction : in a word, the whole series of the French King's actions, for many years last past, has been so ordered, as if it were his intention not only to render his own people extremely miserable, by intolerable impositions of taxes, to be employed in maintaining an incredible number of dragoons, and other soldiers, to be the instruments of his cruelty, upon such of them as refuse, in all things, to comply with his unjust demands ; but likewise, to hold all the neighbouring powers in perpetual alarm and expence for the maintaining of armies and fleets, that they may be in a posture to defend themselves against the invader of their common safety and liberties.

Examples of this sort might be innumerable ; but his invasion of Flanders and Holland, since the last truce of 1684, and the outrages committed upon the Empire, by attacking the fort of Philipburgh, without any declaration of war, at the same time that his Imperial Majesty was employing all his forces against the common enemy of the christian faith ; and his wasting the Palatinate with fire and sword, and murdering an infinite number of innocent persons, for no other reason, as himself has publicly declared, but because he thought the Elector Palatine faithful to the interest of the Empire, and an obstacle to the compassing of his ambitious designs ; are sufficient instances of this.

These we cannot but, with a particular resentment, add the injuries done to your Majesty, in the most unjust and violent forcing of your principality of Orange, and the utmost insolencies committed upon the persons of your Majesty's subjects ;
there ;

there ; and how to facilitate his conquest upon his neighbour princes, he engaged the Turks in a war against Christendom at the same time.

And, as if the violating of treaties, and ravaging the countries of his neighbour states, were not sufficient means of advancing his exorbitant power and greatness, he has constantly had recourse to the vilest and meanest arts, for the ruin of those whom he had taken upon him to submit to his will and power ; insinuating himself by his emissaries, under the sacred name and character of public ministers, into those who were intrusted in the government of kingdoms and states, suborning them by gifts and pensions, to the selling their masters and betraying their trusts ; and descending even to intrigues by women, who were sent or married into the countries of divers potent princes, to lie as snakes in their bosoms to eat out their bowels, or to insil that poison into them, that might prove the destruction of them and their countries : of which Poland, Savoy, and Spain, to mention no more at present, can give but too ample testimonies.

The insolent use he has made of his ill-gotten greatness, has been as extravagant as the means of procuring it : for this, the single instance of Genoa may suffice : which, without the least notice, or any ground of a quarrel whatsoever, was bombarded by the French fleet ; and the Doge, and four principal senators of that free state, constrained in person to humble themselves at that monarch's feet, which, in the style of France, is called chastising sovereigns, for casting umbrage upon his greatness.

His practices against England have been of the same nature ; and by corrupt means, he has constantly, and with too much success, endeavoured to get such power in the court of England, in the time of King Charles the Second, and the late King James, as might, by degrees, undermine the government and true interest of this flourishing kingdom.

Another art which he has used to weaken England, and subject it to his designs, was, never to admit an equal balance of trade, nor consent to any just treaty or settlement of commerce ; by which he promoted our ruin at our own charge.

When, from a just apprehension of this formidable growing power of France, the nation became zealous to right themselves ; and the House of Commons, in the year 1677, being assured they should have an actual war against France, cheerfully raised a great sum of money ; and an army as readily appeared to carry on the war ; that interest of France had still power enough to render all this ineffectual, and to frustrate the expectation of all their hopes and expectations.

Nor

Nor did France only render this desired war ineffectual, but had power enough to make us practise their injustice and barbarity, by turning our force against our next neighbours, by assaulting their Smyrna fleet.

Nor were they more industrious, by corrupt means, to obtain this power, than careful, by the same ways, to support it: and knowing that from Parliaments only could probably proceed an obstruction to their secret practices, they attempted to make a bargain, that they should not meet in such a time, in which they might hope to perfect their designs of enslaving the nation.

In the same confidence of this power, they violently seized upon part of Hudson's Bay; and, when the matter was complained of by the Company, and the injury offered to be proved, the best expedient France could find to cover their injustice, and prevent satisfaction, was to make use of their great interest in the court of England, to keep it from ever coming to be heard.

The French King, in pursuance of his usual methods of laying hold of any opportunity that might increase his power, and give disturbance to others, has now carried on an actual war in Ireland, sending thither a great number of officers with money, arms, and ammunition; and, under the pretence of assisting the late King James, he has taken the government of affairs into his hands, by putting all officers into commands, and managing the whole business by his ministers; and has already begun to use the same cruelties and violences upon your Majesty's subjects there, as he has lately practised in his own dominions, and in all other places where he has got power enough to destroy.

Lastly, the French King's declaration of war against the crown of Spain is wholly grounded upon its friendship to your Majesty's royal person: and no other cause of denouncing war against it is therein alleged, than the resolutions taken in that court to favour your Majesty, whom he most injuriously terms, the usurper of England; an insolence never enough to be re-sented and detested by your Majesty's subjects.

After our humble representation of all these particulars to your Majesty, if your Majesty shall think fit to enter into a war against France, we humbly assure your Majesty, that we will give you such assistance in a parliamentary way, as shall enable your Majesty to support and go through the same: and we shall not doubt, but, by the blessing of God upon your Majesty's prudent conduct, a stop may be put to that growing greatness of the French King, which threatens all Christendom with no less than absolute slavery; the incredible quantity of
innocent

innocent blood shed may be revenged ; his oppressed neighbours restored to their just rights and possessions ; your Majesty's alliances, and the treaty of Nimeguen, supported to that degree, that all Europe in general, and this nation in particular, may for ever have occasion to celebrate your Majesty as the great maintainer of justice and liberty, and the overthrower of all violence, cruelty, and arbitrary power.

His Majesty's Answer, April 20, 1689.

WILLIAM REX.

THOUGH I have had many occasions of assuring you, that I will maintain the church of England, as by law established ; yet I am well pleased with every opportunity of repeating those promises which I am resolved to perform by supporting this church ; whose loyalty, I doubt not, will enable me to answer your just expectations.

And as my design in coming hither was to rescue you from the miseries you laboured under, so it is a great satisfaction to me, that by the success God has given me, I am in a station of defending this church, which has effectually shewn her zeal against popery, and shall always be my peculiar care : and I do hope, the ease you design to dissenters will contribute very much to the establishment of this church ; which therefore, I do earnestly recommend to you, that the occasions of differences, and mutual animosities, may be removed : and, as soon as conveniently may be, I will summon a convocation.

Address by the House of Commons, April 25, 1689.

To the King's most excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees,
in Parliament assembled.

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, most humbly lay before your Majesty our earnest desire, that your Majesty will be pleased to take into your most serious consideration the destructive methods taken, of late years, by the French King, against the trade, quiet, and interest of this your kingdom ; and, particularly, the pretended invasion of the kingdom of Ireland, and supporting your Majesty's rebellious subjects there ; not doubting, in the least, but that, through your Majesty's wisdom, the alliances already made, with such as may hereafter be concluded on this occasion by your Majesty, may be effectual to reduce the French King to such a condition, that he may not be in his power hereafter to violate the peace of
Christen-

Christendom, nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of this your Majesty's kingdom.

To this end, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to rest assured, upon this our solemn and hearty promise and engagement, that, when you shall think fit to enter into a war against the French King, we will give your Majesty such assistance, in a parliamentary way, as may enable your Majesty (under that protection and blessing God Almighty has ever afforded you,) to support and go through with the same.

His Majesty's Answer, April 26, 1689.

WILLIAM REX.

I RECEIVE this address as a mark of the confidence you have in me; which I take very kindly, and shall endeavour by all my actions to confirm you in it.

I assure you, that my own ambition shall never be an argument to incline me to engage in a war, that may expose the nation either to danger or expense.

But, in the present case, I look upon the war, so much already declared, in effect, by France against England, that it is not so properly an act of choice, as an inevitable necessity in our defence.

I shall only tell you, that, as I have ventured my life, and all that is dear to me, to rescue this nation from what it suffered, I am ready still to do the same, in order to the preserving it from all its enemies. And, as I do not doubt of such an assistance from you, as shall be suitable to your advice to me, to declare war against a powerful enemy; so you may rely upon me, that no part of that which you shall give for the carrying it on with success, shall be diverted by me to any other use.

Address by the House of Commons, June 15, 1689.

WE, your Majesties most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our serious and tender considerations the many great sufferings of the protestant nobility and gentry of Ireland, with their zeal for the protestant religion, your Majesties service, the interest of England in that Kingdom, and love to our nation, have exposed them to, whereby great numbers have been forced to fly hither, deprived of all their real estates, as well as personal; so that they are thereby reduced to the most pressing necessities, and are become great objects of
compassion;

compassion ; being the only body of protestants that are ruined by the late happy revolution, which hath wrought so great a deliverance, not only for the rest of your Majesties subjects, but for all the protestant interest in Europe ; most heartily crave leave, on their behalf, to offer their deplorable condition to your Majesties most princely consideration.

And whereas they are, by reason of their numbers, very apprehensive of their being and continuing a burden and charge to this kingdom, while they remain in such condition unemployed ; and that many of them are, for their interest in, and knowledge of that kingdom, as well as experience in military affairs (having served there, and thereby inured to the country,) well qualified to serve under your Majesty for the reducing thereof ; and all of them pressing and forward for that service, as well as to redeem their wives, children, and friends, or relations, from the present slavery, and miserable oppression they groan under :

1. We humbly recommend such of the said nobility and gentry, as are fit for military employments, as very proper persons for reducing of that kingdom to its due obedience to the crown.

2. That such of them as are not fit for such employments as your Majesty shall have opportunity, be put into such civil employments as they are capable of, according to their several abilities and professions.

3. For the present supply of the great necessities of the said nobility and gentry of Ireland, we humbly pray, that the sum of fifteen thousand pounds be forthwith distributed among them, according to a list of distribution : and that, for a further and standing fund for their future subsistence, until Ireland be reduced, your Majesties will be graciously pleased to issue forth your royal proclamation, requiring all papists beyond the seas, who have estates in England, and all protestants that are in arms, or otherwise engaged in service against your Majesties, if any such there be, to return within some convenient time : and, that the estates of all such as shall not give obedience thereunto, shall be seized into your Majesties hands for the relief of the nobility and gentry who are, or shall be, deprived of their estates there. And we are the rather induced to make this our humble supplication to your Majesties, on behalf of the said nobility and gentry, because we esteem ourselves obliged to afford them present relief and support, to represent the speedy recovery of the kingdom of Ireland, of great importance to this in all respects, as your Majesties and the nation's true interest : and we do humbly beseech your Majesty to take the consideration of the Duke of Ormond, and his great merits and sufferings,

ings, into your particular and royal consideration : and that your Majesty will be pleased also to consider of the rest of the nobility and gentry already fled, and daily coming from Ireland, that remain unprovided for.

And that your Majesties favour and bounty to the said nobility and gentry may be distributed with the greater ease and advantage, we do humbly recommend to your Majesty, that what you shall be graciously pleased to advance for their present supply and relief, you will be pleased to order the same to be paid into the chamber of London, or such other place as your Majesty shall judge convenient, with as much expedition as the present urgency of your affairs will admit; to be thence paid out for them respectively, with as little charge and trouble of attendance as may be.

Joint Address by both Houses to his Majesty, June 18, 1689.

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our consideration the great importance the isles of Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey, are to your Majesty's dominions, and the great danger to which they are exposed during this war with France, do in most humble manner represent to your Majesty, that we are informed that the isle of Wight may be put into a posture of defence in a small time, and with a small charge. And we do humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to send, with all expedition, a supply of troops, provisions, and stores, to all these places; and particularly to order some men of war to Guernsey and Jersey, that may constantly attend there for the better defence of those islands; and likewise to give such further orders for the security of the isles of Man, Scilly, and Anglesey, and of the cinque-ports, Milford, Pendennis, and Falmouth, and all other places that lie opposite to France and Ireland, as your Majesty, in your princely wisdom, shall think fit. And we further desire your Majesty to give effectual order, that the act for confining papists within five miles of their own houses, and the law lately made for disarming papists and reputed papists, and for taking away their horses, may be forthwith executed: and in order thereunto that the judges may be directed to give these acts in charge to the justices of the peace in their several circuits; and particularly that they examine whether any protestants have, contrary to that act, owned such horses as in truth belong to papists.

We

We humbly lay these things before your Majesty, as considering them to be of great importance to the safety of your Majesty's person, government, and dominions.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 29, 1689.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE time of the year being so far advanced, and there being several acts yet to be passed for the safety and settlement of the nation, I desire you would expedite them as soon as you can, it being necessary there should shortly be a recess, both that I may be at liberty to pursue the business of Ireland with all possible vigour, and that the members of both Houses may repair to their several counties, to secure the peace, and to put the militia into some better posture.

I am very sensible of the zeal and good affection, which you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, have shewed to the public in giving those supplies you have done already; and I do not doubt, but, from the same inducements, you will be ready to give more as the occasions require; which, I must let you know, will be sooner perhaps than you may expect, because the necessary expence of this year will much exceed the sums you have yet provided for it. And, that you may make the truer judgment in that matter, I am very willing you should see how all the monies have been hitherto laid out: and to that end I have commanded those accounts to be speedily brought to you: by which you will see how very little of the revenue has been applied to any other use, than that of the navy and the land forces.

I must remind you of making an effectual and timely provision of the money for the States of Holland; and I doubt not but you will take care to see a fitting revenue settled for myself.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I will add no more, but to recommend earnestly to you, to avoid all occasions of dispute, or delay, at a time that requires union and vigour in your counsels, upon which the preservation of all that is dear to us doth so much depend. And I do promise, that nothing shall ever be wanting on my part, that may contribute towards it.

Address by the House of Commons, July 15, 1689.

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgessees, in Parliament assembled, out of a sincere duty and affection to support your Majesty's crown and dignity, and the safety, honour, and welfare of your subjects, being deeply sensible of the deplorable condition of your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, which, notwithstanding your Majesty's great and constant care thereof, is, for the most part, over-run by your Majesties' declared enemies, the French, in conjunction with Irish rebels, occasioned, as we humbly conceive, by the neglect or ill conduct of some persons employed in the management of the affairs relating to that kingdom; and to the end that we may be enabled to give your Majesty such advice as may prevent the like miscarriages for the future, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to permit such members as shall be appointed by this House, to inspect the books of the privy council and Irish committee, and all other proceedings relating to Ireland, from the twenty-seventh day of December, 1688, to the first day of June, 1689, and to take copies of such orders and instructions therein, as relate to the affairs of Ireland: and we humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that this our address proceeds from no other motive, than our hearty desire to manifest that zeal and duty which we shall always retain for your Majesty's person and government.

*Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons,
July 19, 1689.*

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, humbly represent to your Majesty's consideration the distressed condition of the protestant nobility and gentry of your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, whose estates are seized by the papists for their refusing to join with them in the present rebellion against your Majesty, whereby they are become destitute of all means to support themselves and their families.

We therefore make it our humble petition to your Majesty, that until such time that the kingdom be reduced to your Majesty's obedience and subjection, and they restored to their just rights and estates, your Majesty would be pleased to appoint a fund of credit for such as will lend money for their relief: and we shall, with all thankfulness, reimburse what your Majesty shall advance upon this urgent and charitable occasion.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 19, 1699.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THOUGH the last sitting continued so long, that, perhaps, it might have been more agreeable to you, in relation to your private concerns, not to have met again so soon; yet the interest of the public lays an indispensable obligation upon me to call you together at this time. In your last meeting, you gave me so many testimonies of your affection, as well as confidence in me, that I do not . . . all question, but in this I shall receive fresh proofs of both.

I esteem it one of the greatest misfortunes can befall me, that, in the beginning of my reign, I am forced to ask such large supplies: though I have this satisfaction, that they are desired for no other purpose but the carrying on those wars, into which I entered with your advice, and assurance of your assistance: nor can I doubt of the blessing of God upon an undertaking, wherein I did not engage out of a vain ambition, but from the necessity of opposing those, who have so visibly discovered their designs of destroying our religion and liberties.

It is well known how far I have exposed myself to rescue this nation from the dangers that threatened not only your liberty, but the protestant religion in general, of which the Church of England is one of the greatest supports, and for the defence whereof I am ready again to venture my life.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

That which I have to ask of you at present, is, that . . . you think fit to give towards the charges of the war, for this next year, may be done without delay: and there is one reason, which more particularly obliges me to press you to a speedy determination in this matter; because this next month, there is appointed at the Hague, a general meeting of the ministers of all the princes and states concerned in the war against France, in order to concert the measures for the next campaign: and, till I know your intentions, I shall not only be uncertain myself, what resolutions to take, but our allies will be under the same doubts, unless they see me supported by your assistance: besides, if I know not in time, what you will do, I cannot make such provisions as will be requisite, but shall be exposed to the same inconveniencies the next year, which are the cause, that the preparations for this were neither so effectual nor expeditious as was necessary. The charge will also be considerably lessened by giving time to provide things in their proper season, and without confusion. I have no other aim

aim in this, but to be in a condition to attack our enemies in so vigorous a manner, as, by the help of God, in a little time, may bring us to a lasting and honourable peace, by which my subjects may be freed from the extraordinary expenses of a lingering war: and, that I can have no greater satisfaction, than in contributing to their ease, I hope I have already given proof. That you may be satisfied how the money has been laid out, which you have already given, I have directed the accounts to be laid before you, when you think fit to call for them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have one thing more to recommend to you, which is, the dispatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of my good subjects being quieted, we may all unanimously concur to promote the welfare and honour of the kingdom.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, Nov. 29, 1689.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being filled with the deepest and most sincere affection to your Majesty's royal person, and out of the most tender regard to your Majesty's and your people's safety, and the honour of your government, do most humbly represent to your Majesty the extreme danger we conceive the nation and your Majesty's affairs to be in, by the employment of persons in the greatest trust, who are so far from being faithful to your Majesty's and your people's interest, that they have corruptly and treacherously endeavoured the destruction of both: especially Mr. John Shales, who was made commissary-general of the provisions for your Majesty's army in Ireland, notwithstanding he was notoriously known to be popishly affected, and to have served the late King James as his commissary. The mischiefs which have happened by the employment of this man are very great, and of such a nature, as, without God's infinite mercy to your Majesty and this nation, might entirely have defeated your Majesty's good intentions, and the effect of the resolutions of this House, in order to the reducing of Ireland to its due obedience to your Majesty. In particular, when that experienced General, Duke Schomberg went, by your Majesty's command, into Ireland; he left strict orders for the speedy transporting the ordnance and horse, designed for the service of that kingdom: and it pleased God to bless his first attempts to that degree, that, if the said orders had been executed, your Majesty's affairs in Ireland had been in a much better posture than they now are. But the said

Commissary Shales, partly to satisfy his own covetousness, and partly out of disaffection to your Majesty's service, did delay the execution of the said orders for several weeks; by reason whereof your Majesty's forces were not only disabled for pursuing the advantages they had gained upon the enemy, but were also necessitated to encamp at Dundalk, which occasioned the loss of some thousands of your Majesty's subjects. Wherefore, we the knights, citizens, and burgessees, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly desire, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to let this House know who recommended Commissary Shales to your Majesty, and advised his being employed, to the end that we may be the better enabled to offer to your Majesty such humble advice, as may tend to the preservation of your Majesty's royal person and government.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Nov. 30, 1689.

WILLIAM REX.

HIS Majesty having already declared his resolutions to prosecute the war in Ireland with the utmost vigour; and being desirous to use the means that may be most satisfactory and effectual in order to it, is graciously pleased that this House do recommend a number of persons, not exceeding seven, to be commissioned by his Majesty to take care of the provisions, and such other preparations as shall be necessary for that service.

His Majesty is further pleased to let the House know, that, upon consideration of the address of the eleventh of November, he gives them leave to nominate some persons to go over into Ireland, to take an account of the number of the army there, and the state and condition of it, who shall receive his Majesty's orders accordingly.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Nov. 11, 1689.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, having a due sense of the eminent virtues and merits of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Anne of Denmark, and how instrumental they have been in contributing to your Majesty's glorious success in the late happy revolution, do unanimously beseech your Majesty to make a provision for the Prince and Princess Anne of Denmark, of fifty thousand pounds in the whole, for the year, beginning at Christmas next: and that your Majesty will

will be pleased to direct the same to be effectually paid to the Prince and Princess Anne of Denmark, by equal portions, at the four most usual quarterly days of payment.

Address by the House of Commons, December 11, 1689.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful subjects the Commons, in Parliament assembled, have seriously taken into our consideration the state of the nation; and being deeply sensible of the ill conduct of public affairs, and the unhappy success of them, as well in reference in Ireland, as to your Majesty's armies and fleet; do think ourselves obliged, in duty to your Majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us by those we represent, most humbly to lay before your Majesty the wrong that hath been done to your Majesty and your people; and the present imminent danger of this kingdom, and of all your Majesty's protestant subjects; from the want of ability or integrity in those who have had the direction of the said affairs, and by whose advice, not only the reducing of Ireland has been obstructed, but the treasure of this kingdom wasted, and the lives of many brave soldiers and able seamen lost, without any such suitable effect as might reasonably have been expected.

We cannot but reflect, with the utmost grief, upon the neglect of relieving Ireland during the first months of your Majesty's administration, when your Majesty's ministers did not use such effectual means as were apparently necessary to have prevented a war in the said kingdom. And when the Earl of Tyrconnel had levied forces to oppress and destroy your Majesty's protestant subjects, neither men, money, nor arms were, for a long time, sent to enable them to defend themselves and their country: insomuch that, without mentioning other particulars, several thousands of them perished miserably in the town of Londonderry for want of timely succour: and when, after many neglects and delays, an army was appointed for Ireland, necessary provisions were wanting, and matters so ordered, that the endeavours of your Parliament, and the supplies granted for that service, proved ineffectual; at the same time that many such experienced officers, as were known to be enemies to your Majesty and your government, were suffered to go beyond the seas, where they entered into the late King James's service, and have, since that time, been his chief instruments for carrying on the war in Ireland.

The miscarriages, in reference to the fleet, have been as destructive to your Majesty's and your people's interest as those in the army; many of your Majesty's subjects have been ruined, and others greatly damaged in their estates, by the want of station ships and convoys; and some sea officers, whose duty it was to have convoyed the ships of English subjects, exacted money from merchants, and unnecessarily pressed their men; by which means trade was discouraged, your Majesty's customs diminished, and many of your loyal subjects impoverished: your Majesty's fleet was also served with unwholesome and corrupted provisions, which caused the death of many of your best seamen, and has deterred many others from the service.

It will be too tedious to multiply instances of miscarriages and ill conduct in your Majesty's affairs, through the ill advice of those who have undertaken the management of them, to which the success in all points has been answerable.

Our remedy, under God, consists in your Majesty's wisdom and affection to your people, which, we doubt not, will incline your Majesty to hearken to the advice of us, your dutiful Commons, who do most humbly beseech your Majesty to take the abovesaid matters into your consideration; and, in your great wisdom, to examine into, and find out the authors of, miscarriages; and to appoint affairs to be managed by persons unsuspected, and more to the safety of your Majesty, and the satisfaction of your subjects.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 20, 1690.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM resolved to leave nothing unattempted on my part, which may contribute to the peace and prosperity of this nation: and, finding my presence in Ireland will be absolutely necessary for the more speedy reducing of that kingdom, I continue my resolution of going thither as soon as may be: and I have now called you together for your assistance, to enable me to prosecute that war with speed and vigour: in which I assure myself of your cheerful concurrence, being a work so necessary for your own liberties.

In order to this, I desire you will forthwith make a settlement of the revenue; and I cannot doubt, but you will therein have as much regard for the honour and dignity of the monarchy in my hands, as hath been lately shewed to others: and I have so great confidence in you, that if no quicker or more convenient way can be found for the raising of ready money (without

which the service cannot be performed) I shall be very well content, for the present, to have it made such a fund of credit, as may be useful to yourselves, as well as me, in this conjuncture; not having the least apprehensions, but that you will provide for the taking off all such anticipations as it shall happen to fall under.

It is sufficiently known, how earnestly I have endeavoured to extinguish, or at least compose, all differences amongst my subjects; and, to that end, how often have I recommended an act of indemnity to the last Parliament! but since that part of it, which related to the preventing of private suits, is already enacted; and because debates of that nature must take up more of your time than can now be spared, from the dispatch of those other things which are absolutely necessary for our common safety; I intend to send you an act of grace, with exceptions of some few persons only, but such as may be sufficient to shew my great dislike of their crimes; and, at the same time, my readiness to extend protection to all my other subjects; who will thereby see, that they can thereby recommend themselves to me by no other methods than what the laws prescribe; which shall always be the only rules of my government.

A farther reason, which induceth me to send you this act, at this time, is, because I am desirous to leave no colour of excuse to any of my subjects, for the raising of disturbances in the government, and especially in the time of my absence: and I say this, both to inform you, and to let some ill-affected men see, that I am not unacquainted, how busy they are in their present endeavours to alter it.

Amongst other encouragements which I find they give themselves, one of the ways by which they hope to compass their designs, is, by creating differences and disagreements in your councils; which, I hope, you will be very careful to prevent: for, be assured, that our greatest enemies can have no better instruments for their purposes, than those who shall any ways endeavour to disturb or delay your speedy and unanimous proceeding upon these necessary matters.

I must recommend also to your consideration an union with Scotland. I do not mean it should now be entered upon: but they having proposed this to me some time since, and the Parliament there having nominated commissioners for that purpose, I should be glad that commissioners might also be nominated here to treat with them, and to see if such terms could be agreed on, as might be for the benefit of both nations; so as to be ready to be presented to you in some future session.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have thought it most convenient to leave the administration of the government in the hands of the Queen during my absence ; and, if it shall be judged necessary to have an act of Parliament for the better confirmation of it to her, I desire you would let such an one be prepared, to be presented to me.

I have this only to add, that the season of the year, and my journey into Ireland, will admit of but a very short session ; so that I must recommend to you the making such dispatch, that we may not be engaged in debates when our enemies shall be in the field : for the success of the war, and the more thrifty management of it, will both principally depend upon your speedy resolutions : and I hope it will not be long before we shall meet again, to perfect what the time will not now allow to be done.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 23, 1690.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE have had such assurance of your good affections to me, that I come now to thank you ; and particularly for the supplies you have given me : the season of the year is so far advanced, that I can no longer delay my going into Ireland ; and therefore I think it necessary to have an adjournment of the Parliament.

And although it shall be but to a short day, yet, unless some great occasion require it, (of which you shall have due notice) I do not intend you shall sit to do business until the winter ; and I hope, by the blessing of God, we then shall have a happy meeting.

In the mean time, I recommend to you the discharge of your duties in your respective counties, that the peace of the nation may be secured by your vigilance and care in your several stations.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 2, 1690.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE I last met you, I have used my best endeavours to reduce Ireland into such a condition this year, as that it might be no longer a charge to England : and it has pleased God to bless my endeavours with such success, that I doubt not but I should have been fully possessed of that kingdom by this

this time, had I been enabled to have gone into the field as soon as I should have done ; and, as is more especially necessary in Ireland, where the rains are so great, and begin so early.

I think myself obliged to take notice, how well the army there have behaved themselves on all occasions, and borne great hardships with little pay ; and with so much patience and willingness, as could not proceed but from an affectionate duty to my service, and a zeal for the protestant religion.

I have already made it evident, how much I have preferred the satisfaction of my subjects before the most solid advantages of the crown, by parting with so considerable a branch of its inheritance : and it is no less apparent, that I have asked no revenue for myself, but what I have readily subjected to be charged to the uses of the war.

I did, at my departure, give order for all the public accounts to be made ready for me against my return ; and I have commanded them to be laid before the House of Commons : by which they will see, that the real want of what was necessary beyond the funds given, and the not getting, in due time, that for which funds were assigned, have been the principal causes why the army is in so much arrear of their pay, and the stores, both for the navy and the ordnance, not supplied as they ought to be.

Now, as I have neither spared my person nor my pains to do you all the good I could ; so I doubt not, but if you will as cheerfully do your parts, it is in your power to make both me and yourselves happy, and the nation great : and, on the other hand, it is too plain, by what the French have let you see so lately, that, if the present war be not prosecuted with vigour, no nation in the world is exposed to greater danger.

I hope therefore, there will need no more upon that subject, than to lay before you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the state of what will be necessary for the support of the fleet and armies, which cannot possibly admit of being lessened in the year ensuing ; and to recommend to your care the clearing of my revenue, so as to enable me to subsist, and to maintain the charge of the civil list ; the revenue being so engaged, that it must be wholly applied, after the first of November next, to pay off the debts already charged upon it : and, therefore, a present consideration must be had of the arrears of the army, which shall likewise be laid before you ; and for all which I must desire a sufficient and timely supply.

It is further necessary to inform you, that the whole support of the confederacy abroad will absolutely depend upon the speed and vigour of your proceedings in this session.

And

And here I must take notice, with great satisfaction of the readiness which my subjects, of all degrees, have shewn both in this city, and in their several countries, by giving their assistances so cheerfully as they did in my absence, while the French fleet was upon our coasts; and, besides this so convincing mark of the good inclinations of my people, I have found, through all the countries where I paſſed, both at my going into Ireland, and in my return from thence, such demonstrations of their affections, that I have not the least doubt but I shall find the same from their representatives in Parliament.

I cannot conclude, without taking notice also, how much the honour of the nation has been exposed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the last summer's engagement against the French; and I think myself so much concerned to see it vindicated, that I cannot rest satisfied till an example has been made of such as shall be found faulty upon their examination and trial: which was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad; but is now put into the proper way of being done as soon as may be.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

I look upon the future well-being of this kingdom to depend upon the result of your counsels and determinations at this time; and the benefit will be double by the speed of your resolutions, inſomuch, that I hope you will agree with me in this conclusion, that whoever goes about to obstruct or divert your applications to these matters, preferably to all others, can neither be my friend, nor the kingdom's.

Two Addresses by the Commons, October 8, 1690.

To the KING.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, assembled in Parliament, do beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, the grateful sense we have of that unparalleled goodness and tender affection to your people; which, for the rescuing your kingdom of Ireland from a tyrannous and foreign yoke, and easing your subjects of this kingdom of the excessive charge of a lingering war, did induce you to undertake a hazardous voyage, and too freely to expose to all the dangers of war, that invaluable life, upon which the whole protestant interest, and the common liberty of Europe, does

does so much depend. It is next, under God, to your conduct and example, that we must ascribe the success of the expedition; and to which we must owe our hopes of the speedy and entire reduction of that kingdom, and of seeing ourselves in a condition to make your enemies sensible of the strength and power of England, under a King who knows and pursues its interest. We do, from the bottom of our hearts, congratulate your Majesty's success, and your return to your people; who are unanimously persuaded, that their peace, security, and happiness, are bound up in your safety: and we do, in the name of all the Commons of England, assure your Majesty, that we will be ever ready to assist your Majesty to the utmost of our power; and, as the best and truest way of expressing our gratitude, will endeavour effectually to support your government against all your enemies.

To the QUEEN.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly beg leave to express the deep sense we have of that goodness, wisdom, and courage, which your Majesty did manifest in the greatest difficulties and most pressing dangers, during his Majesty's absence, at a time when a powerful enemy was upon our coast; when the nation was weakened in that part which is its proper strength, and deprived of the security of his Majesty's presence: the resolution your Majesty shewed in your administration, gave life to your subjects, and made them exert a strength and force unknown to former reigns: and your zeal for the public encouraged them to shew such cheerfulness in their duty, as disappointed the hopes and designs of all the open and secret enemies of the government: the grateful remembrance of this (which renews the memory of our most happy times) will for ever remain in the hearts of your people; and can never fail to be expressed in all instances of loyalty and obedience from us, and all the Commons of England.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 20, 1690.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I MUST repeat to you, upon this occasion, how sensible I am of your good affections to me, and of your sincere endeavours to promote the true interest of your country in continuing

tinuing to provide further supplies towards defraying the charges of the war: and as I am very secure, that you will not fail, on your part, to do all that shall be necessary, in order to that end; so I assure you, I shall not be wanting, on mine, to see that there be a diligent and strict application of the supplies you give me, to those uses only, for which you intend them.

I have lately told you, that the posture of affairs abroad would not admit of deferring my journey to the Hague much beyond this time; and I put you in mind of it again now, in hopes that consideration will prevail with you, to use all possible dispatch in what still remains to be done, for the more vigorous prosecution of the war.

I must not conclude without mentioning to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, that, if some annual provision could be made for the augmenting of the navy, and building of some new ships of war, it would be a very necessary care, at this time, both for the honour and safety of the nation.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 3, 1691.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING lately told you, that it would be necessary for me to go into Holland much about this time, I am very glad to find that the success of your endeavours to bring this session to a happy conclusion has been such, that I am now at liberty to do it: and I return you my hearty thanks for the great dispatch you have made in finishing the supplies you have designed for carrying on the war: which shall be my care to see duly and punctually applied for that service which you have given them. And I do likewise think it proper to assure you, that I shall not make any grant of the forfeited lands in England or Ireland, till there be another opportunity of settling that matter in Parliament in such manner as shall be thought most expedient.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As I have reason to be very well satisfied with the proofs you have given me of your good affection in this session of Parliament, so I promise myself the continuance of the same at your return into your several countries: and as every day produces still fresh instances of the restlessness of our enemies both at home and abroad, in designing against the prosperity of this nation and the government established; so I do not doubt but that the union and good correspondence between me and my
Parliament,

Parliament, and my earnest and constant endeavours for your preservation on the one hand, joined with the continuance of your zeal and affection to support me on the other, will, by the blessing of God, be at all times too strong for the utmost malice and contrivance of our common enemies.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 22, 1691.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE appointed this meeting of Parliament, as soon as ever the affairs abroad would admit of my return into England, that you might have the more time to consider of the best and most effectual ways and means for the carrying on of the war against France this next year.

I am willing to hope, that the good success with which it hath pleased God to bless my arms in Ireland this summer, will not only be a great encouragement to you to proceed the more cheerfully in this work; but will be looked upon by you as an earnest of future successes, which your timely assistance to me may, by God's blessing, procure to us all: and, as I do not doubt, but you will take care to pay the arrears of that army, which hath been so deserving and so prosperous in the reduction of Ireland to a peaceable condition, so, I do assure you, there shall no care be wanting, on my part, to keep that kingdom, as far as it is possible, from being burdensome to England for the future.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I do not doubt but you are all sensible, that it will be necessary we should have as strong a fleet next year, and as early at sea, as we had this summer: and I must tell you, that the great power of France will as necessarily require, that we should maintain a very considerable army, ready upon all occasions, not only to defend ourselves from any insult, but also to annoy the common enemy, where it may be most sensible to them; and I do not see how it is possible to do this with less than sixty-five thousand men.

I shall only add, that by the vigour and dispatch of your counsels, and assistance to me in this session of Parliament, you have now an opportunity in your hand (which, if neglected, you can never reasonably hope to see again); not only to establish the future quiet and prosperity of these kingdoms, but the peace and security of all Europe.

*Two Addresses to his Majesty by the House of Commons,
October 28, 1691.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal subjects the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, do, with all duty and cheerfulness, congratulate your Majesty's safe return into this your kingdom, after the many hazards to which you have exposed your sacred person; as also the success of your arms in Ireland. Our prayers and wishes are, that Almighty God will so prosper your Majesty's future enterprizes, that they may at length effect an honourable and lasting peace to your own dominions, and the security of your neighbours, from the injuries and invasions of the common oppressor; and we crave leave to join our hopes to those of your Majesty, that the victories of the last summer are happy presages that so it will be; and, as the best means we can contribute to these good ends, we are resolved to stand by, and assist your Majesty to the utmost of our power, in carrying on a vigorous war against France.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the Commons in Parliament assembled, humbly beseech your Majesty to accept our most hearty and unfeigned acknowledgments of your prudent care in the administration of the government, whilst his Majesty exposed his sacred person abroad for the safety of his people, and the common interest of Christendom; during whose absence, nothing could afford us so much comfort as your Majesty's royal protection, and your constant endeavours for the benefit and security of your people; of which our hearts abound with a most grateful sense: and we beg leave to express it, by assuring your Majesty, that nothing shall ever be wanting on our part which may demonstrate our zeal for your Majesty's service, or which may any ways contribute to the honour and happiness of your reign.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 31, 1691.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I MUST not lose this occasion of returning you my hearty thanks for the great proofs you continue to give me, of your zeal and resolution to support and assist me in the vigorous

gorous prosecution of the war against France next year : and, I assure you, it shall be my greatest care, that the assistances you give me may be so applied, as to render them the most effectual for the ends you design them : but I must take notice to you, at the same time, with some trouble, that the new year is already come, while our preparations for it are not only more backward, but those of our enemies, as we have reason to think, in greater forwardness than they were the last year. I find myself therefore necessitated, from this consideration, most earnestly to recommend to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the hastening of such further supplies as you design to enable me with for the prosecution of the war.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The season being so far advanced, this present session cannot admit of a much longer continuance : and therefore, I must recommend to you the dispatch of all such other bills also, as you shall judge necessary for the public good.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 24, 1692.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I RETURN my hearty thanks to you all for the great demonstrations you have given me of your affections in this session ; and of your zeal for the support of the government.

And I must thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, in particular, for the great supplies you have granted for the prosecution of the war : I assure you, I shall take care so to dispose of the money you have given me for the public occasions, as that the whole nation may be entirely satisfied with the application of it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I think it proper to acquaint you with my intentions of going beyond sea very speedily ; which, I am afraid, have been already retarded more than is convenient for the present posture of affairs : and, upon that account, I think it necessary to put an end to this present meeting ; the season of the year being now so very far advanced, that it may prove of the last ill consequence to continue it any longer.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 4, 1692.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM very glad to meet you again in Parliament, where I have an opportunity of thanking you for the great supplies you have given me for the prosecution of this war: and I hope, by your advice and assistance, which has never failed me, to take such measures as may be most proper for supporting our common interest against the excessive power of France.

We have great reason to rejoice in the happy victory, which, by the blessing of God, we obtained at sea: and I wish I could tell you, that the success at land had been answerable to it: I am sure, my own subjects had so remarkable a part in both, that their bravery and courage must ever be remembered to their honour.

The French are repairing their losses at sea with great diligence; and do design to augment their land forces considerably against the next campaign: which makes it absolutely necessary for our safety, that, at least, as great a force be maintained at sea and land, as we had the last year; and therefore I must ask of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, a supply suitable to so great an occasion.

I am very sensible how heavy this charge is upon my people: and it extremely afflicts me, that it is not possible to be avoided, without exposing ourselves to inevitable ruin and destruction.

The inconvenience of sending out of the kingdom great sums of money for the payment of the troops abroad, is indeed very considerable: and I so much wish it could be remedied, that, if you can suggest to me any methods for the support of them, which may lessen this inconvenience, I shall be ready to receive them with all the satisfaction imaginable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

None can desire more than I do, that a descent should be made into France: and therefore, notwithstanding the disappointments of that design this last summer, I intend to attempt it the next year with a much more considerable force: and, so soon as I shall be enabled, all possible care and application shall be used towards it.

And, upon this occasion, I cannot omit taking notice of that signal deliverance which, by the good providence of God, we received the last spring, to the disappointment and confusion of our enemies designs and expectations. This has sufficiently shewn us, how much we are exposed to the attempts of France,

while

while that King is in a condition 'o make them: let us therefore improve the advantage we have at this time, of being joined with most of the princes and states of Europe, against so dangerous an enemy. In this surely all men will agree, who have any love for their country, or any zeal for our religion. I cannot therefore doubt, but you will continue to support me in this war against the declared enemy of this nation; and that you will give as speedy dispatch to the affairs before you, as the nature and importance of them will admit; that our preparations may be timely and effectual, for the preservation of all that is dear and valuable to us. I am sure I can have no interest but what is your's; we have the same religion to defend; and you cannot be more concerned for the preservation of your liberties and properties than I am, that you should always remain in the full possession of them; for I have no aim but to make you a happy people.

Hitherto I have never spared to expose my own person for the good and welfare of this nation: and I am so sensible of your good affections to me, that I shall continue to do so with great cheerfulness, upon all occasions wherein I may contribute to the honour and advantage of England.

Two Addresses by the House of Commons, November 11, 1692.

To the KING.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to pay our most humble acknowledgments to your Majesty for your most gracious speech to both Houses, at the opening of this session; wherein your Majesty shews so much affection to your subjects, in taking notice of their bravery and courage, both by sea and land; and expresses that sensible concern for the charges on your people, and that tender regard for the preservation of our religion, liberties, and properties, as must ever be remembered with gratitude by all your faithful subjects.

We do likewise, with all thankfulness, acknowledge the favour and blessing of God in restoring your Majesty in safety to your people, after the many hazards and dangers to which you exposed your sacred person; that there might be nothing wanting on your part to oppose the ambitious designs of our enemies, and to maintain the honour of England, and the liberties of Europe.

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We do also, in a particular manner, congratulate your deliverance from the secret and open designs, which the malice of your enemies had formed against you.

And we do assure your Majesty, that this House will always advise and assist your Majesty in the supporting of your government against all your enemies.

To the QUEEN.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your loyal and obedient subjects, the Commons, assembled in Parliament, do beg leave to present to your Majesty our most humble and thankful acknowledgments, for your gracious and prudent administration of the government, whilst his Majesty was hazarding his royal person abroad against the declared enemy of our religion, and our nation. At a time when the greatest part of Europe was suffering the miserable effects of war, we, your Majesty's subjects, under your auspicious reign, enjoyed the blessings of peace at home; and not only received a signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design, formed and prosecuted for our destruction, when it was just ready to be executed; but saw your Majesty's fleet return with so complete and glorious victory, as is not to be equalled in any former age, and can never be forgotten by posterity. We do humbly beseech your Majesty to accept of this assurance from your most dutiful subjects, that the grateful sense we have of our happiness under your government, shall be always manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience, and a firm resolution to do all that is in our power to render your reign secure and prosperous.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
November 14, 1692.*

THE House of Commons having presented an address to the King, to dissolve the present East India Company, according to the power reserved in their charter, and to constitute a new one, his Majesty took into consideration the proper methods of complying with their desires, and of securing effectually this advantageous trade to the nation.

But his Majesty, upon examination of the charter, and consulting with his judges and learned counsel, found, that he could not legally dissolve the company but upon three years warning; and that, during the three years after warning, the
company

company must subsist, and might continue to trade: and that, though the King might constitute a new company, yet he could not impower such new company to trade, till after three years; the crown having expressly covenanted not to grant any such liberty.

Hereupon his Majesty was very apprehensive of the ill consequence of giving warning to the company, because they would then be less solicitous of promoting the true interests and advantage of a trade, whereof they would not long reap the fruits; and that no new company could immediately be admitted to it: so that this very beneficial trade, which is already so much impaired, might be in danger of being entirely lost to the nation.

His Majesty, being very desirous to prevent so great a mischief, and to gratify the House of Commons in the end, since he could not do it, without great hazard, in the manner they proposed, required the East India Company to answer, directly, whether they would submit to such regulations as his Majesty should judge proper, and most likely to advance the trade: and the company having fully agreed to it, and declared accordingly their resolution in writing, his Majesty commanded a committee of his privy council to prepare regulations; which they did, and offered them to the company: but the company, notwithstanding their declaration of submission, rejected almost all the material particulars.

So that his Majesty, finding that what possibly the House of Commons might have expected, and indeed was necessary to preserve this trade, could not be perfected by his own authority alone, and that the company could not be induced to consent to any such regulations as might have answered the intentions of the House of Commons, and that the concurrence of the Parliament is requisite to make a complete and useful settlement of this trade, has directed all the proceedings in this matter to be laid before them; and recommends to them the preparing such a bill, in order to pass into an act of Parliament, as may establish this trade on such foundations as are most likely to preserve and advance it.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 7, 1693.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM always glad to meet you here; and I could heartily wish that our satisfaction were not lessened at present, by reflecting upon the disadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miscarriages in our affairs at sea. I think it is evident, that

that the former was only occasioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded our's in all places: for what relates to the latter, (which has brought so great a disgrace upon the nation,) I have repented it extremely; and as I will take care that those who have not done their duty shall be punished, so I am resolved to use my utmost endeavours that our power at sea may be rightly managed for the future: and it may well deserve your consideration, whether we are not defective both in the number of our shipping, and in proper ports to the westward, for the better annoying our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is so essential to the welfare of this kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am very sensible of the good affection wherewith you have always assisted me to support the charges of this war, which have been very great; and yet I am persuaded, that the experience of this summer is sufficient to convince us all, that to arrive at a good end of it, there will be a necessity of increasing our forces, both by sea and land the next year. Our allies have resolved to add to their's; and I will not doubt but you will have such regard to the present exigency, as that you will give me a suitable supply, to enable me to do the like: I must therefore earnestly recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to take such timely resolution, as that your supplies may be effectual, and our preparations so forward, as will be necessary both for the security and the honour of the nation.

*Representation by the House of Commons to His Majesty,
January 27, 1693-4.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, think ourselves bound in duty to your Majesty humbly to represent, that the usage in Parliament in all times hath been, that what bills have been agreed by both Houses, for the redress of grievances, or other public good, have, when tendered to the throne, obtained the royal assent: and that there are very few instances, in former reigns, where such assent, in such cases, hath not been given; and those attended with great inconveniencies to the crown of England, especially where the same hath been withheld, by insinuations of particular persons without the advice of the privy council, thereby creating great dissatisfactions and jealousies in the minds of your people.

Your

Your Commons, therefore, out of their sincere desire of the welfare of your Majesty, and your government, and that you may always reign, in prosperity and happiness, in the affection of your subjects, cannot, without grief of heart, reflect, that since your Majesty's accession to the crown, several public bills, made by advice of both Houses of Parliament, have not obtained the royal assent; and in particular, one bill, intituled, "An act touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament;" which was made to redress a grievance, and take off a scandal relating to the proceedings of your Commons in Parliament: after they had freely voted great supplies for the public occasions; which they can impute to no other cause than the insinuations of particular persons, who take upon them, for their own particular ends, to advise your Majesty contrary to the advice of Parliament; and therefore cannot but look on such as enemies to your Majesty and your kingdom.

Upon these considerations, we humbly beseech your Majesty to believe, that none can have so great a concern and interest in the prosperity and happiness of your Majesty and your government, as your two Houses of Parliament: and do therefore humbly pray, that, for the future, your Majesty would graciously be pleased to hearken to the advice of your Parliament, and not to the secret advices of particular persons, who may have private interests of their own, separate from the true interest of your Majesty and your people.

His Majesty's Answer, January 31, 1694.

Gentlemen,

I AM very sensible of the good affections you have expressed to me upon many occasions, and of the zeal you have shewn for our common interest: I shall make use of this opportunity to tell you, that no prince ever had a higher esteem for the constitution of the English government than myself; and that I shall ever have a great regard to the advice of Parliaments. I am persuaded, that nothing can so much conduce to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom, as an entire confidence between the King and people; which I shall, by all means, endeavour to preserve: and I assure you, I shall look upon such persons to be my enemies, who shall advise any thing that may lessen it,

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 23, 1694.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN I consider how far the year is advanced ; what preparations our enemies make to be early in the field ; and how necessary it is, that we should be ready to meet them, both by sea and land, I must earnestly recommend to you the dispatch of those important affairs which you have under your deliberation.

I am very sensible of the good affection which you have shewn in this, as well as former sessions, by enabling me to carry on the war we are engaged in for our common safety : there is nothing I have so much at my heart as the ease and happiness of my people ; and it is with great reluctance that I am forced to ask such large supplies : but, since our present circumstances make this unavoidable, it shall be my endeavour, that the sums which are given shall be laid out, in the best manner, to the uses for which they are designed.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I take this occasion to mention to you the debt for the transport ships, which were used in the reducing of Ireland : it grieves me exceedingly to see such a number of persons, who came so freely in, for so good a service, brought to the last extremities, for want of what is due to them : it is not possible for me to discharge this debt without your help ; and as I doubt not but you have a just commiseration of their case, so I hope you will find out some way for their relief.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 12, 1694.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I AM glad to meet you here, when I can say, our affairs are in a better posture, both by sea and land, than when we parted last

The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose our fleet in these seas ; and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean has disappointed their designs, and leaves us a prospect of further success.

With respect to the war by land, I think, I may say, that this year a stop has been put to the progress of the French arms.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have had so much experience of your good affection to me, and of your zeal for the public, that I cannot doubt of your assistance at this time : I do, therefore, earnestly recommend to you, to provide such supplies as may enable me to prosecute the war with vigour ; which is the only means to procure peace to Christendom, with the safety and honour of England.

I must likewise put you in mind, that the act of tonnage and poundage expires at Christmas : and I hope you will think fit to continue that revenue to the crown ; which is the more necessary at this time, in regard the several branches of the revenue are under great anticipations for extraordinary expenses of the war, and subject to many demands upon other accounts.

I cannot but mention to you again the debt for the transport ships employed in the reducing of Ireland ; which is a case of compassion, and deserves relief.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I should be glad you would take into your consideration the preparing some good bill for the encouragement of our seamen : you cannot but be sensible how much a law of this nature would tend to the advancement of trade, and of the naval strength of the kingdom ; which is our great interest, and ought to be our principal care.

*Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons,
December 29, 1694.*

Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being deeply sensible of the great misfortune which hath befallen your Majesty, and this kingdom, by the death of our most gracious Queen, do, with unspeakable grief of heart, humbly beg leave to condole the irreparable loss of that most excellent princess, the best of women ; to enumerate whose virtues were to aggravate our sorrow.

We cannot, at the same time, but bless God for the preservation of your Majesty to us, on whose life the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, and the liberties of Europe, do in so great a measure depend ; humbly beseeching your Majesty so to moderate your grief, under this affliction, as not to prejudice or endanger your health : and that your Majesty would please to take such further care of your royal person, that we

may all enjoy the blessing of your Majesty's long life, and happy reign.

We do also look upon it as a duty we owe to your Majesty, to ourselves, and to those we represent, to take this occasion of assuring your Majesty, that we, your faithful Commons, will always, to the utmost of our power, stand by, support, and defend your Majesty, and your government, against all your enemies, both at home and abroad.

His Majesty's Answer, January 1, 1694-5.

Gentlemen,

I TAKE very kindly your care of me, and the public; especially at this time, when I am able to think of nothing but our great loss.

*Representation to his Majesty, by the House of Commons,
February 26, 1695.*

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, from a true and unfeigned zeal for your Majesty's person and government, which God long preserve! and from the obligation that lieth upon us, in behalf of those whom we represent, most humbly lay before your Majesty the grievance we lie under, by some of the officers and soldiers of the army, in raising money upon the country under pretence of subsistence; which is such a violation of the liberty and property of your subjects, that it needeth no aggravation.

This is, in great measure, occasioned by the undue practices of some of the agents and officers; the particulars of which we beg leave to lay before your Majesty, in order to the more effectual preventing the like miscarriages for the future.

1. Some of their agents, amongst other their ill practices, have detained the money due to the soldiers in their hands, and made use of it to their own advantage, instead of immediately applying it to the subsistence of the officers and soldiers for whom they were intrusted.

2. Their intolerable exactions and great extortions upon the officers and soldiers, for paying money by way of advance; their charging more for the discount of tallies than they actually paid: by which fraudulent imposing upon those who serve in your Majesty's armies, it appeareth, that notwithstanding they have a greater pay than is given in any other part of the world, they are yet reduced to inconveniencies and extremities,
which

which ought not to be put upon those who venture their lives for the honour and safety of the nation.

3. In particular, Colonel Hastings hath compelled some officers of his regiment to take their cloaths from him, at extravagant rates, by confining and threatening those who would not comply therewith; by which the authority that may be necessary to be lodged in the colonel over the inferior officers, in some cases, is misapplied, and extended, so as to promote a private advantage of his own, without any regard to your Majesty's service, or to the discipline of the army.

4. Colonel Hastings's agent hath presumed fraudulently to detain five hundred guineas, out of a bounty given by your Majesty to the officers of that regiment, under pretence of giving them as a bribe to obtain the same; to the dishonour of your Majesty, and injury to the officers thereof: and hath taken two pence per pound out of the money due to the officers and soldiers; for which deduction there being no warrant, the colonel, whose servant the agent is, is answerable.

5. Colonel Hastings's agent hath refused, or neglected, to give an account of the pay due to the captains of his regiment, and their companies, which tends apparently to the defrauding the officers and soldiers.

6. Some of the agents assume to themselves the liberty of making great deductions; which, since they know not how to justify, they endeavour to cover, by putting them under the shelter of the uncertain head of contingencies; which giveth them the better opportunity of hiding the frauds and abuses that would otherwise be more liable to be detected.

7. Colonel Hastings hath discharged an ensign, by putting another into his room, contrary to the true discipline of an army; from which the colonels have no right to exempt themselves, to enlarge their own authority, to the prejudice of your Majesty's service, and of the officers who serve under them.

8. Colonel Hastings hath taken money for the recommending to commands in his regiment, to the great discouragement of the officers, who are to serve in your Majesty's armies; who ought to be such as deserve their commands, and not such as pay for them.

These things we most humbly represent to your Majesty, in confidence of having them redressed by your Majesty's justice and wisdom.

Your loyal Commons, as they have been always ready to supply your Majesty, cannot but be sensible of such miscarriages, as may either diminish the strength of your armies, or the affections of your people: and it is from a principle of the highest duty, that we take this way of applying ourselves to
your

your Majesty for redress; having an entire assurance, that this our most humble representation will not only be graciously accepted; but that our expectations from it will be fully answered.

His Majesty's Answer, March 6, 1695.

Gentlemen,

I WILL consider your representation, and take all care possible to have the grievances redressed.

Speech by Paul Foley, Esq. the Speaker elect, March 15, 1695.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, having, by a very extraordinary occasion, lost the service of their late Speaker, proceeded to a new election: and being commanded by your Majesty to present their Speaker at this time and place, they now wait on your Majesty, in full Parliament, to present me to succeed, on whom they have unanimously agreed.

I must acknowledge myself very unfit for so great an employment, and wish they have not done themselves a prejudice therein; which they might have avoided, having choice of many much more able members for that service: but I dare not oppose my own opinion to that of so great a body as the Commons of England: and therefore, with your Majesty's approbation, am ready to serve your Majesty and them to the utmost of my abilities.

If they find themselves, on trial, mistaken; and that I cannot answer their expectations; though hitherto they will not allow me to excuse myself, yet then I hope they will; and provide one more fit for your Majesty's and their service.

The Lord Keeper spake thus:

MR. FOLEY,

THE King has taken notice of the modesty which you have shewn in speaking of yourself; and how just a sense you have expressed of the weight and difficulty of the employment to which you are called: but his Majesty has commanded me to tell you, that he is so well assured of your dutiful affection to his service, and so fully satisfied of your integrity, your abilities, your industry, and application to business, and your experience

perience in the customs and orders of Parliament, that he does well allow of the choice that the House of Commons have made, and does approve of you for their Speaker.

After the Lord Keeper's speech, the Speaker replied :

May it please your Majesty,

I WITH humility and thankfulness acknowledge your Majesty's great favour, and hope your Majesty's approbation will be a great assistance to me in the discharge of my duty.

Not to mispend time, now very precious for your Majesty's affairs, I shall only make it my humble request, that whatever mistake or fault I may commit, your Majesty will not impute it to your Commons ; and for myself, not committing any wilfully, I cannot doubt of your Majesty's gracious pardon.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 22, 1695.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I TAKE this occasion to tell you, that the season of the year is so far advanced, and the circumstances of affairs are so pressing, that I very earnestly recommend to you the speedy dispatching such business as you think of most importance for the public good, because I must put an end to this session in a few days.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Nov. 23, 1695.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE Commons in England, assembled in Parliament by your Majesty's writ, having no capacity to speak here, or act, according to the course of Parliament, without a Speaker, have proceeded to the choice of one, according to your Majesty's command, thereby to fit themselves for the service of your Majesty, and your kingdoms.

And, although they have plenty of choice members, every way more able and fit for this employment than myself, they have determined their choice on me, who am very sensible of my own infirmities, and thereby unfitness to transact such weighty affairs as will be requisite to be determined this session.

But not being able to prevail with them to excuse me, they here attend your Majesty, in full Parliament, to present me

to your Majesty as their Speaker, who am ready, with your Majesty's approbation, to serve your Majesty and them to the utmost of my ability.

Whereupon the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper acquainted the House, that his Majesty had been pleased to approve of the choice they had made ; and allowed of Mr. Foley to be Speaker.

Whereupon, Mr. Speaker returned his Majesty thanks for his gracious approbation, and acceptance of his service : and humbly prayed, in the name of the Commons, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to allow and confirm all their ancient rights and privileges : particularly, that they might have liberty and freedom of speech in all their debates ; that their persons, estates, and servants might be free from arrests and troubles ; that they might have access to his royal person, as occasion shall require ; that his Majesty would have a gracious opinion of all their actions ; and that, if himself at any time should mistake, he might have his Majesty's favourable interpretation, and gracious pardon.

Whereupon, the Lord Keeper, by his Majesty's command, said, That his Majesty was pleased to say, that he was fully assured of the prudence and discretion, as well as of the affections, of his House of Commons ; and that, as to the suit made in their name, his Majesty did most willingly grant to them all their privileges, in as full a manner as they were ever granted by any of his royal predecessors.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 26, 1695.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction that I meet you here this day, being assured of a good disposition in my Parliament, when I have had such full proofs of the affection of my people, by their behaviour during my absence, and at my return.

I was engaged in the present war by the advice of my first Parliament, who thought it necessary for the defence of our religion, and for the preservation of the liberties of Europe ; the last Parliament, with great cheerfulness, did assist me to carry it on ; and I cannot doubt, but that your concern for the common safety will oblige you to be unanimously zealous in the prosecution of it : and I am glad, that the advantages which we have had this year, give us a reasonable ground of hoping for further success hereafter,

Upon

Upon this occasion, I cannot but take notice of the courage and bravery the English troops have shewn this last summer; which, I may say, has answered their highest character in any age: and it will not be denied, that, without the concurrence of the valour and power of England, it were impossible to put a stop to the ambition and greatness of France:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I think it a great misfortune, that, from the beginning of my reign, I have been forced to ask so many and such large aids of my people; and yet, I am confident you will agree with me in opinion, that there will be, at least, as great supplies requisite for carrying on the war by sea and land this year, as were granted in the last session; the rather, because our enemies are augmenting the troops, and the necessity of increasing our shipping does plainly appear:

The funds which have been given, have proved very deficient.

The condition of the civil list is such, that it will not be possible for me to subsist, unless that matter be taken into your care:

And compassion obliges me to mention the miserable circumstances of the French protestants, who suffer for their religion.

And therefore, Gentlemen, I most earnestly recommend to you to provide a supply suitable to these several occasions.

I must likewise take notice of a great difficulty we lie under at this time, by reason of the ill state of the coin; the redress of which may perhaps prove a further charge to the nation; but this is a matter of so general concern, and of so very great importance, that I have thought fit to leave it entirely to the consideration of my Parliament.

I did recommend to the last Parliament, the forming some good bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen: I hope you will not let this session pass without doing somewhat in it; and that you will consider of such laws as may be proper for the advancement of trade; and will have a particular regard to that of the East Indies, lest it should be lost to the nation: and, while the war makes it necessary to have an army abroad, I could wish some way might be thought of to raise the necessary recruits without giving occasion of complaint.

My desire to meet my people in a new Parliament has made the opening of this session very late; which I hope you will have such regard to, as to make all possible dispatch of the great business before you; and will call to mind, that, by the long continuance of the last session, we did not only lose advantages,

tages, which we might have had at the beginning of the campaign, but gave the enemy such an opportunity as might have proved very fatal to us : and I am the more concerned to press this, because of the great preparations which the French make, to be early in the field this year.

My Lords,

I have had such experience of your good affections, and I have such an entire satisfaction in the choice which my people have made of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, that I promise myself a happy conclusion of this session, unless you suffer yourselves to be misled into heats and divisions : which, being the only hope our enemies have now left, I make no doubt but you will entirely disappoint by your prudence and love to your country.

Address by the House of Commons, November 27, 1695.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, reflecting upon the great calamities from which we were delivered, and the many benefits we daily receive, by the protection and influence of your Majesty's government, do, with all thankfulness to Almighty God, congratulate the glorious success of your Majesty's arms abroad, the preservation of your sacred person from the many hazards to which you have exposed yourself, and the blessing of your being returned to us again in safety.

We beg leave, at the same time, humbly to represent to your Majesty our grateful sense of your Majesty's favour, in having given such demonstration to the world, and to us, that you repose an entire trust and confidence in the affections of your people ; for which we know no way of making any return so suitable, as by giving your Majesty this assurance, that we, and those your most faithful Commons, whom we represent, are resolved to defend and support your Majesty, and your government, against all your enemies both at home and abroad ; and that we will effectually assist your Majesty in the prosecution of the present war ; in which you are engaged for the safety of England, and the liberty of Europe.

Answer

Answer by his Majesty, November 29, 1695.

Gentlemen,

I HEARTILY thank you for the marks you give me of your affection: our interests are inseparable; and there is nothing I wish so much as the happiness of this country, where God has placed me.

Address by both Houses of Parliament, December 14, 1695.

WE; the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our consideration the state of the trade of this kingdom, do find, that besides many other disadvantages and difficulties it now lies under, an act of Parliament that hath lately received your Majesty's royal assent in your Kingdom of Scotland, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the Indies, is likely to bring many great prejudices and mischiefs to all your Majesty's subjects that are concerned in the wealth or trade of this nation: and therefore, in all duty to your Majesty, and the care we ought to have of this kingdom, we do humbly represent to your Majesty, that the said act does provide, that all ships, vessels, merchandise, goods, and other effects whatsoever, belonging to that company, shall be free from all manner of restraints or prohibitions, and of all customs, taxes, fees, supplies, and other duties, imposed, or to be imposed, by act of Parliament, or otherwise, for the space of one-and-twenty years: and further, that the said company, whose members, officers, servants, or others belonging thereto, shall be free, both in their persons, estates, and goods, employed in the said stock and trade, from all manner of taxes, fees, supplies, excises, quartering of soldiers, transient or local, or levying of soldiers, or other impositions whatsoever, during the space of one-and-twenty years.

By reason of which great advantages granted to the Scotch East-India Company, and the duties and difficulties that lie upon that trade in England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation will be carried thither; and, by this means, Scotland be made a free port for all East-India commodities; and, consequently, those several places in Europe, which were supplied from England, will be furnished from thence much cheaper than can be done by the English; and, therefore, this nation will lose the benefit of supplying foreign parts with those commodities, which hath always been a great article in the balance of our foreign trade: moreover, the said commodities will

will unavoidably be brought by the Scotch into England by stealth, both by sea and land, to the vast prejudice of the English trade and navigation, and to the great detriment of your Majesty in your customs: and, when once that nation shall have settled themselves in plantations in America, our commerce in tobacco, sugar, cotton-wool, skins, masts, &c. will be utterly lost; because the privileges of that nation, granted to them by this act, are such, that the kingdom must be the magazine for all those commodities; and the English plantations, and the traffick thereof, lost to us, and the exportation of our own manufactures yearly decreased.

Besides these, and many other obstructions that this act will unavoidably bring to the general trade of this nation, another clause in the said act, whereby your Majesty promises to interpose your authority, to have restitution, reparation, and satisfaction made for any damage that may be done to any of the ships, goods, merchandise, persons, or other effects whatsoever, belonging to the said company, and that upon the public charge, does seem to engage your Majesty to employ the shipping and strength at sea of this nation, to support this new company, to the great detriment even of this kingdom.

All which great prejudices, inconveniencies, and mischiefs, arising by the said act, we, in all duty and faithfulness, lay before your Majesty.

*Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty,
December 14, 1695.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeses, in Parliament, having taken into our serious consideration, the great mischiefs which this your kingdom lies under, by reason that the coin which passes in payments is generally clipped; and being humbly of opinion, that the most effectual way to put a stop to this evil, is, to prevent the currency thereof, as soon as your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think fit; do most humbly address your Majesty to issue out your royal proclamation, and thereby appoint such day or days, as to your Majesty shall seem meet; after which, no clipped crowns, or half-crowns, be allowed in payment, or to pass; except only to the collectors and receivers of your Majesty's revenues and taxes, or upon loans, and payments into your exchequer: and likewise to appoint such other day or days, after which they shall not pass in any payment whatsoever.

And

And we further humbly beseech your Majesty to appoint such other day or days, after which, no other money clipped within the ring be allowed in payment, or to pass, except only to the collectors and receivers of your Majesty's revenues and taxes, or upon loans, or payments into your exchequer: and likewise, to appoint such other day or days, after which no such money shall pass in any payment whatsoever.

His Majesty's Answer to the joint Address, December 18, 1695.

I HAVE been ill served in Scotland; but, I hope, some remedies may be found to prevent the inconveniencies which may arise from this act.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, Jan. 17, 1696.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in Parliament assembled, humbly lay before your Majesty, that whereas there is a grant passing to William, Earl of Portland, and his heirs, of the manors of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and divers other lands, in the principality of Wales; together with several estates of inheritance enjoyed by many of your Majesty's subjects by virtue of ancient grants from the crown.

That the said manors, with the large and extensive royalties, powers, and jurisdictions, to the same belonging, are of great concern to your Majesty, and the crown of this realm; and that the same have been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the princes of Wales for their support: and that a great number of your Majesty's subjects, in those parts, hold their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and services to the crown and princes of Wales; and have, by such tenure, great dependence on your Majesty, and the crown of England; and have enjoyed great privileges and advantages, with their estates, on such tenure:

We therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty to put a stop to the passing this grant to the Earl of Portland of the said manors and lands; and that the same may not be disposed from the crown but by consent of Parliament; for that such a grant is in diminution of the honour and interest of the crown, by placing in a subject such large and extensive royalties, powers, and jurisdictions, which ought only to be in the crown; and

will sever that dependence, which so great a number of your Majesty's subjects, in those parts, have on your Majesty and the crown, by reason of their tenure; and may be to their great oppression in those rights which they have purchased, and hitherto enjoyed with their estates; and also, an occasion of great vexation to many of your Majesty's subjects, who have long had the absolute inheritance of several lands, comprehended in the said grant to the Earl of Portland, by ancient grants from the crown.

His Majesty's Answer, January 23, 1696.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE kindness for my Lord Portland; which he has deserved of me by long and faithful services; but I should not have given him these lands, if I had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned: I will therefore recall the grant, and find some other way of shewing my favour to him.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 24, 1696.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM come hither this day upon an extraordinary occasion, which might have proved fatal, if it had not been disappointed by the singular mercy and goodness of God; and may now, by a continuance of the same Providence, and our own prudent endeavours, be so improved, as to become a sufficient warning to us, to provide for our security against the pernicious practices and attempts of our enemies.

I have received several concurring informations of a design to assassinate me: and that our enemies, at the same time, are very forward in their preparations for a sudden invasion of this kingdom: and have, therefore, thought it necessary to lose no time in acquainting my Parliament with these things; in which the safety of the kingdom, and the public welfare, are so nearly concerned, that, I assure myself, nothing will be omitted on your part, which may be thought proper for our present or future security.

I have not been wanting to give the necessary orders for the fleet; and, I hope, we have such a strength of ships, and in such a readiness, as will be sufficient to disappoint the intentions of our enemies.

I have also dispatched orders for bringing home such a number of our troops, as may secure us from any attempt.

Some

Some of the conspirators against my person are already in custody, and care is taken to apprehend so many of the rest as are discovered ; and such other orders are given, as the present exigency of affairs does absolutely require at this time, for the public safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING now acquainted you with the danger which had threatened us, I cannot doubt of your readiness and zeal to do every thing which you shall judge proper for our common safety : and, I persuade myself, we must be all sensible, how necessary it is, in our present circumstances, that all possible dispatch should be given to the business before you.

It is Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 20, 1696.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE called you together as soon as possible ; and I think it a great happiness that this year has passed without any disadvantage abroad, or disorder at home, considering our great disappointment in the funds given at your last meeting, and the difficulties which have arisen upon the re-coining of the money.

This is so convincing a proof of the good disposition of my army, and of the steady affections of my people, that I cannot but take notice of it with great satisfaction.

Our enemies have not been without hopes, that such a conjuncture might have proved fatal to us : but as they have failed in those expectations ; so I am fully persuaded, that your unanimous proceedings, in this session, will make them forever despair of an advantage from any disagreement among ourselves.

It must be confessed, that the business which you have before you will be very great ; because of the necessity of supplying former deficiencies, as well as making provision for the next year's service.

And, upon this occasion, it is fit for me to acquaint you, that some overtures have been made, in order to the entering upon a negotiation for a general peace : but I am sure we shall all agree in opinion, that the only way of treating with France is, with our swords in our hands ; and that we can have no reason to expect a safe and honourable peace, but by keeping ourselves prepared to make a vigorous and effectual war :

In order to which, I do very earnestly recommend to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, that you would consider of raising the necessary supplies, as well for maintaining the honour of Parliaments, in making good the funds already granted, as for carrying on the war the next year, which I think ought not to be less than what was intended; raised for that purpose the last session: I must also put you in mind of the civil list, which cannot be supported without your help: and the miserable condition of the French protestants does oblige me to mention them to you again.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It may deserve your consideration, whether there are not still remain some inconveniencies relating to the coin, which ought to be remedied: and I hope you will find out the expedients for the recovery of credit; which is absolutely necessary, not only with respect to the war, but for carrying on of trade.

I am of opinion, that there is not one good Englishman who is not entirely convinced, how much does depend upon this session: and therefore I cannot but hope for your unanimity and dispatch in your resolutions; which, at this time, are more necessary than ever for the safety and honour of England.

Address by the House Commons, October 22, 1696.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

THIS is the eighth year in which your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, have assisted your Majesty with large supplies for carrying on a just and necessary war, in defence of our religion, preservation of our laws, and vindication of the rights and liberties of the people of England; which we have hitherto preserved, and, by the blessing of God on your Majesty's conduct and good government, will steadfastly maintain, and entail on our posterity:

This has cost the nation much blood and treasure; but the hopes of accomplishing so great and glorious a work have made your subjects cheerfully support the charge: and, to shew to your Majesty, and all Christendom, that the Commons of England will not be amused or diverted from their firm resolutions of obtaining, by war, a safe and honourable peace: we do, in the name of all those we represent, renew our assurances to your Majesty, that this House will support your Majesty, and your government, against all your enemies, both

at home and abroad ; and that they will effectually assist you in the prosecution and carrying on the present war against France.

His Majesty's Answer, October 26, 1696.

THE continuance of your zeal and affection is the thing of the world I value most ; and I will answer it by all the ways I can think of ; and will make your good, and the safety of the nation, the principal care of my life.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Feb. 18, 1697.

WILLIAM REX.

HIS Majesty, finding himself under very great difficulties for want of money to supply the occasions of the civil list, has thought it necessary to remind the House of that part of his speech, which relates to that head ; desiring that speedy care may be taken to make effectual provision for it.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, Dec. 3, 1697.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE war which I have entered into by the advice of my my people, is, by the blessing of God, and their zealous and affectionate assistance, brought to the end we all proposed, an honourable peace ; which I was willing to conclude, not so much to ease myself from any trouble or hazard, as to free the kingdom from the continuing burden of an expensive war.

I am heartily sorry my subjects will not, at first, find all that relief from the peace which I could wish, and they may expect : but the funds, intended for the last year's service, have fallen short of answering the sums for which they were given : so that there remain considerable deficiencies to be provided for.

There is a debt upon account of the fleet, and the army. The revenues of the crown have been anticipated, by my consent, for public uses ; so that I am wholly destitute of means to support the civil list : and I can never distrust you will suffer this to turn to my disadvantage ; but will provide for me, during my life, in such manner as may be for my honour, and for the honour of the government.

Our naval force being increased to near double what it was at my accession to the crown, the charge of maintaining it will be proportionably augmented: and it is certainly necessary for the interest and reputation of England, to have all great strength at sea.

The circumstances of affairs abroad are such, that I am myself obliged to tell you my opinion, that, for this at, England cannot be safe without a land force: and we shall not give those that mean us ill, the opportunity of effecting that, under the notion of a peace, which they could not bring to pass by a war.

I doubt not but you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, will take these particulars into your consideration, in such a manner as to provide the necessary supplies; which I do very earnestly recommend to you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

That which I most delight to think of, and am best pleased to own, is, that I have all the proofs of my people's affection that a prince can desire; and I take this occasion to give them the most solemn assurance, that as I never had, so I never will, nor can have, any interest separate from their's.

I esteem it one of the greatest advantages of the peace, that I shall now have leisure to rectify such corruptions or abuses, as may have crept into any part of the administration during the war; and effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality: and I shall employ my thoughts in promoting trade, and advancing the happiness and flourishing estate of the kingdom.

I shall conclude with telling you, that as I have, with the hazard of every thing, rescued your religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger, so I shall place the glory of my reign in preserving them entire, and leaving them so to posterity,

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Dec. 7, 1711.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, Commons, in Parliament assembled, who have so frequently waited on your Majesty with the tender of our assistance for carrying on the war, come now to congratulate your Majesty upon the happy conclusion of it, in a peace so honourable and advantageous to the nation, as sufficiently justifies the wisdom of the Commons in advising, and your Majesty's conduct in the prosecution of it.

The

The prospects of the benefits your people will receive from the peace is very pleasing: the honour your Majesty has restored to England, of holding the balance of Europe, gives your subjects great content: but what your Commons are most affected and delighted with, is, that your Majesty's sacred person will now be secured from those many and great dangers, which you have so often exposed it for our sakes; nothing being so evident, as that your Majesty's return in safety was a blessing more welcome to your people than peace, and received with greater demonstrations of joy.

We, therefore, with hearts full of affection, duty, and gratitude, do assure your Majesty, in the name of all the Commons of England, that this House will be ever ready to assist and support your Majesty; who, by putting a period to the war, has confirmed us in the quiet possession of our rights and liberties; and so fully completed the glorious work of our deliverance.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, June 23, 1698.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received a petition from the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, of your city of Londonderry in Ireland, setting forth their early and singular services and sufferings on the late happy revolution, by the securing and defence of that city against a long and cruel siege; which eminently contributed to the destroying the designs of the enemies of these kingdoms; and shewing, that thereby, not only the greatest part of the city and suburbs was demolished, or rendered ruinous; but also, that their disbursements upon this occasion, for fortifying, providing arms and ammunition, raising and subsisting forces, and other public uses, did amount to a very considerable sum of money; and, that as they had willingly exposed themselves, and their all, for the public interest and service; so they had patiently, these eight years, lain under their losses; in hopes, at the end of the war, to be so considered, as they should no longer remain a poor ruinous spectacle to all, a scorn to their enemies, and a discouragement to your Majesty's well-affected subjects: and praying our recommendation of their case to your Majesty for your royal favour, in order to their relief in the kingdom of Ireland.

And it also appeared, upon examination, that the governor and garrison, who, through the utmost sufferings and extremities,

mities, defended the same, do likewise deserve to have so signal a service taken into consideration ; and the said city, who have so eminently suffered, to have some special mark of your Majesty's favour, for a lasting monument to posterity.

All which, we do most humbly represent to you, Majesty ; praying that, in consideration of the premises, you would be graciously pleased to make some compensation to the said city, governor, and garrison, by such ways and means, and in such manner, as your Majesty, in your prudence and wisdom, shall think fit.

*Two Addresses to his Majesty, by the House of Com.
June 30, 1698.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, conceive ourselves in duty bound to represent to your Majesty the dangerous attempts that have been of late made by some of your subjects of Ireland, to shake off their subjection to, and dependence on, this kingdom : which has manifestly appeared to us, not only by the bold and pernicious assertions in a book, published and dedicated to your most excellent Majesty, entitled, " The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated ;" which book we examined and considered, upon its being brought to us by your Majesty's leave ; but, more fully and authentically, by the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons in Ireland in their late sessions ; and by a bill sent hither, under the great seal of Ireland, intituled, " An Act for the better security of his Majesty's royal person and government ;" whereby they would have an act passed in the Parliament of England, expressly binding Ireland to be re-enacted there ; and alterations therein made, some of which amount to a repeal of what is required by the said act made in England ; and in other of the said alterations, tending to give authority to, and oblige the courts of justice and great seal, here in England :

This we cannot but look on as an occasion and encouragement to the forming, and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book.

The consequences of such positions and proceedings will be so fatal to this kingdom, and even Ireland itself, that they need not be enlarged on or aggravated.

There-

Therefore we, your dutiful subjects, rest satisfied, that your Majesty, by your royal prudence, will prevent their being drawn into example.

And we, with all duty and humility, assure your Majesty of our ready concurrence and assistance, in a parliamentary way, to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of this realm.

And we humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to give effectual orders to prevent any thing of the like nature for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what is past, by punishing and discountenancing those that have been guilty thereof.

And we beseech your Majesty to take all necessary care, that the laws which direct and restrain the Parliament of Ireland in their actings, be not evaded, but strictly observed:

And that your Majesty would be pleased to discourage all things which may, in any degree, tend to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great measure, depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much as is possible, entire to this realm, think it becomes us, like our ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and the increase thereof elsewhere; and to use our utmost endeavours to prevent it.

And therefore we cannot without trouble observe, that Ireland, which is dependent on, and protected by England, in enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves, and so profitable to England, should, of late, apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom: and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which will benefit both them and us:

The consequence whereof will necessitate your Parliament of England to interpose, to prevent the mischief that threatens us, unless your Majesty, by your authority and great wisdom, shall find means to secure the trade of England, by making your subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms.

And

And we do most humbly implore your Majesty's protection and favour in this matter; and that you will make it your royal care, and enjoin all those you employ in Ireland to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither; and for the discouraging the woollen manufacture, and encouraging the linen manufactures, in Ireland; that we shall always be ready to give our utmost assistance.

His Majesty's Answer, July 2, 1698.

Gentlemen,

I WILL take care that what is complained of may be prevented, and redressed, as you desire.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Dec. 9, 1698.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Commons, in Parliament assembled, have, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, chose their Speaker.

How well that choice has been considered your Majesty will judge, when I must acquaint you, that, notwithstanding the great variety of better choice they had in view, and the many just excuses I could make in my own defence, they have pitched upon me, the most unworthy of their whole assembly of that great employment: the consequence of which, however, is, that I must present myself before your Majesty for your approbation:

Nor would I, at the same time, shrink my shoulders from this unequal weight, if my own health, and reputation, which is dearer to me, were the only things likely to be exposed: but when I consider how the public service must suffer by my weak performances, I am inexcusable if I do not endeavour to obtain from your Majesty, in the behalf of your Commons, another opportunity for re-considering this hasty resolution they are come to.

The place requires a man of other guise qualifications than I am master of:—a much better understanding, a sounder judgment, and stronger constitution, than mine, are all necessary:

I need enumerate no more particulars, wherein I am wanting, to your Majesty; to whom my insufficiencies in business are not unknown; hoping I have said enough already to induce your Majesty to disapprove me: the good consequence
whereof

whereof must be, that your Commons will quickly present some fitter person for the execution of this great trust ; upon the due discharge whereof, a good agreement between your Majesty and your people, the greatest blessing which attends this nation, so much depends.

Whereupon the right honourable the Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, that his Majesty had been pleased to approve the choice they had made of Sir Thomas Mordaunt for their Speaker.

After which, Mr. Speaker spoke thus :

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE your Majesty has been pleased to approve the choice which your Commons have made, it becomes me not to contend longer with your Majesty ; but resign myself to your Majesty's royal pleasure ; and endeavour to discharge my duty in the chair in the best manner that I can.

As your Majesty has, to the wonder of mankind, acted impossibilities ; you may command others to do the like : *Non habeo ingenium, Cæsar sed jussit, habebo.*

By which I mean no more, but that I will try my utmost to answer your Majesty's expectation.

For my encouragement, I humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon all my mistakes and failures ; or, at least, never to impute any of them to your Commons ; whereby they may receive any prejudice in your Majesty's good opinion ; which they will always study to preserve.

There remains no more, but that I ask of your Majesty, in the name and behalf of the Commons, the preservation of all their ancient rights and privileges ; particularly, freedom of speech ; privilege from arrests for themselves and servants ; and a free access, as often as occasion requires, to your Majesty's sacred person.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 1, 1699.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CAME to pass the bill for disbanding the army, as soon as I understood it was ready for me.

Though, in our present circumstances, there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of the troops ; and though I might think myself unkindly used that those guards, who came

came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed opinion, that nothing can be so fatal to us, as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people; which, I must own, would have been very unexpected, after what I have undertaken, ventured, and acted, for the restoring and securing of their liberties.

I have thus plainly told you the only reason which has induced me to pass this bill; and, now, I think myself obliged, in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may lie at my door to tell you as plainly my judgment, that the nation is left too much exposed.

It is therefore incumbent upon you to take this matter into your serious consideration; and effectually provide such a strength as is necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of the peace which God hath given us.

Address of the House of Commons, February 3, 1699.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being highly sensible of the difficulties your Majesty has undertaken, the labours you have sustained, and the hazards you have run, in rescuing us from popery and arbitrary power, restoring our liberties, and giving peace and quiet to all Christendom, beg leave to return our most hearty thanks for your most gracious speech; in which you express so great a regard for the good-will and affections of your people, and have given so undeniable a proof of your readiness to comply with the desires of your Parliament: and as your Majesty has shewn a most tender and fatherly concern for the security and safety of your people, so give us leave to assure your Majesty, that you shall never have reason to think the Commons are undutiful or unkind to your Majesty; but that we will, upon all occasions, stand by and assist your Majesty in the preservation of your sacred person, and support of your government, against all your enemies whatsoever.

His Majesty's Answer, February 6, 1699.

Gentlemen,

I TAKE this address very kindly. I am fully satisfied of your duty and affection to me ; and have no doubt but you will always act in the manner you have expressed on this occasion.

Address of the House of Commons, February 18, 1699.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WEG your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having observed the great concourse to this city of papists, and other disaffected persons, who have not owned your Majesty to be lawful and rightful King of these realms ; and the boldness they assume from your Majesty's unexampled clemency, not only to keep horses and arms, contrary to law, but also to frequent all public places of resort, near your two Houses of Parliament, and even to approach your royal palaces ; whereby they may have opportunities to perpetrate any wicked attempt against your royal person ; on the safety and preservation whereof our religion and liberties, and the peace and welfare, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe, do in very great measure depend.

And having also considered the many plots and conspiracies against your Majesty's person and government, but especially the late horrid intended assassination, contrived and carried on, not only by papists, whose religion and interest might lead them to it, but even by such, who, at their death, to the great scandal of our religion, professed and owned themselves to be members of the church of England ; which chiefly, under God, owes its preservation and defence to your Majesty ; and whose doctrines are directly opposite to all such inhuman and treasonable practices.

And having also certain information, that great numbers of popish priests and jesuits, within this city, and parts adjacent, intrude themselves into the presence of sick and dying persons, with design to prevail upon them, in their weakness, to be reconciled to the church of Rome ; and daily endeavour to pervert and seduce from their allegiance your Majesty's good subjects, impoisoning them with their wicked and damnable doctrines and principles ; and that they have imported great quantities of popish books, and keep schools to breed up and instruct children in the Romish superstition and idolatry.

We

We therefore hold ourselves obliged, for quieting the minds of your good subjects, and in duty to your Majesty, humbly to beseech your Majesty that you will be graciously pleased, in order to suppress such practices of the restless and notorious enemies of your government, to issue out your royal proclamation for removing all papists, and others, who disown your Majesty's government, from the City of London, and parts adjacent, according to the laws: and that the laws may be put in execution against them, in such manner, that their wicked designs may be effectually disappointed.

His Majesty's Answer, February 22, 1699.

Gentlemen,

I WILL take care that the laws shall be put in execution, according to your desire.

*His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons,
March 18, 1699.*

WILLIAM REX.

HIS Majesty is pleased to let the House know, that the necessary preparations are made for transporting the guards who came with him into England; and that he intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service; which his Majesty would take very kindly.

*Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons,
March 20, 1699.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do, with unfeigned zeal to your Majesty's person and government, (which God long preserve!) most humbly represent to your Majesty;

That the passing the late act for disbanding the army gave great satisfaction to your subjects; and the readiness your Majesty has expressed, by your message, to comply with the punctual execution thereof, will prevent all occasion of distrust or jealousy between your Majesty and your people.

It is, Sir, to your loyal Commons, an unspeakable grief, that your Majesty should be advised to propose any thing in your

your message, to which they cannot consent, with due regard to that constitution your Majesty came over to restore, and have so often exposed your royal person to preserve; and did, in your gracious declaration, promise, that all those foreign forces which came over with you, should be sent back.

In duty therefore to your Majesty, and to discharge the trust reposed in us, we crave leave to lay before you, that nothing conduceth more to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom, than an entire confidence between your Majesty and your people; which can be no way so firmly established, as by intrusting your sacred person with your own subjects, who have so eminently signalized themselves, on all occasions, during the late long and expensive war.

*Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons,
March 29, 1699.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our serious consideration the state of the navy, do most humbly represent to your Majesty;

That the Straits Squadron not sailing till September last, was prejudicial to England, and a great mismanagement.

That the order made by the commissioners of the admiralty, the 12th of September, 1695, giving Henry Priestman, Esq; an allowance of ten shillings *per diem*, from the date of his commission, as commander in chief before Sally, in the year 1684, till the ship Bonadventure was paid off; over and above his pay as captain of the said ship, was very unreasonable, and a misapplication of the public money.

That the victualling any of your Majesty's ships, by others than by the victuallers appointed for that service, or their agents, is contrary to the course of the navy, and may be of ill consequence.

That many new and unnecessary charges have, in an extraordinary manner, been introduced into the navy, contrary to the rules of the navy; which is a great mismanagement.

That the deductions of poundage, taken by the paymasters of the navy, for slop-cloaths, dead mens' cloaths, tobacco, chest at Chatham, chaplain, and surgeon, is without warrant, and ought to be accounted for.

That it is inconsistent with the service of the navy, for the same person to be one of the commissioners for executing the office

office of Lord Lord High Admiral, and Treasurer of the Navy, at the same time.

And that the passing any account of monies impressed for the contingent uses of the navy, without regular vouchers, or such other proof as the nature of the service will admit, either with or without a sign manual, is contrary to the rules and methods of the navy, and of dangerous consequence.

All which we beg leave to lay before your Majesty, desiring that you will be graciously pleased to take effectual care, that the mismanagements herein complained of may be prevented for the future.

Answer by his Majesty, April 4, 1699.

Gentlemen,

I WILL consider your address: it is my desire, that all sorts of mismanagements and irregularities should be prevented or redressed: you may be assured I will take the best care I can in relation to the navy; the right management whereof is of so great concern to the kingdom.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 16, 1699.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HOPE you will not think I have called you out of your countries too soon, if you consider that our common security requires a farther provision should be made for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, before we are at the end of what was granted for that purpose the last session: and, when you enter upon this business, I believe you will think it necessary to take care of the repair of the ships, and of the fortifications; without which, our fleet cannot be safe when it is in harbour.

I cannot omit to put you in mind of another matter, in which so great a number of my subjects is concerned, and wherein the honour of the kingdom, and the faith of Parliaments, is so far engaged, that our future security seems to depend upon it; I mean, the making good the deficiencies of the funds, and the discharging the debts contracted by reason of the war: and, till we may be so happy to see the public debts paid, I shall hope that no session will end without something done towards lessening them.

While I am speaking to you on this head, I think myself obliged to mention, with a very particular concern, a debt which

which is owing to the Prince of Denmark ; the state whereof I have ordered to be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

These things are of such importance, that I must earnestly recommend them to your consideration, and desire you to provide the necessary supplies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

There is nothing I should more rejoice in, than that I were not under the necessity of so often asking aids of my people : but as the reason of it is evident, because the funds formerly applied to defray the public expence, are now anticipated for payment of the debts of the kingdom ; so it is my satisfaction, that you all see, that nothing of what is demanded, is for any personal use of mine : and I do faithfully assure you, that no part of what is given shall be diverted from any purpose for which it is designed.

I believe the nation is already sensible of the good effects of peace, by the manifest increase of trade ; which I shall make it my business to encourage by all means in my power : probably it might receive an advantage, if some good bill were prepared for the more effectual preventing and punishing clandestine trading ; which does not only tend to defraud the public, but prejudices the fair merchant, and discourages our own manufactures.

The increase of the poor is become a burden to the kingdom ; and their loose and idle life does, in some measure, contribute to that depravation of manners which is complained of, I fear, with too much reason : whether the grounds of this evil be from defects in the laws already made, or in the execution of them, deserves your consideration : as it is an indispensable duty, that the poor, who are not able to help themselves, should be maintained ; so I cannot but think it extremely desirable, that such as are able and willing, should not want employment ; and such as are obstinate and unwilling, should be compelled to labour.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have a full assurance of the good affections of my people ; which I shall endeavour to preserve by a constant care of their just rights and liberties ; by maintaining the established religion ; by seeing the course of justice kept steady and equal ; by countenancing virtue, and discouraging vice ; and by declining no difficulties or dangers, where their welfare and prosperity may be concerned : these are my resolutions ; and I

am persuaded, that you are come together with purposes on your part suitable to these on mine. Since then our aims are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another; which will not fail, by God's blessing, to make me a happy King, and you a great and flourishing people.

Address by the House of Commons, December 1, 1699.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being highly sensible, that nothing is more necessary for the peace and welfare of this kingdom, the quieting the minds of your people, and disappointing the designs of your enemies, than a mutual and entire confidence between your Majesty and your Parliament, do esteem it our greatest misfortune, that after having so amply provided for the security of your Majesty and your government, both by sea and land, any jealousy or distrust hath been raised of our duty and affections to your sacred Majesty and your people; and beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it will greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between your Majesty and your Parliament, that you will be pleased to shew marks of your high displeasure towards all such persons who have, or shall presume to misrepresent their proceedings to your Majesty.

And your Commons, having likewise a due sense of the great care and concern your Majesty has always expressed for preserving and maintaining the religion, rights, and liberties of your people, in defence of which your Majesty hath so often exposed your royal person, will use their utmost care and endeavour to prevent and discourage all false rumours and reports reflecting upon your Majesty, and your government, whereby to create any misunderstanding between you and your subjects.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 5, 1699.

Gentlemen,

MY Parliaments have done so great things for me, and I have, upon all former occasions, expressed so great a sense of their kindness, and my opinion has been so often declared, that the happiness of an English King depends upon an entire good correspondence between him and his Parliament, that it cannot seem strange for me to assure you, that no persons have

ever yet dared to go about to misrepresent to me the proceedings of either House : had I found any such, they would have immediately sent the highest marks of my displeasure : it is a justice I owe, not only to my Parliaments, but to every one of my subjects, to judge of them by their actions ; and this rule I will steadily pursue. If any shall hereafter attempt to put me on other methods, by calumnies or misrepresentations, they will not only fail of success, but shall be looked upon, and treated by me, as my worst enemies.

Gentlemen,

I am pleased to see, by your address, that you have the same thoughts of the great advantages which will ensue to the kingdom from our mutual confidence, as I expressed to both Houses at the opening of this session. I take very kindly the assurance you give me, of using your utmost care and endeavour to prevent and discourage all false rumours and reports reflecting upon me and my government ; and I faithfully promise you, that no actions of mine shall give a just ground for any misunderstanding between me and my people.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Feb. 10, 1701.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, have proceeded to the election of a Speaker ; and by their direction I am presented to your Majesty, as the effect of that choice : at the same time, I must humbly lay before your Majesty, my own insufficiency to discharge so great a trust ; and therefore do most earnestly beseech your Majesty to accept my excuse ; and, that the public may receive no detriment from my want of ability, I most heartily beg your Majesty will give your Commons an opportunity to make a better choice.

His Majesty was pleased to approve of the choice they had made ; and allowed of Mr. Harley to be their Speaker.

After which Mr. Harley replied :

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE your Majesty hath not been pleased to admit of my excuse, it is my duty to submit ; and I do, in the first place, with the utmost thankfulness, acknowledge the unde-

served honour your Majesty is pleased to confer upon me : and that I may the better discharge that great trust which your Majesty, and the Commons, have committed to me, I am an humble suitor to your Majesty, that none of my failings or infirmities may be imputed to your faithful Commons ; and that your Commons may be better enabled to consider of the important affairs that shall come before them, I do, in their name, by humble petition, lay claim to all their ancient rights and privileges ; and more particularly, that they may have freedom from arrests and disturbance to their persons, estates, and servants ; liberty of speech, for the better management of their debates ; freedom of access to your Majesty's royal person, upon occasion ; and that the proceedings of the House may receive a favourable interpretation, and be free from all misconstructions.

I have nothing more to add, but my hearty prayers, and poor endeavours, that the consultations of the Parliament may tend to the honour and safety of your Majesty and your kingdoms.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 14, 1701.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

OUR great misfortune in the loss of the Duke of Gloucester hath made it absolutely necessary, that there should be a further provision for the succession to the crown in the protestant line, after me and the Princess. The happiness of the nation, and the security of our religion, which is your chiefest concern, seems so much to depend upon this, that I cannot doubt but it will meet with a general concurrence ; and earnestly recommend it to your early and effectual consideration.

The death of the late King of Spain, with the declaration of his successor to that monarchy, has made so great an alteration in the affairs abroad, that I must desire you, very maturely, to consider their present state : and I make no doubt but your resolutions thereupon will be such as shall be most conducing to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion in general, and the peace of all Europe.

These things are of such weight, that I have thought them most proper for the consideration of a new Parliament, to have the more immediate sense of the kingdom in so great a conjuncture.

I must desire of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, such supplies as you shall judge necessary for the service of the current year : and I must particularly put you in mind of the deficiencies

deficiencies and public debts, occasioned by the late war, that are yet unprovided for.

I am obliged further to recommend to you, that you would inspect the condition of the fleet; and consider what repairs or augmentations may be requisite for the navy; which is the great bulwark of the English nation, and ought, in this conjuncture most especially, to be put in a good condition: and that you would also consider what is proper for the better security of those places where the ships are laid up in winter.

The regulation and improvement of our trade is of so public concern, that I hope it will ever have your serious thoughts; and if you can find proper means of setting the poor at work, you will ease yourselves of a very great burden, and, at the same time, add so many useful hands to be employed in our manufactures, and other public occasions,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I hope there will be such an agreement and vigour in the resolutions you shall take, upon the important matters now before you, as may make it appear we are firmly united among ourselves; and, in my opinion, nothing can contribute more to our safety at home, or to our being considerable abroad.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons; April 16, 1701.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do humbly crave leave to represent to your Majesty the great satisfaction we have from our late inquiry concerning the treaty of partition, made in the year one thousand six hundred ninety-eight, on which the treaty of one thousand six hundred ninety-nine was founded, to see your Majesty's great care of your people, and this nation, in not entering into that negotiation without the advice of your English counsellors; and finding, that John, Lord Sommers, on whose judgment your Majesty did chiefly rely in that so important affair, did, in concert with Edward, Earl of Orford, and Charles, Lord Halifax advise your Majesty to enter into that treaty, of so dangerous consequence to the trade and welfare of this nation; and who, to avoid the censure which might justly be apprehended to fall on those who advised the same, endeavoured to insinuate, that your Majesty, without the advice of your council, entered into that treaty; and, under your sacred name, to seek protection for what themselves had so advised: of which

treatment of your Majesty we cannot but have a just resentment; and that they may be no longer able to deceive your Majesty, and abuse your people, we do humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to remove John, Lord Sommers; Edward, Earl of Oxford; and Charles, Lord Halifax, from your councils and preferre for ever; and also William, Earl of Portland, who transacted these treaties, so unjust in their own nature, and so fatal in their consequences to this nation, and the peace of Europe. And we humbly crave leave, upon this occasion, to repeat our assurances to your Majesty, that we will always stand by and support your Majesty, to the utmost of our power, against all your enemies, both at home and abroad.

His Majesty's Answer, April 24, 1701.

I AM willing to take all occasions of thanking you very heartily for the assurances you have frequently given me, and now repeat, of standing by, and supporting me, against all our enemies, both at home and abroad; towards which, nothing, in my opinion, can contribute so much, as a good correspondence between me and my people: and therefore you may depend upon it, that I will employ none in my service, but such as shall be thought most likely to improve that mutual trust and confidence between us, which is so necessary, in this conjuncture, both for our own security, and the defence and preservation of our allies.

Message from his Majesty, with Two Letters, May 8, 1701.

WILLIAM REX.

HIS Majesty having lately received an account from Mr. Stanhope, of the present posture of affairs in Holland, and likewise a letter from the States General, which is of the greatest importance; and his Majesty, who has so perfect a knowledge of their country, being entirely convinced of the hardship of their present condition, and the great pressures they now lie under, which are particularly expressed in the above-mentioned letter, has thought it absolutely necessary to communicate the same to this House, that the expectation the States have of present assistance from his Majesty may more fully appear; and his Majesty does not doubt but this House will be so justly sensible of those immediate dangers to which they stand exposed, as to take the same into their most serious and effectual

tual consideration ; it being most evident, that the safety of England, as well as the very being of Holland, does very much depend upon your resolutions in this matter.

Kenfington, May 8, 1701.

Then a Letter from the States General to his Majesty was read, which is as followeth, viz.

SIR,

SINCE the protestation we made to your Majesty, in our last letter of 23d April; not to enter into any negotiation with France, but in concert with England, we have judged it proper to ask Count d'Avaux, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Most Christian Majesty, if he was inclined and authorized to enter again upon the negotiation in the manner it was begun jointly with the Minister of your Majesty, as your Majesty will see by our resolution of the 2d of this month here inclosed: Count d'Avaux, having sent it to his Most Christian Majesty, after the return of his express, presented a memorial, of which we likewise add a copy to this letter: we immediately communicated it to Mr. Stanhope, your Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary; and having consulted with him about it, we found some things obscure in the said memorial, which made us doubt of the true meaning of it: therefore we thought it necessary to acquaint the said Count d'Avaux with the letter we had the honour to write to your Majesty the 23d of April last past; and that we were engaged not take any measures in the negotiation, but in concert with your Majesty. Count d'Avaux made answer to our deputies, that he was come hither to treat about the means of preserving the general peace, and establishing our particular safety; that if we would concert thereupon with your Majesty, he had nothing to object against it; and that he was content that your Majesty's Envoy should assist at the conferences that are to be held on that subject; but that he was not at all authorized to enter into negotiation with him about the concerns of England, which were to be treated elsewhere. To which our deputies represented, that in the preservation of the general peace, in which your Majesty is equally concerned with us, our safety could no ways be separated from that of England: that the interest therein was common to both the two nations; and that, in the present negotiation, your Majesty could not, without doing you wrong, be looked upon otherwise than as a principal party, as well as we; but, notwithstanding the many instances, and all the reasons our deputies could alledge, Count d'Avaux persisted in his aforesaid answer;

saying, that he had no other orders: that he would send our resolutions, of which your Majesty will find herewith a copy, to the court of France; without giving the least hopes of receiving an answer agreeable to our sense of matters. Upon the report which was made to us of this matter, we judged, that by this means the interest of England would be separated from those of our Republic, whereas we think them inseparable: and since it is evident that they are so, we could draw no other conclusion from this proceeding, than that France has a mind to put an end to those conferences, and to grant none of the securities demanded, and which are so necessary for the preservation of your Majesty's kingdoms, and of our State. We are obliged to make all this known to your Majesty; and do again protest, that our interests being the same with those of your Majesty, in this present negotiation, and not to be separated one from the other, we will not suffer them by any means to be divided. At the same time, Sir, we cannot but represent to your Majesty the great need we have of being assisted without loss of time, if we will prevent the ruin which threatens us, and the evident danger we are in. Your Majesty knows perfectly well the state of our affairs, and will easily judge if it be possible, in the condition we are, to resist the forces of France, so much superior to our's; which was the reason of our earnest request to your Majesty to perform the treaty made, with the approbation of the Parliament, in the year 1678, between King Charles the Second, of glorious memory, and this State. We do now repeat our most pressing instances, that we may have speedily the succours stipulated, and the entire effect of the said treaty. We hope your Majesty will seriously consider the state we are in, especially after the positive assurance your Majesty has given us, that your Parliament had resolved to interest themselves with vigour for our preservation; and to assist us, in our present necessity, by furnishing the succours agreed on. We will acquaint your Majesty with the posture France puts itself in; and your Majesty will thereby judge, whether our fear is ill-grounded, which animates our demands. France, not being satisfied with having taken possession of all the places that belonged to Spain in the Netherlands, does daily put into them, and cause actually to march thither, very formidable forces. They are drawing a line from the Scheldt, near Antwerp, to the Maese; and beginning another line, as we are informed, from Antwerp to Ostend: they send to the places which are nearest to our frontiers, a very great number of cannon; they erect, with all diligence, a great many magazines in Flanders, Prabant, Gelders, and at Namur; which they fill with all sorts of ammunition, and provision for war; besides

besides the vast quantity of forage they lay up every where; they build forts under the cannon of our towns. Moreover, they have endeavoured, and do still endeavour, without ceasing, to separate the Princes our friends from our interest, and to engage them in * our alliance, or at least to a neutrality. In fine, our friends are made useless to us by the intrigues and divisions in the empire, and those of France augmented; so that we are surrounded on all sides, except by sea. You see, Sir, without any disguise, the true state and condition to which we are reduced, without the addition of any thing but what is matter of fact. This makes us hope, that as your Majesty knows perfectly well our affairs, you will agree with us, that our condition at present is worse than it was during the last war, and worse than if we were actually in war; since they build forts under the cannon of our strong places, and make lines along our frontiers; and that we cannot hinder them, as we could do, if we were in war. These reasons oblige us to put ourselves in a defensive condition, more than if we were actually attacked; to put our country under water, and even to cut our dikes, to secure our frontiers: we find ourselves forced to make use of these means, and whatever else we could have done in an open war; insomuch that our subjects suffer already more than they did in the last war. Hitherto the winter has been some sort of a small security to us; that season is now past, and we do expect every moment to be invaded and over-run, unless we are speedily succoured: we do promise it ourselves from you, Sir, especially since it has pleased your Majesty to assure us, that your Parliament had taken favourable resolutions in our behalf; and, as our necessity is very pressing, so we beseech your Majesty to consider well the extremity we are in; and the impossibility we are under of avoiding the ruin and overthrow of our state, if we are left in this condition. Sir, we believe the interests of England so closely united to our's, that we will expose ourselves to all events, rather than suffer them to be separated, or to take any other measures than in concert with your Majesty. It is very needless to represent to your Majesty, that the preservation of your own kingdoms should engage you to prevent our ruin, seeing we think their loss is inseparable from our's. The reasons, Sir, are better known to you than to us, as well as the fatal consequences they will be exposed to in leaving us in this condition; which persuade us, that by your Majesty's great prudence, and the good intentions of your Parliament, you will direct all things so as to let all Europe see, that nothing is more conducing to

its safety, than the alliances with England, and your friendship for us. We expect without delay the succours, and the performance of the aforementioned treaty : and pray to God, Sir, to preserve your Majesty's sacred person in a long state of health, and your dominions in a flourishing prosperity.

At the Hague, 13th of May, 1701.

Your Majesty's very humble servant,
The States General of the United Provinces,

J. WICHERS.

By order of the States,

J. FAGEL.

And a Letter from Mr. STANHOPE to Mr. Secretary HEDGES.
was read : which is as followeth, viz.

*Copy of Mr. Stanhope's Letter to Mr. Secretary Hedges, dated the
Hague, the 14th May, 1701.*

SIR,

THE conference I told you in my last, the States deputies had invited me to for next morning, was to acquaint me in form with the Count d'Avaux's last memorial, a copy whereof I then also sent you ; and to consider what was fit to be done next. I answered, that was wholly their business, and not properly mine, further than to serve them, as I should be always ready to do ; for as to all affairs of the King, my master, I was as much excluded from the conferences by this memorial as by Monsieur d'Avaux's former answer ; and desired it might be read before them : they were all of the same opinion. I proposed then, that it would be convenient to be informed, whether Monsieur d'Avaux understood it in the same manner ; which they approved : and, considering of the manner, it was agreed, the only proper way for them was to demand a conference with him. To that the Pensionary objected, that had already one conference without me : if they should have another, it might occasion to some ill-minded people to blow it abroad, as if the States were treating something for their own particular interests, separate from those of England. I easily obviated that, by saying, that as I had represented to his Majesty their former conference in quite different colours, as a product of their great respect and veneration of his Majesty, that they would not expose his Minister to Monsieur d'Avaux's caprices, till they knew from himself how he should be received ; and the conference now proposed would be justified by the same reasons, since it was designed only for the further clearing of the same point, as I engaged to inform you
that

that it was. Being satisfied with this, they resolved on a conference ; and after having had it at five in the evening yesterday, they desired me to meet their deputies this morning at eleven ; and delivered me the inclosed copy of their resolution, which was the substance of the conference on their part. Monsieur d'Ayau's answer was, he had no orders to admit me at the conferences with them on any other terms ; but, upon their repeated instances, he would write again to the King his master for a further éclaircissement ; though he believed nothing would be altered. I found them in great apprehensions of some sudden invasion from the French, by fresh advices from Flanders of extraordinary motions of their troops there ; and letters writ to the governors of all the towns, and not to be opened till such a day, and then immediately executed, all on the same day ; more forces coming into the country, and transports of prodigious quantities of cannon, mortars, bombs, ammunition from several parts, towards their frontiers : and for these reasons, they resolved to write this post to Monsieur Guildermalsen, to move his Majesty again for the succours they expected from England ; and desired me to do the same ; as I perform, by letting you know it.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 12, 1701.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for the care you have taken to establish the succession to the crown in the protestant line : and I must not lose this occasion of acquainting you, that I am likewise extremely sensible of your repeated assurances of supporting me in such alliances as shall be most proper for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and for the security of England and Holland. Your ready compliance with my desires, as to the succours for the States General, is also a great satisfaction to me, as well as a great advantage to the common cause : and as I have nothing so much at heart as the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and the honour and interest of England ; so I make no doubt of attaining those great ends, by the blessing of God, and the continuance of your cheerful concurrence.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The season of the year makes it necessary to have a speedy recess ; and the posture of affairs abroad does absolutely require my presence, for the encouragement of our allies, and for the perfecting.

perfecting of such alliances as may be most effectual for the common interest : and, therefore, I must recommend a dispatch of the public business ; especially of those matters which are of the greatest importance.

Addrs to his Majesty by the House of Commons, June 12, 1701.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do, with all imaginable cheerfulness, return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne ; in which your Majesty is pleased to express your royal approbation of the proceedings of your Commons : and we do further unanimously assure your Majesty, that we will be ready, on all occasions, to assist your Majesty in supporting such alliances, as your Majesty shall think fit to make, in conjunction with the Emperor and States General, for the preservation of the liberties of Europe, the prosperity and peace of England, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France.

His Majesty's Answer, June 14, 1701.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you very heartily for the unanimous assurances you have given me of your readiness to assist me in supporting such alliances as I shall make in conjunction with the Emperor and the States General : it will be a great encouragement to them, to find the sense of this kingdom so fully expressed on this occasion ; and will likewise contribute most effectually to the obtaining those great ends you have now mentioned, on which the happiness of Europe so much depend.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 2, 1702.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I PROMISE myself you are not together full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceedings of the French King, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and reasonable addresses of my people

The owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England is not only the highest indignity offered to me, and the nation, but does so nearly concern every man, who has a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press

you

you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider, what further effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open or secret abettors.

By the French King's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken: under this pretence, he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as of his own dominions; and, by that means, he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconveniencies of a war.

This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the valuable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe.

In order to obviate the general calamity with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given me by both Houses of Parliament; which, I will direct, shall be laid before you; and which, I doubt not, you will enable me to make good.

There are some other treaties still depending, that shall be likewise communicated to you as soon as they are perfected.

It is fit I should tell you, the eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; all matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known; and therefore no time ought to be lost.

You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you, and your posterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.

In order to do your part, it will be necessary to have a great strength at sea, and to provide for the security of our ships in harbour; and also, that there be such a force at land, as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which their importance requires: at the same time I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit; which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim, that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security.

It

It is always with regret, when I do ask aids of my people ; but you will observe, that I desire nothing which relates to any personal expense of mine : I am only pressing you to do all you can for your own safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time ; and am willing, that what is given should be wholly appropriated to the purposes for which it is intended.

And, since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that, during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before the Parliament ; and also gave my assent to several bills for taking the public accounts, that my subjects may have satisfaction, how the money given for the war was applied : and I am willing that matter may be put in any further way of examination, that it may appear, whether there were any misapplications and mismanagements ; or whether the debt, that remains upon us, has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

I have already told you, how necessary dispatch will be, for carrying on that great public business, whereon our safety, and all that is valuable to us depends : I hope, what time can be spared will be employed about those other very desirable things which I have so often recommended from the throne ; I mean, the forming some good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the further suppressing of vice.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences ; and resolved to act with a general and hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session.

I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest offences committed against me.

Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies by your unanimity : I have shewn, and always will shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people : do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions ; let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the protestant religion, and the present establishment ; and of those who mean a popish prince, and a French government.

I will only add this : if you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity.

Address

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Jan. 3, 1702.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, do return our most humble and hearty thanks to your Majesty, for your most gracious speech from the throne; and humbly crave leave to assure your Majesty, that this House will support and defend your Majesty's lawful and rightful title to the crown of these realms, against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all his open and secret abettors and adherents, and all other your Majesty's enemies whatsoever; and we will enable your Majesty to shew your just resentment of the affront and indignity offered to your Majesty, and this nation, by the French King, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland: and we are firmly and unanimously resolved to maintain and support the succession to the imperial crown of this realm, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, in the protestant line, as the same is settled by an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown; and further provided for by an act of the last Parliament, intituled, "An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown; and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject:" and for the better effecting the same, we will, to the utmost of our power, enable your Majesty to make good all those alliances your Majesty has made, or shall make, pursuant to the addresses and advice of your most dutiful and loyal Commons of the last Parliament, for preserving the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Feb. 28, 1702.

WILLIAM REX.

HIS Majesty, being at present hindered, by an unhappy accident, from coming in person to his Parliament, is pleased to signify to the House of Commons, by message, what he designed to have spoken to both Houses from the throne.

His Majesty, in the first year of his reign, did acquaint the Parliament, that commissioners were authorized, in Scotland, to treat with such commissioners as should be appointed in England, of proper terms for uniting the two kingdoms; and, at the same time, expressed his great desire of such an union: his Majesty is fully satisfied, that nothing can contribute more to the

the present and future peace, security, and happiness, of England and Scotland, than a firm and entire union between them; and he cannot but hope, that, upon a due consideration of our present circumstances, there will be found a general disposition to this union. His Majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place; and is, therefore, extremely desirous, that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot; and does, in the most earnest manner, recommend this affair to the consideration of the House.

*Address by the House of Commons to her Majesty Queen ANNE,
March 9, 1702.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having a deep and true sense of the great loss the nation has sustained by the death of our late sovereign Lord, King William the Third, of glorious memory, who, under God, was our deliverer from popery and slavery, humbly crave leave to condole with your Majesty, and express our sorrow upon this sad occasion.

Your Majesty's accession to the throne, which we most heartily congratulate, and your known zeal for our religion, and the government, as by law established, gives us a certain prospect of future happiness; moderates our grief; and engages us unanimously to assure your Majesty, that we will, to the utmost, assist and support your Majesty on that throne where God has placed you, against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all your enemies: and, since nothing can conduce more to the honour and safety of your Majesty, and your kingdoms, than maintaining inviolable such alliances as have been made, or that your Majesty shall think fit to make, with the Emperor, the States General of the United Provinces, and other potentates, for preserving the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France; we do assure your Majesty, that we are firmly resolved, to the utmost of our power, to enable your Majesty to prosecute that glorious design: and, that all your subjects may rest in a full assurance of happiness under your Majesty's reign, we will maintain the succession of the crown in the protestant line, according to the limitation in the several acts of settlement; and effectually provide for, and make good the public credit of the nation.

Ha

Her Majesty's Answer, March 10, 1702.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for the kind assurances you give me in this address: they cannot be any way more agreeably confirmed to me, than by your giving dispatch to all your preparations for the public service, and the support of our allies.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 11, 1702.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT too much lament my own unhappiness, in succeeding to the crown so immediately after the loss of a King, who was the great support not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe; and I am extremely sensible of the weight and difficulty it brings upon me.

But the true concern I have for our religion; for the laws and liberties of England; for the maintaining the succession to the crown in the protestant line; and the government in church and state, as by law established; encourages me in this great undertaking; which, I promise myself, will be successful, by the blessing of God, and the continuance of that fidelity and affection, of which you have given me so full assurance.

The present conjuncture of affairs requires the greatest application and dispatch; and I am very glad to find, in your several addresses, so unanimous a concurrence in the same opinion with me, that too much cannot be done for the encouragement of our allies to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

I think it very necessary, at this time, to desire you to consider of proper methods for attaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been so lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and security of both kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I need not put you in mind, that the revenue for defraying the expenses of the civil government, is expired: I rely entirely upon your affections for the supplying it in such manner as shall be most suitable for the honour and dignity of the crown.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It shall be my constant endeavour to make you the best return for that duty and affection which you have expressed to me, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all my subjects: and, as I know my own heart to be entirely English, I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for

the happiness and prosperity of England ; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 30, 1702.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM very well pleased to have given my assent to the act for taking the public accounts. Nothing is more reasonable than to give the kingdom the satisfaction of having those great sums accounted for, which were raised to carry on the late war ; especially when it is necessary, for our own safety, and the support of our allies, to continue great taxes.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my kind and hearty thanks for continuing to me for my life, the same revenue you had granted to the King. I will take great care it shall be managed to the best advantage ; and while my subjects remain under the burden of such great taxes, I will straighten myself in my own expenses, rather than not contribute all I can to their ease and relief, with a just regard to the support of the honour and dignity of the crown. It is probable the revenue may fall very short of what it has formerly produced : however, I will give directions, that one hundred thousand pounds be applied to the public service in this year, out of the revenue you have so unanimously given me.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The present posture of affairs abroad, as well as the season of the year, obliges me to put you in mind of giving all possible dispatch to the public business.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, March 31, 1702.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, beg leave unanimously to return our most humble and hearty thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne ; and particularly for your Majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness, in declaring, that your Majesty, out of your own revenue, will contribute so largely to the ease and relief of your subjects, at a time when your Majesty thinks it probable that the revenue may fall very short of what it has formerly produced ; and when your Majesty's expenses must, of necessity, be greater than ordinary.

Nothing

Nothing can more encourage your people to contribute with alacrity to the public occasions, than to have before them so great and glorious an example from your Majesty, of zeal and affection for the common good; and that your Majesty is so well pleased to have given the kingdom the satisfaction of having those great sums accounted for, which were raised to carry on the late war.

We cannot omit, upon this occasion, to repeat our firm resolutions to maintain and defend your Majesty, and your government, against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other your Majesty's enemies whatsoever.

May God prolong your Majesty's auspicious reign over us, and bless these kingdoms with royal issue of your Majesty to inherit the crown of your ancestors.

Her Majesty's Answer, April 8, 1702.

Gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me to find you are so well pleased with what I have said. I shall be glad, upon all occasions, to let you see I desire nothing so much as the ease and happiness of my people.

Address by the House of Commons to the Queen, May 2, 1702.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, being highly sensible of your Majesty's great and tender care for the safety and welfare of your people, do, with one voice, return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your gracious condescension in communicating to us your royal intentions of declaring war, in conjunction with your Majesty's allies, against the French King, and his grandson; and we do heartily assure your Majesty, that we will, to the utmost, enable your Majesty to carry on the said war.

Her Majesty's Answer, May 5, 1702.

Gentlemen,

I AM extremely pleased with the assurances of your resolution to assist and support me in this war: I make no doubt but your unanimity, upon this occasion, will have a very good effect for the encouragement of our allies.

Joint Address by both Houses to the Queen, May 18, 1702.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to represent to your Majesty, as our opinion, that nothing will more contribute to the effectual carrying on the just and necessary war, wherein you are engaged; to the interrupting the trade of your enemies; to the depriving them of intelligence; and reducing them to the greatest straits; than an entire prohibition of all correspondence with France and Spain, on the part of the allies: and we do therefore humbly advise your Majesty, that you will be pleased, so soon as may be, to engage the Emperor, the States General, and your other allies, to join with your Majesty in prohibiting, in the strictest manner, and under the severest penalties, all intercourse by letters, or otherwise, between the subjects of your Majesty and your allies, and the subjects of France and Spain.

Her Majesty's Answer, May 22, 1702.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I SHALL propose to the allies to join with me in prohibiting all intercourse and correspondence with France and Spain, according to your desires: and I am too much concerned for the public welfare, to omit any necessary precautions for the protection of our trade.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 23, 1702.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction I meet this Parliament, which I have summoned to assist me in carrying on the just and necessary war in which we are engaged. I have called you together as early as was consistent with your convenience in coming out of your several countries; and I assure myself of such evidences of your affections to me, and of your zeal for our common cause, as will not only give spirit and forwardness to our own preparations, but such example and encouragement to our allies, as by God's blessing, cannot fail of a good effect for the advantage of the whole confederacy.

I have met with so many expressions of joy and satisfaction in all the countries through which I have lately had occasion to pass, that I cannot but look upon them as true measures of the duty and affection of the rest of my subjects.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must desire you to grant me such supplies, as will enable me to comply both with our particular treaties and engagements already made, and such others as may be necessary for the encouragement of our allies, and the prosecuting the war, where it shall most sensibly affect our enemies, and be most effectual for disappointing the boundless ambition of France.

And that my subjects may the more cheerfully bear the necessary taxes, I desire you to inspect the accounts of all the public receipts and payments; and if there have been any abuses or mismanagements, I hope you will detect them, that the offenders may be punished, and others be deterred, by such examples, from the like practices.

I must observe to you, with some concern, that the funds given by the last Parliament have, in some measure, fallen short of the sums proposed to be raised by them; and though I have already paid, and applied to the public service, the hundred thousand pounds which I promised to the last Parliament, yet it has not supplied the deficiency.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot, without much trouble, take notice to you of the disappointment we have had at Cadiz. I have not yet had a particular account of that enterprize, nor all the difficulties our forces may have met there; but I have had such a representation of disorders and abuses committed at Port Saint Mary's, as has obliged me to give directions for the strictest examination of that matter.

I am earnestly desirous, for all our sakes, that this may prove a short session; however, I hope, you will find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and to improve that manufacture, which is of great consequence to the whole kingdom: on my part, nothing shall be omitted for its encouragement.

I am firmly persuaded that the love and good affection of my subjects is the surest pledge of their duty and obedience, and the truest and justest support of the throne; and as I am resolved to defend and maintain the church, as by law established, and to protect you in the full enjoyment of all your rights and liberties, so I rely upon your care of me. My interests and your's are inseparable, and my endeavours shall never be wanting to make you all safe and happy.

Address by the House of Commons, Oct. 26, 1702.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to lay before your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne, which gives us such instances of your Majesty's tender concern for your people, and of your entire confidence in their affections, as must engage them to make your Majesty the utmost returns of duty and gratitude.

It is great condescension in your Majesty to take notice, in so public a manner, of the expressions of joy and satisfaction with which your Majesty was received in all the countries through which you had occasion lately to pass: all your subjects have already received so many benefits under the influence of your Majesty's happy government, that your Majesty must have met with the like in any other part of your dominions that you had honoured with your royal presence.

The late disappointment at Cadiz does the more affect us, because it gives your Majesty so much trouble; but this misfortune cannot make us forget, that the protection and security of our trade, the vigorous support of your Majesty's allies, and the wonderful progress of your Majesty's arms, under the conduct of the Earl of Marlborough, have signally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the English nation.

After your Majesty's repeated assurances we neither doubt of the full enjoyment of all our rights and liberties, nor of your Majesty's defending and maintaining the church, as by law established. Your Majesty has been always a most illustrious ornament to this church, and have been exposed to great hazards for it; and therefore we promise ourselves, that in your Majesty's reign we shall see it perfectly restored to its due rights and privileges, and secured in the same to posterity, which is only to be done by divesting those men of the power who have shewn they want not the will to destroy it.

The prospect of these blessings, and your Majesty's desire to have the accounts of the public receipts and payments inspected, and to have any abuses and mismanagements thereof punished, will very much endear your Majesty to your people, and encourage us most cheerfully to assist your Majesty with those supplies that may effectually enable your Majesty to make good such alliances as shall be necessary to prosecute the war, where it shall most sensibly affect your enemies, and thereby disappoint the boundless ambition of France.

Your

Your Majesty may safely rely upon the care of your faithful Commons. The value you are pleased to set upon the love and affection of your subjects, is the highest obligation that can be laid on them, to give your Majesty pledges thereof, in their duty and obedience: they are, and shall always be, sensible that your Majesty's interests and theirs are inseparable; and as they gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's great designs to make them safe and happy, so their prayers and sincerest endeavours shall never be wanting to make your Majesty's reign more prosperous and more glorious than any of your Majesty's royal predecessors.

Her Majesty's Answer, October 28, 1702.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you very kindly for the many marks of your duty and affection expressed in this address.

Nothing can be a greater satisfaction to me, than an entire confidence between me and my subjects.

*Message from her Majesty to the House of Commons,
November 21, 1702.*

ANNE REX.

HER Majesty, considering that there is but a very small provision made for the Prince her husband, if he shall survive her Majesty, and that her Majesty is restrained from increasing the same by the late act of Parliament for settling her revenue, thinks it necessary to recommend the making a further provision for the Prince to your consideration.

St. James's, Nov. 20th, 1702.

Her Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Dec. 10, 1702.

ANNE REX.

THE Earl of Marlborough's services to her Majesty, and to the public, have been so eminent, both in his command in the army, and in his having established an entire confidence and good correspondence between her Majesty and the States General, that she has thought fit to grant the title of a Duke of this kingdom to him, and to the heirs male of his body, as also a pension of five thousand pounds per ann. upon the revenue of

the post-office, for the support of this honour, during her Majesty's natural life.

If it had been in her Majesty's power, she would have granted the same term in the pension as in the honour, and she hopes you will think it so reasonable in this case, as to find some proper method of doing it.

St. James's, December 10, 1702.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, Dec. 18, 1702.

Most gracious Sovereign, .

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to declare our unanimous satisfaction in the just esteem your Majesty has been pleased to express of the eminent services performed by the Duke of Marlborough, who has not only, by his conduct of the army, retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the English nation, but by his negotiations, established an entire confidence and good correspondence between your Majesty and the States General, and therein vindicated the gentlemen of England, who had, by the vile practices of designing men, been traduced, and indutritiously represented as false to your Majesty's allies, because they were true to the interests of their country.

It is their unexpressible grief, that your Majesty's most dutiful Commons find any instance wherein they are unable to comply with what your Majesty proposes to them; but they beg leave humbly to lay before Majesty the apprehensions they have of making a precedent for future alienations of the revenue of the crown, which has been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the last reign, and which has been so lately settled and secured by your Majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness.

We are infinitely pleased to observe, by your Majesty's late gracious acceptance of the Duke of Marlborough's services, that the only way to obtain your Majesty's favour is to deserve well from the public; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that whenever you shall think fit to reward such merit, it shall be to the entire satisfaction of your people.

• *Her Majesty's Answer, December 22, 1702.*

I SHALL always think myself much concerned to reward those who deserve well of me, and of the public. On this occasion I bestowed some favours on the Duke of Marlborough, and I am glad to find you think they have been well placed.

• *Address by the House of Commons, January 7, 1703.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious condescension in communicating to your Commons the the several memorials, transactions, and letters, that have passed between your Majesty and the States General, for the augmentation of your Majesty's forces, which are to act in conjunction with the forces of the States General; by all which your Commons are entirely convinced of your Majesty's great tenderness of your subjects, in not laying a greater burden upon them than the necessity of affairs does absolutely require.

And your Commons do humbly assure your Majesty, that in case your Majesty shall think it necessary to enter into any further negotiation for increasing the forces which are to act in conjunction with the forces of the States General (for whose interest and preservation we shall always have the greatest regard) your Commons will enable your Majesty to make good the same.

And your Commons do further crave leave humbly to beseech your Majesty that you will be pleased to insist upon it with the States General, that there be an immediate stop of all posts, and of all letters, bills, and all other correspondence, trade, and commerce with France and Spain, which your Commons are humbly of opinion is so absolutely necessary for carrying on the just and necessary war wherein your Majesty is engaged, to the interrupting the trade of your enemies, and reducing them to the greatest straits, that your Commons do humbly desire that England may not be charged with the pay of such additional troops, but from the day when such stop shall be made by the States General.

Her

Her Majesty's Address, January 9, 1703.

Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction that I receive this address, which enables me to join with the States General in augmenting our forces according to their desire.

I make no doubt but the condition you mention will be approved, since it is absolutely necessary for the good of the whole alliance; and I shall this night send directions to my minister in Holland, to concert with the States General in providing the troops accordingly.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, Feb. 11, 1703.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, (being deeply sensible, that notwithstanding the immense sums which have been raised for the service of the late war, the nation still labours under a vast debt of many millions of money,) do think it our indispensable duty to lay before your Majesty the unhappy causes and influences which appear to us to have brought this heavy burthen upon your people; not doubting but your Majesty will be graciously pleased, in your great wisdom and goodness, to give such effectual orders, that neither any indirect practices shall be suffered, nor any persons intrusted with the administration of public affairs, who have been the authors of all our miseries.

We therefore humbly crave leave to represent to your Majesty, that during the said war, which was carried on in defence of the protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe, against the common enemy of both, and therefore cheerfully supported by the people of England, yet even then, when the great necessities of the kingdom did require a more than ordinary frugality, there appears to have been a general mismanagement of the public revenue, which was principally owing to some of the great officers of the treasury, who, being more intent on their own private profit than the due execution of their public trusts, did neither discharge the duty of their own places, nor take care that the subordinate officers should discharge theirs.

And we can attribute it to no other cause than this remissness in the treasury, that many receivers in the several counties of England and Wales made so long and unnecessary delays in
their

their respective payments into the exchequer, of the taxes given by Parliament, and levied on your Majesty's good subjects, by which means they made unreasonable advantages to themselves, whilst the public was forced to pay great interest and large premiums, not only for the want of their own money, but, as we have great reason to believe, many times for the loan of it ; and several receivers, in such intermediate time, have failed, with considerable sums in their hands, to the great loss and damage of the public.

Your dutiful Commons do further humbly represent to your Majesty, that great sums of money have been borrowed, and divers tallies, with interest, struck unnecessarily upon the assessments, and other parliamentary aids, before the public occasions have required them ; and this practice hath been pursued when votes of credit have been obtained, upon representations made to your Commons of very pressing necessities for the same, whereby many officers of the revenue, and their friends, have had an opportunity to receive great sums for interest, which did occur on such tallies before their money was paid in to the use of the public, for the advantage of which interest we have also reason to believe that many accountants, who have received from the exchequer great sums of money for the use of the public, did industriously delay the payment thereof to the seamen and soldiers to whom it was due ; and this seems to be the great inducement that made such accountants trust great sums of the public money in the hands of goldsmiths and other persons, in order to make private advantages of it, and lend it back to the exchequer in other persons names : all which tended to the great damage of your Majesty's good subjects, and the manifest wrong and discouragement of the seamen and soldiers, and to the great dishonour of the English nation.

This evil practice of striking tallies, with interest, before the money was paid in, was also attended with another great inconvenience to the public ; that whenever the nation had occasion for ready money to answer the present necessities of the kingdom, many persons who advanced their money upon loan, knowing they should have the same advantages by delay as by prompt payment, would not bring their money into the exchequer for several months after the tallies were struck, whereby the government was forced, in the mean time, to pay excessive rates for stores and provisions for the army and navy, in regard the merchants and tradesmen could have no ready money for their goods, but remote tallies upon a large discount.

And by these, and other undue means, a very great part of all the public aids were squandered away in extravagant interest, large premiums, and in excessive rates for store and provision, which has been one of the great causes that hath brought so heavy a debt upon this nation.

But here we cannot, in justice, omit to acknowledge the present good management of the treasury, whereby, for the honour of your government, and the advantage of the whole nation, no unnecessary taxes, with interest, are permitted to be struck, nor more money at any time borrowed than the necessities of the nation do require; and care is taken for supporting the credit of the court, the navy, victualling, and other public uses, that all stores and provisions are in good measure provided with as great advantage to the public, as if the same were purchased with ready money; which frugality and good management will be found to be one of the most effectual means to make your Majesty's government easy at home, and to carry on a vigorous war against the common enemy abroad.

And we humbly crave leave further to represent to your Majesty, that though your Commons (who are always ready to support the dignity of the crown) had amply provided all those sums which (according to the largest estimates laid before them) were thought necessary for the occasions of the civil list; yet, over and above the said sums, and out of the aids given by Parliament, (which, by the law of England, are appropriated, and ought to have been employed to the common profit of the whole realm,) many large sums of money, during the time of such heavy taxes upon the people, have been diverted, under the head of secret services, and for salaries, bounties, and pensions to private persons, which (if proper to be paid at all) ought to have been supplied out of the civil list; nay, to so great a degree did this profuseness extend, that several thousand pounds were paid out of the public aid, to purchase great places for the late Earl of Sunderland, and the present Earl of Albemarle: so little could your Commons depend upon the integrity of the public officers, so little regard was had by them to those heavy taxes the people lay under, that nothing less could secure the public money from misapplications than an express clause of appropriation, which, though not at all necessary for the security of the public money in general, but only to direct the application of it in some particular cases; yet, whenever your Commons made no such particular appropriation, they seldom failed to misapply the public money, which has been another great cause of the heavy debt that lies upon the nation.

And

And your Commons humbly crave leave further to represent to your Majesty, that the ancient and established method of accounting in your Majesty's exchequer hath been in manner following; that is to say, the auditor of the receipt is to make out and transmit the imprest rolls half-yearly to your Majesty's remembrancer, in order to the charging and prosecuting of accountants; which being communicated to the auditors of the imprest, they are to certify to the said remembrancer, what accountants have not brought in, or prosecuted their accounts; and thereupon the remembrancer is obliged, every issuable term, to issue out process against them: so that the auditor of the receipt is the main wheel that sets all the rest a-going; and when that great officer is deficient in his duty, it is not regular, nor indeed possible, for the rest to proceed; but all process against accountants must be at a stand, and your Majesty, and all your loyal subjects, must extremely suffer by it. And as to the clerk of the pells, he is to examine the imprest rolls, but the auditor is obliged to transmit them to the remembrancer; and when, through the neglect or corruption of the said officers, this ancient method and course of the exchequer was not so strictly observed as it ought to have been, it was expressly provided by an act of Parliament, so lately made as in the eighth and ninth years of the reign of his late Majesty King William, of glorious memory, and intituled, "An Act for the better Observation of the Course anciently used in the Receipt of the Exchequer," in these words following; that is to say, "That the auditor of the receipt shall transmit the ordinary imprest rolls half-yearly to the King's remembrancer, in order to the charging or prosecuting of accountants, and shall half-yearly, to wit, at Easter and Michaelmas, make out, and transmit to the said commissioners of the treasury, or the treasurer for the time being, the declaration of the receipts, issues, and remains, at the exchequer, for every half-year successively: all which matters and things, and all other matters and things belonging to the office and duty of the auditor of the receipt, shall be faithfully and carefully done and performed by the auditor of the receipt for the time being, in such manner as hath been anciently accustomed." And it is thereby further provided, "That the said auditor do, as frequently as he thinks fit, but at least once in every three months, carefully examine the tellers vouchers for the payments, which he allows in his weekly certificates." But so it is, most gracious Sovereign, that, notwithstanding the plain and express words of the said statute, so lately made, when Charles, Lord Halifax, the present auditor of the receipt, was himself a member of that Parliament, yet he hath taken so little care to discharge the duty of his

his office, for the interest of your Majesty and the security of the public, that he hath not duly performed any one of the particulars above mentioned; and, for want of examining the teller: legal vouchers, the said auditor hath manifestly deceived your Majesty, and the public, by inserting into the weekly certificates of the receipts, issues, and remains in the exchequer, such sums of money as were never actually and *bona fide* paid to the proper parties, nor the crown legally discharged thereof: and as to the impress rolls, your Commons cannot without grief observe to your Majesty, that, notwithstanding there may be six impress rolls now transmitted to the remembrancer, yet it is well known in the said office, that none of the said rolls, from the eight and twentieth of June, one thousand seven hundred, exclusive, were so transmitted, till very lately, after the two and twentieth of January last, and after the said commissioners of accounts had made their inquiries into that neglect, by order of your Commons, which being long after the time they ought to have been transmitted, the said auditor was very far from doing his duty in this particular; and, by reason of this neglect, no charge could be made in the mean time upon the respective accountants, who have received vast sums of the public money, which are unaccounted for to this day; and by this means, notwithstanding the impress accountants ought annually to account within three months after the end of each year, yet due process hath not, nor indeed could issue out against them; and many persons who have received great sums, by way of impress, from the treasurer of the navy, and paymaster of the army, are screened from prosecution, and, not being set *in super* in the exchequer, cannot be regularly called to an account for the monies by them received: and we have great reason to believe, that the damage to the public, by this neglect in the said auditor, and his predecessor, may amount to several millions of money; since, by length of time (during which the principal accounts have been neglected) many of the persons who received the said public money, are either dead or become insolvent: and the greater the neglect of the former auditor was, before the making the said statute, and before the present auditor came to his office, the greater ought to have been his care to discharge his duty, pursuant to that law which he himself was present at the making of, and which he has so highly neglected for the space of three years, and upwards, ever since he came into the said office, to the great detriment of your Majesty, and all your loyal subjects.

And notwithstanding it was also provided by another act, made in the fourth year of the late King William and Queen Mary, chap. 3. “That, in case any officer of the exchequer should

should demand or take any fee, gratuity, or reward, or misapply any of the weekly sums therein mentioned, or should not perform other things, which, by the said act, they are required to perform, they shall forfeit their offices, and be incapable of any office or place of trust ;” yet the said auditor hath acted contrary to the said statute, and hath received several sums of money to his own use, contrary to law, and the trust reposed in him ; for all which, or any other breaches of his duty, as well as for those formerly laid before your Majesty (for whose gracious answer to our humble address on that occasion we return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks) we earnestly desire your Majesty will be graciously pleased to order your attorney general effectually to prosecute at law the said auditor of the receipt : and thus, as we have seen great and good actions rewarded by your Majesty, we doubt not but to see all deceits and mismanagements duly punished ; since your Commons can propose no benefit to themselves by all their inquiries, unless the laws are put in due execution, and those who have lived so long in defiance of them, come at last to feel their weight.

And, by the neglect of the said auditor, and his predecessor, the auditors of the imprest, and the remembrancer, and other officers of the exchequer, have not been able to proceed in their duty, according to the law and course of the exchequer ; several of which officers have been also negligent therein ; whereby all the public accounts of the nation are far behind : the state whereof, (as delivered in to the commissioners of accounts,) in the particulars hereafter mentioned, is as followeth :

The Earl of Ranelagh, late paymaster of your Majesty's forces, of one and twenty millions and upwards, received in fourteen years time, hath passed no account, during all the late reign, farther than the last of December one thousand six hundred and ninety, nor any other account, farther than March one thousand six hundred and ninety-two ; which was not declared before the twentieth of June last, and even that upon vouchers which were not sufficient for a legal discharge.

The commissioners for the sick and wounded have brought in no accounts during all the late reign ; and none since, any further than the one and thirtieth of December one thousand six hundred and ninety.

The late treasurer of the chamber, Sir Rowland Gwyn, the late master of the robes, the Earl of Albemarle, and Mr. Parkhurst, Mr. Paschall, and others, commissioners of the prize-office, have delivered in no accounts at all to the auditors of the inquest.

Jacob

Jacob Vandereſche, Eſq. paymaſter of his late Maſteſty's Dutch forces, hath received three millions twenty-five thouſand ſeven hundred fifty three pounds, nine ſhillings, and ſix pence ; which, by computation, is fifty-two thouſand nine hundred and ſeven pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight pence farthing, more than the pay of thoſe troops could have amounted to, if they had been always complete ; no deductions made from them ; and upon an Engliſh eſta bliſhment, which all of them were not : and yet the ſaid Vandereſche hath paſſed no account at all ; and, though often ſummoned, hath never appeared before the ſaid commiſſioners of the public accounts, but ſtands indebted to the ſaid troops in one hundred and twelve thouſand two hundred twenty-nine pounds, nine ſhillings, and eight pence, which is now demanded, as an arrear due to them from your Maſteſty, and the public.

The late treaſurer of the navy, of ſeventeen millions and upwards received, hath brought in ſeveral accounts to the laſt of December one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-eight : his account for the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-two, was declared the third day of July laſt ; ſince which the accounts of the three following years only have been declared.

The ſaid treaſurer, by Mr. Papillion, caſhier of the victual-ling-office, hath paſſed no account during all the late reign ; farther than the one and thirtieth of December one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-fix ; which was not declared till the nineteenth of May one thouſand ſeven hundred and one ; and, on the foot of that account, he remained indebted five hundred thirty-four thouſand twenty-seven pounds, three ſhillings, and three pence.

And many other accountants, who it would be too tedious to enumerate to your Maſteſty, are either far behind in their accounts, or have never brought in any accounts at all ; inſomuch that, although forty-five millions five hundred ſixty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred twenty-five pounds, nineteen ſhillings, and two pence farthing, (a ſum never known to be raiſed in very many reigns before,) hath been levied on your Maſteſty's good ſubjects, and iſſued out of the exchequer to the ſeveral paymaſters and treaſurers of the navy, army, and ordnance, for the ſervice of the late war, between the fifth of November one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight, and the eighth of March laſt paſt, (beſides the ſeveral millions of money raiſed for other public uſes,) yet the far greateſt part thereof hath not been accounted for to this day ; to the great diſſatisfaction of your people, and the great diſhonour of the Engliſh nation.

By theſe neglects and delays, all accounts have been rendered ſo intricate and conſuſed, that the ſeveral accountants have
had

had great opportunities of defrauding the public; the discovery of their frauds has been made very difficult; and a hindrance thereby is given to the passing all succeeding accounts.

Hence it is, that so many public officers and accountants have raised great estates to themselves, at the expense of the public, when it is evident, they have had no lawful means to attain them, and several persons, whose duty it was to hinder such exorbitances, measuring their requests rather by their own avarice than their merit, have obtained for themselves grants, to such a value, as in foregoing reigns have been esteemed large supplies towards great and public services: which has been another great cause of the debt that lies upon the nation.

And your Commons do further humbly represent to your Majesty, that, notwithstanding such vast sums issued out to the said late paymaster and treasurer, whereby your Commons had amply provided for all those services, and for the effectual carrying on the war against France, yet they find to their great sorrow, that not only the officers, but the seamen and soldiers, who on all occasions have behaved themselves bravely in defence of their country, have not been paid during the late war, and that great sums are still owing to many of them; whereas, if the public money had been duly applied to the uses for which it was given by your Commons, instead of those many hardships that were endured by your Majesty's most faithful subjects and their families, who served so well in your fleets and armies, they would have had justice done them during the last war, and been encouraged more cheerfully to engage themselves in this.

But, instead of justice, we have too much reason to believe, that those very persons who, by long and unnecessary delays, have compelled them to accept of remote tallies and paper securities, have (amongst others) taken advantage of their necessities, and employing brokers to buy up those tallies and securities at a low rate, have afterwards paid themselves with that ready money which they should at first have distributed to the seamen and soldiers.

And such was the mysterious trade upon tallies and exchequer bills, which was formerly carried on by common brokers, betwixt the exchange and the exchequer, and which did, as it were, prey upon the very vitals of the government, and so great gain was made thereby at the expense of the public, that vast sums of money were employed in it; which did very much lessen the true trading stock of this nation: whereby both the exportation of the woollen and other manufactures of this kingdom, and the importation of bullion, and other commodities of foreign countries, to be manufactured in England, have been very much obstructed, to the great prejudice of your

Majesty's customs, the loss of the balance of trade, and the general impoverishment of the whole kingdom.

And though the said late paymaster and treasurer, by long and unnecessary delays in settling their accounts, have in great measure prevented any discovery of their undue proceedings, and have endeavoured to protect themselves from a just and fair account to the nation, by privy seals, and other unjustifiable warrants, surreptitiously obtained, for passing their accounts without proper vouchers, contrary to the law and course of the exchequer ; yet your Commons, by the great fidelity and diligence of the said commissioners for taking, examining, and stating the public accounts of the kingdom, have not only discovered the several mismanagements above-mentioned, but also, some of the unwarrantable proceedings used by the said late paymaster of your Majesty's forces ; by whom a considerable part of the money which came to his hands, and which ought not to have been applied to any other purpose than the payment of the army, hath been diverted to his own and to other private uses ; for all which, upon a full and fair hearing in his own defence, he hath justly incurred the censure of this House, and been declared guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour.

And we find to our unspeakable grief, whilst his late Majesty was engaged in the prosecution of the glorious design of preserving the protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe, and was thereby necessitated to commit the care of the public affairs in this kingdom to particular ministers, whereof a very few were more particularly intrusted with the chief administration, and who have been the great causes of all the unhappy differences amongst us, this general mismanagement of the public affairs did actually spread itself over the whole kingdom, and seems to be owing (amongst other things) to a disposition of offices and places, where men were rather chosen for their inclinations to serve a party, than for their qualification to serve the public.

And these men, being conscious to themselves of the many frauds and offences committed against the public, have no other hopes to shelter themselves from justice, but by taking away the reputation of those who desire to do right to their country, by detecting their iniquities ; and being united in guilt and interest, they endeavour to amuse and impose upon those whose posterity, we have too much reason to fear, will groan under the sad effects of the wickedness of the one, and the too great credulity of the other.

These, dread Sovereign, are divers of the causes of those mischiefs your kingdom suffereth by the late mismanagements,
and

and which your loyal Commons could not omit thus humbly to represent, in all dutiful manner, without being unfaithful to your Majesty, and to the country by whom they are intrusted.

From hence your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take notice, that the great debt which lies upon the nation; and all the arrears which are owing to your Majesty's forces, do not arise so much from the deficiencies of the funds, as for want of care in the management, and fidelity in the application of them.

But since it hath pleased Almighty God to place your sacred Majesty on the royal throne of your ancestors, we have so entire a confidence in your Majesty's goodness; that we can no longer fear to see the public revenue mismanaged, or misapplied, the accounts neglected, or the forces unpaid; and we cheerfully depend on your Majesty's wisdom, that all our grievances, by your grace and favour, will in due time be redressed and removed, by punishing those who have been the cause of them, and by intrusting none in the administration of public affairs, who, for their own private advantage, have manifestly contributed to the calamity of their country.

This, most gracious Sovereign, will be the only effectual means to prevent the like mismanagement for the future, and thereby to make your Majesty's reign happy at home and prosperous abroad.

This will be the best means to enable and encourage your dutiful Commons to raise those supplies which shall be necessary to support your Majesty against all your enemies.

And we humbly crave leave, upon this occasion, to repeat our assurances to your Majesty, that we will always stand by and assist your Majesty, to the utmost of our power, in preserving the established government; both in church and state; maintaining the ancient glory of the English nation, and in defending the liberties of Europe against the boundless ambition of France.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 9, 1703.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE called you together as soon as I thought you could conveniently come out of your countries, that no time might be lost in making our preparations for carrying on the present war; in which I do not doubt of your cheerful concurrence; since you cannot but be sensible that on the success of it depends our own safety and happiness, and that of all Europe.

I hope I have improved the confidence you reposed in me last year to your satisfaction, and the advantage of us, and our allies;

allies, by the treaty with the King of Portugal, and the declaration of the Duke of Savoy : which, in great measure, may be imputed to the cheerfulness with which you supported me in this war, and the assurance with which you trusted me in the conduct of it ; and we cannot sufficiently acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God, who is pleased to afford us so fair a prospect as we now have, of bringing it to a glorious and speedy conclusion.

I must therefore desire you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to grant me such supplies as shall be requisite to defray the necessary charge of the war in the next year, with regard not only to all our former engagements, but particularly to our alliance lately made with the King of Portugal, for recovering the monarchy of Spain from the house of Bourbon, and restoring it to the house of Austria ; which treaty, being in itself of the highest importance imaginable, and requiring all possible dispatch in the execution of it, has necessarily occasioned a great expense even in this present year, though not so much as it will require, and for which I hope we shall be amply recompensed in the next.

The subsidies which will now be immediately required, for the assistance of the Duke of Savoy, will likewise occasion a further necessary charge.

I must take notice to you, that though no particular provision was made in the last session, either for the charge of our present expedition to Portugal, or for that of the augmentation troops desired by the States General ; yet the funds given by Parliament have held out so well, and the produce of the prizes has proved so considerable, that you will find the public will not be in debt by reason of either of these additional services.

I may further observe to you, that though the funds for the civil government are diminished by the war, I have, in conjunction with the States General, contributed out of my own revenue towards some public services, and particularly the support of the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the interest of the allies, under the greatest pressures, did very well deserve our seasonable assistance ; and I shall still be careful not to engage myself in any unnecessary expense of my own, that I may have the more to spare towards the ease of my subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I heartily wish some easy and less chargeable method could be found, for the speedy and effectual manning of the fleet.

I must.

I must also recommend to you to make some regulation for preventing the excessive price of coals. I have examined this matter, and taken particular care to appoint convoys for that service; but the price has not been in the least abated, notwithstanding a very considerable quantity has been imported since that time. This gives great ground of suspicion, there may be a combination of some persons, to enrich themselves by a general oppression of others, and particularly the poor: it will deserve your consideration, how to remedy this great inconvenience.

And, in all your affairs, I must recommend to you as much dispatch as the nature of them will admit. This is necessary to make our preparations early, on which, in great measure, depends the good success of all our enterprizes.

I want words to express to you my earnest desires of seeing all my subjects in perfect peace and union among themselves: I have nothing so much at heart as their general welfare and happiness. Let me therefore desire you all, that you would carefully avoid any heats or divisions, that may disappoint me of that satisfaction, and give encouragement to the common enemies of our church and state.

Address by the House of Commons to the Queen, Nov. 11, 1703.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do humbly return your Majesty our most hearty thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We are truly sensible of your Majesty's earnest endeavours to bring the war to a glorious and speedy conclusion, of which your Majesty has given us so fair a prospect, by your great wisdom and conduct, in engaging the King of Portugal and Duke of Savoy in your alliance, for recovering the monarchy of Spain from the house of Bourbon, and restoring it to the house of Austria.

We do most gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's singular care in the good management and application of the public money, whereby your Majesty's exchequer hath greater credit, in this so expensive a war, than was ever known in the most flourishing times of peace; and your most unparalleled grace and goodness to your people, in contributing out of your own revenue towards the public service, particularly your Majesty's most seasonable assistance to the circle of Suabia.

The many blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's most auspicious reign, and your tender regard to the general welfare and happiness of your subjects, justly require our utmost returns of duty and gratitude, and your Majesty may be assured that your faithful Commons will support your Majesty in your alliances, and effectually enable your Majesty to carry on the war with vigour; to which nothing can more contribute than a firm union among ourselves. We therefore crave leave further to assure your Majesty that we will, according to your Majesty's desire, carefully avoid any heats or divisions that may give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state.

Her Majesty's Answer, November 15, 1703.

I AM very well pleased with your assurances of supporting me in the present war, and your kind acknowledgments of my endeavours to bring it to a happy conclusion.

You may assure yourselves I sha'l always pursue the true interest of the kingdom, and omit nothing that may promote the welfare of my people.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 17, 1703.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THINK it proper upon this occasion to acquaint you, that I have had unquestionable informations of very ill practices and customs carried on in Scotland by emissaries from France, which might have proved extremely dangerous to the peace of that Kingdom, as you will see by the particulars which shall be presented to you, as soon as the several examinations relating thereto can be fully perfected, and made public without prejudice: in the mean time, I make no doubt, but by this timely discovery, I shall be able to give such directions for the security as will effectually prevent any ill consequences from the malicious designs.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am very sensible of your great readiness and affection for the public service, by presenting me so early in the sessions with a considerable part of your supplies. I depend entirely upon your continuing with the same zeal to dispatch the remainder of them; that so we may be prepared to give the speediest assistance to our allies, and to defeat the malicious designs of our enemies.

enemies, who cannot be more industrious to contrive the ruin of this kingdom, and of the protestant religion, than I shall always be vigilant and careful, both for their present preservation, and for their future security.

Address by the House of Commons, December 18, 1703.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We are truly sensible of your Majesty's great goodness, and of the confidence you repose in us, by communicating the discovery of the ill practices and designs that have been carried on in Scotland by emissaries from France ; whereby we have an opportunity to repeat our unanimous resolutions to stand by and support your Majesty, and the succession in the protestant line, as limited by law, against all pretenders, and all your Majesty's enemies whatsoever.

We want words to express to your Majesty the detestation we have of any conspiracies and attempts to disturb the peace and prosperity of your happy government, under which we must think our security sufficiently provided for, since your Majesty has been pleased to give such directions as may prevent all ill consequences from them.

It is great satisfaction to us, to find that the supplies we have already given are so acceptable to your Majesty : we shall go on with the same readiness and zeal to dispatch the remainder of them, that we may enable your Majesty to give the speedier assistance to your allies, and to defeat the malicious designs of your enemies.

Your faithful Commons can never have the least distrust of your Majesty's vigilance and care for the preservation of the protestant interest in general, of the monarchy, and the church of England, as by law established ; and we humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will never be discouraged, but will continue incessant in our endeavours, by all proper methods, to transmit them securely settled to posterity.

Her Majesty's Answer, December 21, 1703.

Gentlemen,

I AM very well pleased with your assurances of dispatching the supplies, and with the other parts of this address, in which you express so much duty and readiness to support, and to trust me.

You may depend upon my willingness to join my endeavours with you, in securing to posterity the protestant succession in the monarchy, and the church of England, as it is established by law.

Address by the House of Commons to the Queen, Dec. 21, 1703.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, beg leave humbly to lay before your Majesty the great and just concern we are under, to see any violation of your royal prerogative.

Your faithful Commons believe the administration of the government best secured, when it is left to your Majesty, with whom the law has intrusted it; and have so firm a dependence upon your Majesty's affection to your people, and your great wisdom, that they can never apprehend so little danger from any conspiracy, as when the examination thereof is under your Majesty's direction.

We are therefore surprised to find, that when several persons suspected of treasonable practices against your Majesty, were taken into custody by your messengers, in order to be examined, the Lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, have wrested them out of your Majesty's hands, and without your Majesty's leave or knowledge, in a most extraordinary manner, taken the examination of them solely to themselves; whereby a due inquiry into the evil practices and designs against your Majesty's person and government may, in great measure, be obstructed.

Your loyal Commons do therefore most earnestly desire your Majesty to suffer no diminution of that prerogative, which, during your Majesty's reign, they are confident will always be exerted for the good of your people.

And we humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that as we are resolved, by timely and effectual supplies, to enable your Majesty to carry on the war which you have so gloriously begun;
so

so we will, to the utmost of our power, support your Majesty in the exercise of your just prerogative at home, and the asserting of it against all invasions whatsoever.

Her Majesty's Answer, January 3, 1704.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE had the satisfaction to find that the matter which may have occasioned this address, is now at an end.

I return you many thanks for the concern you express for my prerogative, and for your repeated assurances of making the supplies effectual, which will be greatly for the honour and advantage of the kingdom.

I shall be careful not to give way to any invasion of the prerogative of the crown, or of the rights and liberties of the people.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 21, 1704.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE misfortune of the King of Spain's being forced back upon our coasts by contrary winds, which I hope will lose but very little time, does yet make it so reasonable to hasten our preparations for this year's service, that though I am very sensible of your zeal in forwarding all things relating to mine and the public service, yet I cannot but take this occasion to desire you with all earnestness, that you would give the greatest dispatch to the business of this session still depending, which is so necessary for the good of the common interest.

Message from her Majesty to the House of Commons, Feb. 7, 1704.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, to give them some ease, hath been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy; and, for an augmentation of their maintenance, her Majesty is pleased to declare, that she will make a grant of her whole revenue arising out of first-fruits and tenths, so far as it now is, or shall become, free from incumbrances, to be applied

plied to this purpose ; and if the House of Commons can find any proper method, by which her Majesty's good intentions to the poor clergy may be made more effectual, it will be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her Majesty.

St. James's, Feb. 7, 1704.

Address by the House of Commons to the Queen, Feb. 9, 1704.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to present our most humble and hearty thanks to your Majesty for your most gracious message ; in which you are pleased to declare your royal bounty, in remitting the arrears of the tenths due from your poor clergy, and in charitably designing, for the future, to apply your Majesty's whole revenue, arising from the first-fruits and tenths, in augmentation of their maintenance.

We are justly sensible of your Majesty's pious concern for the church of England, and of the great advantage it will receive from your Majesty's unparalleled goodness, in giving up such a part of your Majesty's revenue towards the better provision for the poorer clergy, who were not sufficiently provided for at the happy reformation of religion under your royal ancestors.

Your Majesty's faithful Commons will use their utmost endeavours to render your Majesty's charitable intentions most effectual, and will, upon this and all other occasions, readily apply themselves to such proper methods as may best conduce to the support of the clergy, and to the honour, interest, and future security of the church of England, as by law established.

Her Majesty's Answer, February 12, 1704.

Gentlemen,

I AM very glad to find my message has been so acceptable to you ; I hope you will effectually improve it, to the advantage of the church, as by law established, for which nobody can have more true and real concern than myself.

Address.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, Feb. 18, 1704.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty having with great goodness, declared from the throne to your Parliament, that divers ill practices and designs have been carried on in Scotland by emissaries from France, which might have proved extremely dangerous to the peace of these kingdoms; and that you would lay the particulars before your Parliament, as soon as the several examinations could be fully perfected, and made public without prejudice; we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Commons, resting secure and satisfied in your Majesty's great wisdom and care, most thankfully acknowledge the confidence you have been pleased to repose in us.

But finding upon the Lords Journals, that their Lordships the very same day made two orders; the one to remove your Majesty's prisoners out of your custody into their own; and the other to commit their examination solely to a committee of seven Lords, chosen and appointed by themselves; by which your Majesty seemed excluded from any power over the said prisoners.

Your loyal Commons, justly sensible of the dangerous consequences of such proceedings, thought themselves obliged to declare their concern at this violation of your royal prerogative, and the known laws of the land, in an humble address presented to your Majesty.

Your faithful Commons are well assured, that when this matter comes to be rightly stated and understood, a zeal so well intended, and so well grounded, will rather be imputed to them as meritorious, than liable to exception; and therefore, since their humble address has been so artfully misrepresented by the Lords, in their late representation presented to your Majesty, on Tuesday the 18th of January, and published and spread with unusual industry through all parts of the kingdom, they look upon themselves under the indispensable necessity of appearing before your Majesty in their own justification.

Their Lordships think fit to take offence at the manner and words of our address, and accompany this exception with reflections and insinuations, more harsh and more odious than the most opprobrious language: but as we made use of no terms, but what were suitable to the occasion: so it will appear by precedents, that the same have been frequently and reciprocally used by both Houses to each other; nor could the Commons, in respect to your Majesty, assert your royal prerogative in words of less force than those in which they have vindicated their own privileges.

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Whatever expressions our zeal for your Majesty and the public might have inspired, we could never have offered to our Sovereign so ungrateful a remembrance, as the destruction of the monarchy by a detestable assembly, composed of Members of both Houses, who, being alike partakers in the guilt, ought equally to share the reproach.

With much more reason might we observe, both on behalf of your Majesty and the Commons, that their Lordships; not contented with preferring their own examinations to your's; not contented with excluding your Majesty and the Commons, to whom parliamentary inquiries most properly belong; appropriate to their House only, even in their application to their Sovereign, the name of a Parliament; an instance not to be paralleled, unless by that very assembly that subverted the monarchy.

It is not the question at present, as stated by the Lords, whether their Lordships have a power of taking into custody, while under examination, persons accused of criminal matters, cognizable in Parliament; but that their Lordships have a right to take the prisoners of the crown, and the examination of them, solely into their own hands, without your Majesty's consent, and in such manner as must necessarily prove an exclusion of your Majesty and this House, is the proposition your Commons deny, and for which their Lordships have produced no precedent.

This unhappy occasion has been at the same time accompanied with the most surprising instances of contradiction, and counter orders to your Majesty, both preceding and subsequent to it, but especially on the 29th of January last, when your Majesty, with your accustomed goodness, communicated to the Lords the papers relating to the Scotch conspiracy, with an exception only of some matters, not yet proper to be made public, without preventing a further discovery of secrets of greater importance, with which your Majesty assured their Lordships, they should also be acquainted, as soon as it could be done without prejudice. However, their Lordships, upon what provocation, or for what reason, no where appears, immediately addressed to your Majesty, pressing you to lay before them the whole matter, and all papers relating thereunto; by which your Majesty was put under a necessity, either to give their Lordships a refusal, or to comply with their unexpected importunity, to the endangering the public service. These proceedings, so extraordinary in their nature, and in their manner, could not but sensibly affect your faithful Commons, whose earnest desire it is to see both your Houses of Parliament, and the whole body of your people, entirely agreed to pay the deference due to your
Majesty's

Majesty's wisdom, to confide in your care, and to promote and maintain your honour and dignity.

Their Lordships, not satisfied with assuming this unprecedented power, have endeavoured, with a great deal of art, to persuade your Majesty of the necessity of it, to prevent the designs of all princes and their favourites: but as it may seem unreasonable for their Lordships to begin to practise upon a good prince such methods as are pretended only to be needful against an ill one, so it is our humble opinion, that the danger might be much greater, admitting this precedent. Should the Lords combine to defend one another from inquiries and prosecutions, all parliamentary impeachments might be eluded, secret designs carried on, the innocent aspersed without reparation, and the guilty acquitted without trial: nor is that instance, mentioned by the Lords, an unseasonable caution; since that revolution in a neighbouring kingdom, alluded to by their Lordships, was occasioned by the incroachments of a prevailing cabal of lords, who endeavouring to enslave the people, and to betray their king and their country to a foreign power, obliged the church and the Commons to unite in the public defence.

Your faithful Commons have found themselves so happy under your Majesty's administration, that they please themselves with more agreeable prospects; and renouncing such examples of unseasonable jealousies and fears, most thankfully receive the blessings of your reign; nor could they have made a more grateful return for your Majesty's generous protection of their liberties, than by a suitable concern for your prerogative.

If their Lordships had consulted their own Journals, with the same care that we always take to be rightly informed, they would hardly have affirmed, that a direct appeal to the throne, without any previous desire of conference, had been an unprecedented practice: their books are filled with variety of instances to the contrary. But, without examining their books, it seems very surprising, that their Lordships could so soon forget their address presented to your Majesty the last session, on behalf of the Lord Bishop of Worcester; and their address to the late King, on behalf of William, Earl of Portland; Edward, Earl of Orford; John, Lord Somers; and Charles, Lord Hallifax, impeached by the Commons of high crimes and misdemeanors: and when this House formerly expostulated with the House of Lords, for proceeding in the very same method of which they now complain, their Lordships made a most solemn declaration in these words:

“ That

“ That they must ever assert a liberty in their House to apply to the throne, by themselves, for the doing any thing warranted by law,” &c.

Nor can the Lords, we presume, upon second reflection, deny the Commons the same liberty, which their Lordships themselves have so strongly asserted, and so frequently practised.

Your loyal Commons sincerely concur with their Lordships, in declaring, that we will never contribute, by any act of our's, to the diminution of the rights of the crown; and that we will not suffer it in others, your Majesty, their Lordships, and the whole world, may judge, from the example we have now given. If their Lordships do truly wish the House of Commons may, in all times to come, speak and act with that regard to the prerogative, which they allow us the honour to have now taken up, we shall be very unfortunate to continue under their displeasure, at the same time when they seem to hope, that those who succeed us will take pattern by us.

We, with their Lordships also, on their part, may continue, in all times to come, to speak with that regard to parliamentary impeachments, which they seem so lately to have taken up; since we have reason to apprehend, that the misunderstandings, which have of late years arisen between the two Houses, have been principally owing to the artifices of some particular persons among themselves, whom the Commons thought it their duty, for the public safety, to bring to justice: how much more difficult will all such endeavours be rendered, should their Lordships be once admitted sole examiners of accusations against each other, as they are already sole judges?

We are accused, but most unjustly, of exciting, and earnestly desiring, your Majesty to exert your prerogative against the House of Lords. We appeal to the words of our address, if it is possible, naturally to impose any such sense upon any expression that is there. We are sorry their Lordships should descend so low, as to the restraining and wresting of words; by which they rather discover an unfortunate inclination to make us seem culpable, upon any terms, than that they, in truth, believe us so. We know, how vain and how fruitless an application it would be, to excite your Majesty to any abuse of your power, which, we are convinced, you will always exercise for the general good; and so far are your Commons from entertaining any such desire, that we heartily wish to see a good correspondence preserved between the two Houses; nor would forbear to purchase it at any rate, except the giving up the rights of your Majesty, by whom we are
protected,

protected, and the liberties and properties of the people, by whom we are entrusted.

These few instances, so plain and so incontestable, we presume, will be sufficient, without trespassing much longer upon your Majesty's time, to discredit whatever else has been alledged, to create in your Majesty, and those we represent, an ill opinion of us. We have been careful and industrious to avoid, as far as was consistent with our necessary justification, all occasion of reviving animosities; and how great soever the provocation has been, your Majesty having declared, how uneasy you are under such misunderstandings, we shall make no difficulty to lay aside our resentments, who shall always be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to your quiet and service: nor can we doubt, but we must stand fully acquitted to the whole world, and especially to your Majesty, since the zeal that we have shewn, and the reproaches that we have borne, have been owing to no other cause, but the defence of an excellent Queen, in whose hands God Almighty has placed the executive authority over these nations; which authority it has been the only endeavour of your faithful Commons to preserve as entire as our laws and constitution allow.

May it please your most sacred Majesty,

It is with the deepest concern, and a grief not to be expressed, that your dutiful and loyal Commons have found themselves engaged in disputes of this nature, by which they have been so unseasonably interrupted in finishing the supplies, and other matters of the highest importance: how zealously they have applied themselves to the discharge of their duty, appears from their having already presented your Majesty with the greatest part of their aids, with a dispatch and unanimity beyond example; nor could the few bills, yet depending, have met the least obstruction or delay, but from the indispensable necessity of vindicating your Majesty's royal prerogative, the privileges of our own House, and the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, in several instances invaded almost at the same time. We wish there may have been more of mistake than design in those who have created these unhappy differences. However, we desire the remembrance may be henceforth blotted out; and that there may remain no other impression in the hearts, both of Lords and Commons, than a sincere and passionate concern for your Majesty's welfare and glory, nor any other contention ever hereafter arise, but by whom the public good shall be best advanced, the protestant succession, and the church of England, best secured, and the just rights and prerogatives of the crown best supported.

Her

Her Majesty's Answer, February 22, 1704.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you many thanks for the great concern which you express for me and my just rights.

Your dispatch of the supplies is a great advantage to the public service.

And I am very well pleased with the assurances you give me of your care to avoid any occasion of difference between the two Houses, especially at this time, when there is so apparent a necessity of strengthening ourselves against the malicious designs of our enemies.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 24, 1704.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE great and remarkable success, with which God hath blessed our arms in this summer, hath stirred up our good subjects, in all parts of the kingdom, to express their unanimous joy and satisfaction; and I assure myself, you are all come disposed to do every thing that is necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war; nothing being more obvious, than that a timely improvement of our present advantages will enable us to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, and a firm support for the liberty of Europe. This is my aim: I have no interest, nor ever will have, but to promote the good and happiness of all my subjects.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must desire such supplies of you, as may be requisite for carrying on the next year's service, both by sea and land, and for punctually performing our treaties with all our allies; the rather, for that some of them have just pretensions, depending ever since the last war; and I need not put you in mind of what importance it is to preserve the public credit, both abroad and at home.

I believe, you will find some charges necessary next year, which were not mentioned in the last sessions; and some extraordinary expenses incurred since, which were not then provided for.

I assure you, that all the supplies you give, with what I am able to spare from my own expenses, shall be carefully applied to the best advantage for the public service: and I earnestly recommend to you a speedy dispatch, as that which,
under

under the good providence of God, we must chiefly depend upon, to disappoint the earliest design of our enemies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot but tell you, how essential it is, for attaining these great ends abroad, of which we have so hopeful a prospect, that we should be entirely united at home.

It is plain our enemies have no encouragement left, but what arises from their hopes of our divisions: it is, therefore, your concern not to give the least countenance to those hopes.

My inclinations are to be kind and indulgent to you all. I hope you will do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity which God has put into our hands, of securing ourselves and all Europe; and that there will be no contention among you, but who shall most promote the public welfare.

Such a temper as this, in all your proceedings, cannot fail of securing your reputation both at home and abroad.

This would make me a happy Queen, whose utmost endeavours shall never be wanting to make you a happy and flourishing people.

Address by the House of Commons to the Queen, Oct. 25, 1704.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne; and to congratulate your Majesty upon the great and glorious successes with which it has pleased God to bless your Majesty in the entire defeat of the united force of France and Bavaria by the arms of your Majesty, and your allies, under the command, and by the courage and conduct of the Duke of Marlborough; and in the victory obtained by your Majesty's fleet under the command, and by the courage and conduct of Sir George Rooke.

Your Majesty can never be disappointed in your expectation from us, your faithful Commons, who all come disposed to do every thing that is necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war; and therefore your Majesty may depend on our providing such supplies, and giving such speedy dispatch to the public business, as may enable your Majesty to pursue these advantages, so happily obtained over the common enemy; which we can never doubt but your Majesty's wisdom will improve, to the procuring a lasting security for England, and a firm support for the liberty of Europe.

We are truly sensible, that nothing can be more essential for the attaining these great ends, than to be entirely united at home : we shall, therefore, use our utmost endeavours, by all proper methods, to prevent all divisions among us ; and will have no contention, but who shall most promote and establish the public welfare, both in church and state. Thus your Majesty's reign will be made happy, and your memory blessed to all posterity.

Her Majesty's Answer, October 31, 1704.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you many thanks for this address, and the assurances you give me of dispatching the supplies, and avoiding all divisions ; both which, as they are extremely acceptable to me, so they will be advantageous to yourselves, and beneficial to the public.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, Dec. 9, 1704.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM glad of this occasion to return you my hearty thanks for your making good the assurances you gave me, in your several addresses, of your zeal and readiness to promote the public business.

And I must thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, in particular, for your early dispatch of so great a part of the necessary supplies ; which cannot fail of being a very essential advantage, both in the forwardness of our own preparations, and in the great encouragement it will give to all our allies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I look upon this good beginning to be so sure a pledge of your affections for my service, and for our common interest, that I have not the least doubt but you will continue with the same zeal to dispatch what remains of the public business, and to bring this session to a happy and speedy conclusion.

Her Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Jan. 17, 1705.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty, having taken into her consideration the address of this House, relating to the great services performed by the Duke of Marlborough, does incline to grant the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock, and hundred of Wootton, to him and his heirs; and desires the assistance of this House upon this extraordinary occasion.

The lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manor and hundred, being granted for two lives, her Majesty thinks it proper, that incumbrance should be cleared.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 1, 1705.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE been very desirous to meet you as early as I thought you might be called together without inconvenience to yourselves.

And it is with much satisfaction I observe so full an appearance at the opening of the Parliament, because it is a ground for me to conclude you are all convinced of the necessity of prosecuting the just war in which we are engaged, and therefore are truly sensible that it is of the greatest importance to us to be timely in our preparations.

Nothing can be more evident, than that if the French King continues master of the Spanish monarchy, the balance of power in Europe is utterly destroyed, and he will be able, in a short time, to engross the trade and the wealth of the world.

No good Englishman could at any time be content to sit still and acquiesce in such a prospect; and at this time we have great grounds to hope, that by the blessing of God upon our arms, and those of our allies, a good foundation is laid for restoring the monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria; the consequences of which will not only be safe and advantageous, but glorious for England.

I may add, we have learned by our own experience, that no peace with France will last longer than the first opportunity of their dividing the allies, and of attacking some of them with advantage.

All our allies must needs be so sensible this is the true state of the case, that I make no doubt but measures will soon be so

concerted, as that, if we are not wanting to ourselves, we shall see the next campaign begin offensively on all sides against our enemies, in a most vigorous manner.

I must therefore desire you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to grant me the supplies which will be requisite for carrying on the next year's service, both by sea and land; and at the same time to consider, that the giving all possible dispatch will make the supply itself much more effectual.

The firmness and conduct which the Duke of Savoy has shewn amidst extreme difficulties, is beyond example.

I have not been wanting to do all that is possible for me, in order to his being supported.

I ought to take notice to you, that the King of Prussia's troops have been very useful to this end. Your approbation of that treaty last sessions, and the encouragement you gave upon it, leave me no doubt of being able to renew it for another year.

I take this occasion to assure you, that not only whatever shall be granted by Parliament, for bearing the charge of the war, shall be laid out for that purpose with the greatest faithfulness and management, but that I will continue to add, out of my own revenue, all I can reasonably spare beyond the necessary expenses for the honour of the government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

By an act of Parliament passed the last winter, I was enabled to appoint commissioners for this kingdom, to treat with commissioners, to be empowered by authority Parliament in Scotland, concerning a nearer and more complete union between the two kingdoms, as soon as an act should be made there for that purpose: I think it proper for me to acquaint you, that such an act is lately passed there; and I intend, in a short time, to cause commissions to be made out, in order to put the treaty on foot, which I heartily desire may prove successful, because I am persuaded that an union of the two kingdoms will not only prevent many inconveniencies, which may otherwise happen, but must conduce to the peace and happiness of both nations, and therefore I hope I shall have your assistance in bringing this great work to a good conclusion.

There is another union I think myself obliged to recommend to you in the most earnest and affectionate manner, I mean an union of minds and affections amongst ourselves: it is that which would above all things disappoint and defeat the hopes and designs of our enemies.

I cannot but with grief observe, there are some amongst us who endeavour to foment animosities; but I persuade myself they

they will be found to be very few, when you appear to assist me in discountenancing and defeating such practices.

I mention this with a little more warmth, because there have not been wanting some so very malicious, as even in print to suggest the church of England, as by law established, to be in danger at this time.

I am willing to hope, not one of my subjects can really entertain a doubt of my affection to the church, or so much as suspect, that it will not be my chief care to support it, and leave it secure after me; and therefore we may be certain, that they, who go about to insinuate things of this nature, must be mine and the kingdom's enemies, and can only mean to cover designs, which they dare not publicly own, by endeavouring to distract us with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies.

I must be so plain as to tell you, the best proofs we can all give, at present, of our zeal for the preservation of the church, will be to join heartily in prosecuting the war against an enemy, who is certainly engaged to extirpate our religion, as well as to reduce this kingdom to slavery.

I am fully resolved, by God's Assistance, to do my part.

I will always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established.

I will inviolably maintain the toleration.

I will do all I can to prevail with my subjects to lay aside their divisions; and will study to make them all safe and easy.

I will endeavour to promote religion and virtue amongst them, and to encourage trade, and every thing else, that make them a flourishing and happy people.

And they, who shall concur zealously with me in carrying on these good designs, shall be sure to find my kindness and favour.

Address by the House of Commons, November 3, 1705.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, are met together with minds fully disposed to assist your Majesty in compassing the great and glorious designs, mentioned in your most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament; for which we beg leave to return our most hearty thanks, and at the same time to congratulate the glorious success of your Majesty's arms, and those of your allies.

We are fully convinced, that the balance of power in Europe can never be restored, till the monarchy of Spain is in the possession of the house of Austria, and that no peace with France can be secure and lasting, while the French King shall be in a condition to break it; and therefore your faithful Commons are fully resolved, effectually to enable your Majesty to carry on the war with vigour, to support your allies, and make good such treaties, as your Majesty shall judge necessary, to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

It is no small encouragement to your Commons cheerfully to grant the supplies necessary for those great ends, to find a frugal management, and a just and prudent application of the public money.

We cannot omit, upon this occasion, most thankfully to acknowledge your Majesty's goodness, in continuing to contribute out of your own revenue to the expenses of the war.

We want words to express the deep sense we have of the many blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's most happy government: we are thoroughly sensible of your affectionate care to support and countenance the church of England, as by the law established, your resolution to maintain the toleration, and to encourage the trade, union, and welfare of your people.

This being the happy condition of all your subjects, it is the greatest concern imaginable to us, to find your Majesty has so just reason to resent the ingratitude of some, who endeavour to foment animosities and divisions among us; and we cannot without indignation reflect, that there should be any so malicious, as to insinuate that the church of England, as by law established, is, or ever can be in danger, for want of your Majesty's care and zeal to support and maintain it. Your Majesty's exemplary piety, your steady adherence to the church of England, leave no room to doubt, but that these suggestions proceed from your Majesty's and the kingdom's enemies, who, to cover their own disaffection to the present establishment and administration, endeavour to distract your subjects with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies.

Your Majesty may be assured, that your Commons will zealously concur in every thing that may tend to discourage and punish such incendiaries, and to disappoint your enemies, both at home and abroad.

Her Majesty's Answer, November 7, 1705.

Gentlemen,

I TAKE very kindly the confidence you express in my care of the public, and your concern for the occasion I have had to complain.

I return you my hearty thanks for the assurances of your support and assistance, which, by God's blessing, I shall always endeavour to improve for the advantage and happiness of my people.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 27, 1705.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING newly received letters from the King of Spain, and the Earl of Peterborough, which contain a very particular account of our great and happy successes in Catalonia, and shewing, at the same time, the reasonableness of their being immediately supported, I look upon this to be a matter of so much consequence in itself, and so agreeable to you, that I have ordered a copy of the King of Spain's letter to myself, a letter from the junta of the military arm of Catalonia, and another letter from the city of Vich, and also an extract of the Earl of Peterborough's letter to me, to be communicated to both Houses of Parliament. I recommend the consideration of them to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, very particularly, as the speediest way to restore the monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria; and therefore I assure myself; you will enable me to prosecute the advantages we have gained in the most effectual manner, and to improve the opportunity, which God Almighty is pleased to afford us, of putting a prosperous end to the present war.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must not lose this occasion of desiring you to give as much dispatch to the matters before you, as the nature of them will allow; that so our preparations for next year may be early; which cannot fail of being of great advantage to us.

*Address to her Majesty by both Houses of Parliament,
November 27, 1705.*

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, being justly alarmed by the many artifices, which

which the emissaries of France have put in practice this last year, in order to raise jealousies, and create misunderstandings, amongst the allies engaged in this necessary war, for the support of the liberties of Europe; and being apprehensive, lest such malicious insinuations, if they should pass unobserved, might in time so far take place, as to abate the spirit and slacken the zeal of the confederacy; do most humbly beseech your Majesty, to use all possible endeavours to preserve a good correspondence amongst all the confederates, and, in a most particular manner, to maintain and cultivate a strict friendship with the States General of the United Provinces: and we most humbly intreat your Majesty, that, as, in your own way of acting, you have set before your allies a great and noble example; so you would be graciously pleased, by all other proper means, to excite the whole confederacy to make early and effectual preparations, and to exert their utmost vigour in the prosecution of the war against France.

Her Majesty's Answer, November 30, 1705.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOUR joining in this address is a very particular satisfaction to me.

The opinion of both Houses of Parliament will always be of the greatest weight with me.

I shall readily comply with your desire; and I make no question, but it will meet with a just regard from all our allies.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 21, 1705.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE unanimity of your proceedings in this Parliament has already had so good an effect all over Europe, that I cannot but take notice of it to you with great satisfaction.

The good disposition you have shewn, in doing your part so fully towards a union with Scotland, is also very acceptable to me; and I hope it will prove for the advantage and quiet of both kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must not omit to take this occasion of returning you my hearty thanks for the great dispatch of this seasonable supply, which you have given me. I look upon it as a sure pledge, that the same zeal and affection for my service, and the good of the

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the kingdom, will carry you through all the necessary parts of the public business in this session.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In case you now think of some recess, as is usual at this season, I make no doubt, you will afterwards return with the same good disposition to give all possible dispatch to the public affairs still depending, and bring this session of Parliament to a happy conclusion.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, Feb. 16, 1706.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal dutiful and subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, humbly take leave to represent to your Majesty, that the conservation and encouragement of the fishery and trade of Newfoundland is of the greatest importance and advantage to this kingdom.

That the encroachments of the French, the accidents of the war, and the uncertainty of convoys, have very much impaired this fishery; for the restoring whereof to its former condition nothing can more contribute, as we humbly conceive, than a certain and seasonable departure of the convoys to and from Newfoundland, with protections for the seamen and fishermen employed in that trade; which is the best nursery of seamen for this kingdom, and is so likewise to the French, whose naval force is much increased thereby.

We do therefore most humbly recommend to your Majesty this so beneficial trade; and pray, that, for the better carrying on and security thereof, your Majesty would be graciously pleased to give the necessary orders, that timely convoys of good strength, be appointed yearly for this trade, as well for the merchant ships going to Portugal for salt, as for the fishing ships sailing from the South and North Channel, as likewise for the sack ships; which convoys, when arrived at Newfoundland, may cruize upon that coast, and protect the several harbours from the enemy, and return, as early as may be, with the fishing ships from thence; and that your Majesty would give such further directions for the preservation of this fishery, as to your Majesty in your great wisdom, and provident care of your good subjects trading to Newfoundland, shall seem meet.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 16, 1706.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT but take this occasion to return you my hearty thanks for the great care and concern you have shewn, to promote every thing in this session, that may tend to the public good.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must thank you, in particular, for your having so fully complied with your assurances to me at the opening of this Parliament, that you would give all possible dispatch to the public supplies. There is scarce any instance to be given, where so great, and, I hope, effectual supplies have been perfected in so short a time.

I look upon this to proceed not only from your great zeal for the public service, but from a just impression upon your own minds, that there is a necessity of making extraordinary efforts to support and encourage our allies, and to be early in endeavouring to disappoint the designs of our enemies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It will be convenient to make a recess in some short time; I hope, therefore, you will continue to give all necessary dispatch to what may yet remain unfinished of the public business before you.

Joint Address by both Houses to her Majesty, March 11, 1706.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to acquaint your Majesty, that, having taken into our serious consideration a printed pamphlet, intitled, A Letter from Sir Rowland Gwynne to the Right Honourable the Earl of Stamford, we came to the following resolution: "That the said pamphlet is a scandalous, false, and malicious libel, tending to create a misunderstanding between your Majesty and the Princess Sophia, and highly reflecting upon your Majesty, upon the Princess Sophia, and upon the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament."

May it please your Majesty,

This seditious libel having been of late with great industry dispersed among your subjects, we humbly beseech your Majesty to give strict orders for the discovery of the author, printer, and

and publishers thereof, to the end they may be brought to condign punishment, according to the utmost rigour of the law; and we pray your Majesty to use all means, which shall seem proper to your royal wisdom, for preventing such insolent and dangerous attempts for the future.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 13, 1706.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

NOTHING can be more acceptable to me, than so seasonable an instance of your concern to preserve a good understanding between me and the Princess Sophia, and of your care to detect the artifices of designing and malicious men.

I am fully sensible of the very ill deliquis of the paper, which you have so justly censured; and I will not fail to give the necessary directions for complying, in the most effectual manner, with all you desire in your address.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 3, 1706.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HOPE we are all met together at this time with hearts truly thankful to Almighty God for the glorious successes with which he has blessed our arms, and those of our allies, through the whole course of this year; and with serious and steady resolutions to prosecute the advantages we have gained, till we reap the desired fruit of them, in an honourable and durable peace.

The goodness of God has brought this happy prospect so much nearer to us, that, if we be not wanting to ourselves, we may, upon good grounds, hope to see such a balance of power established in Europe, that it shall no longer be at the pleasure of one prince to disturb the repose, and endanger the liberties, of this part of the world.

A just consideration of the present posture of affairs, of the circumstances of our enemies, and the good disposition of our allies, must needs excite an uncommon zeal, and animate us to exert our utmost endeavours, at this critical conjuncture.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

As I am fully persuaded you are all of this mind, so I must earnestly desire you to grant me supplies sufficient for carrying on the war next year in so effectual a manner, that we may be able to improve every where the advantages of this successful campaign;

ampaign; and, I assure you, I shall make it my business to see all you give applied to those ends with the greatest care and management.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In pursuance of the powers vested in me by act of Parliament, both in England and Scotland, I have appointed commissioners to treat of an union between the two kingdoms; and though this be a work of such a nature, as could not but be attended with great difficulties, yet such has been the application of the commissioners, that they have concluded a treaty, which is at this time before the Parliament of Scotland; and I hope, the mutual advantages of an entire union of the two kingdoms will be found so apparent, that it will not be long before I shall have an opportunity of acquainting you with the success which it has met with there.

Your meeting at this time being later than usual, I cannot conclude without earnestly recommending to you to give as much dispatch to the public affairs as the nature of them will admit; it being of the greatest consequence, that both our friends, and our enemies, should be fully convinced of your firmness, and the vigour of your proceedings.

Address by the House Commons to her Majesty, December 4, 1706.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

And, with all thankfulness to Almighty God, we congratulate your Majesty upon the signal victory obtained by your arms, and those of your allies, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, at Ramillies; a victory, so glorious and great in its consequences, and attended with such continued successes, through the whole course of this year, that no age can equal.

And as your Majesty's allies have shewed their firmness, and good disposition, to carry on the war with vigour, so the Commons of England are determined, that no specious pretences of peace shall divert them from their steady resolutions of enabling your Majesty to improve, in all places, the advantages of this successful campaign.

The experience your Commons have had, of the prudent administration, and the great care and management in the application of the public aids, encourage us to assure your Majesty, that

that we will cheerfully give such speedy and effectual supplies, as, by the continuance of God's blessing upon your Majesty's arms, may establish the balance of power in Europe, by a safe, honourable, and lasting peace.

We beg leave likewise to return your Majesty our hearty thanks, for your promoting the union betwixt England and Scotland; whereby your Majesty shews your great concern and tenderness, not only for the present, but the future happiness of both kingdoms.

Her Majesty's Answer, December 6, 1706.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you heartily for this address, and the assurances of giving me effectual supplies to carry on the war, and to obtain a safe and honourable peace.

I am glad to find you are so well satisfied with the application of the public money.

As to the matter of the union with Scotland, so in all other things, I shall still be desirous to promote the present and future happiness of my people.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 21, 1706.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM glad of this occasion to repeat to you my great satisfaction in your several addresses, presented to me in the beginning of this session.

The zeal and affection, which you expressed in them for my service, and the common cause of Europe, cannot fail of being a great encouragement to all our allies.

The particular notice, which you have taken of the eminent services of the Duke of Marlborough, is also very agreeable to me; and I make no question, but it will be so to the whole kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in a very particular manner, for the more than usual dispatch of the bills of supply, with which you have now presented me.

This will enable me to put all our necessary preparations for next year into a great forwardness, and must needs have a very good effect, for improving the advantages of the last campaign.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I suppose, you will think it convenient to make some short recesses during the holidays.

The zeal and unanimity you have already shewn, are a sufficient assurance to me, that you will all return in the same good temper and disposition, to dispatch what remains of the public business.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, Jan. 7, 1707.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, taking into our consideration the many eminent services of John, Duke of Marlborough, whereby the glory of your Majesty's government, the honour and safety of your kingdoms, and the interest of the common cause, have been so highly advanced, do, with all submission, address ourselves to your Majesty's most sacred person, humbly to desire, that, as your Majesty is, at your expense, graciously pleased to erect the house of Blenheim, as a monument of his glorious actions, and the House of Peers, by your Majesty's permission, have given rise to a law for continuing his honours to his posterity, we, your Majesty's obedient Commons, may be permitted to express our sense of so distinguishing a merit, and our ready disposition to enable your Majesty to make some provision for the more honourable support of his dignity in his posterity, in such manner as shall be most agreeable to your Majesty.

Thus the gratitude of the whole kingdom will remain upon record to after-ages, and encourage others to follow his great example.

Her Majesty's Answer, January 9, 1707.

Gentlemen,

I AM very glad you have so just a sense of the repeated services of the Duke of Marlborough. I will consider of your address, and return an answer very speedily.

Message

Message from her Majesty, January 9, 1707.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty, in consideration of the great and eminent services performed by the Lord Marlborough, in the first year of her reign, as well by his prudent negotiations, as her plenipotentiary at the Hague, as by his valour and good conduct in the command of the confederate armies abroad, thought fit to grant to him, and the heirs male of his body, the title of a Duke of this realm; and, as a farther mark of her favour, and satisfaction with his services, and for the better support of his dignity, her Majesty granted to the said Duke, and the heirs male of his body, during her life, a pension of 5000*l.* per annum, out of the revenue of the Post-Office: and an act having passed this session, for settling the honours and dignities of the Duke of Marlborough upon his posterity, and annexing the honour and manor of Woodstock, and house of Blenheim, to go along with the said honours, it would be very agreeable to her Majesty, if the pension of 5000*l.* per annum be continued, and limited, by act of Parliament, to his posterity, for the more honourable support of their dignities, in like manner, as his honours, and the honour and manor of Woodstock, and house of Blenheim, are already limited, and settled.

Kensington, January the 9th, 1707.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 28, 1707.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING acquainted you, at the opening of this session, that the treaty for an union between England and Scotland, which had been concluded here by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, in pursuance of the powers given by the Parliaments of both kingdoms, was then under the consideration of the Parliament of Scotland, I can now, with great satisfaction, inform you, that the said treaty has been ratified by act of Parliament in Scotland, with some alterations and additions.

I have directed the treaty, agreed to by the commissioners of both kingdoms, and also the act of ratification from Scotland, to be laid before you; and, I hope it will meet with your concurrence and approbation.

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Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It being agreed by this treaty, that Scotland is to have an equivalent for what that kingdom is obliged to contribute towards paying the debts of England, I must recommend to you, that in case you agree to the treaty, you will take care to provide for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland accordingly.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You have now an opportunity before you, of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; which, I hope, will be a lasting blessing to the whole island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the protestant religion.

The advantages, which will accrue to us all from an union, are so apparent, that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign.

Her Majesty's most gracious speech, March 6, 1707.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with the greatest satisfaction, that I have given my assent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

I consider this union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island, and at the same time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that, till now, all attempts, which have been made towards it in the course of above a hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore, I make no doubt, but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion.

I desire and expect, from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another; that so it may appear to all the world, they have hearts disposed to become one people.

This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effect of this union.

And I cannot but look upon it as a peculiar happiness, that in my reign so full a provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm
an

an establishment of the protestant succession throughout Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I take this occasion to remind you of making effectual provision for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland, within the time appointed by this Act; and I am persuaded, you will shew as much readiness in this particular, as you have done in all the other parts of this great work.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The season of the year being now pretty far advanced, I hope you will continue the same zeal, which has appeared throughout this session, in dispatching what yet remains unfinished of the public business before you.

Joint Address to the Queen, March 8, 1704.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, return our most humble thanks to your Majesty, for your gracious approbation of the share we had in bringing the treaty of an union between your two kingdoms of England and Scotland to a happy conclusion; a work, that, after so many fruitless endeavours, seems designed by Providence to add new lustre to the glories of your Majesty's reign. The success of your arms having secured us from all attempts from abroad, and the care your Majesty has taken of the firm establishment of the protestant succession, having given a great and lasting security to our religion, as in the church of England by law established; we beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty, that our endeavours shall never be wanting to support your government at home, and so to establish the peace of this island, that no dispute may remain among us, but how to acknowledge, in the most dutiful manner, the auspicious conduct of so great and so renowned a Queen.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 12, 1707.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM glad to find your opinion so perfectly agrees with mine concerning this union. You cannot do me more acceptable service, than by using your utmost endeavours to improve all the good consequences of it.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 14, 1707.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I WAS willing to give you an opportunity of coming together again, to consider, if any thing can properly be done, to prevent the inconveniencies that may happen to our trade by too great an interval between the rising of the Parliament and the first of May ; and I need not add, that whatever is to be done of that kind, will require to be dispatched in a little time.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 10, 1707.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with all humble thankfulness to Almighty God, and with entire satisfaction to myself, that I meet you here in this first Parliament of Great Britain ; not doubting but you come with hearts prepared, as mine is, to make this union so prosperous, as may answer the well-grounded hopes of all my good subjects, and the reasonable apprehensions of our enemies.

To this end nothing is so immediately material, as to convince, as soon as is possible, both our friends, and our enemies, that the uniting our interests has not only improved our abilities, but our resolutions also, to prosecute this just and necessary war ; till we obtain a safe and honourable peace for ourselves, and for our allies.

In so great and extensive a war as this is, many things may be usefully undertaken, which are not fit to be communicated before-hand. The attempt upon Toulon was of this nature ; and, though it had not wholly its desired effect, has nevertheless been attended with many great and obvious advantages to the common cause in this year, and has made our way more easy, I hope, to greater in the next.

As the French have gained ground upon us in Spain, so they have been wholly driven out of Italy ; by which it is become more easy for all the allies to join their assistance next year, for enabling the King of Spain to recover his affairs in that kingdom, and to reduce the whole Spanish monarchy to his obedience.

The weakness and ill posture of affairs upon the Rhine ; in the beginning of the year, has given an opportunity to the French to make themselves stronger in all other parts ; but this defect seems in a very promising way of being fully remedied, against next campaign, by the conduct and authority of the elector of Hanover, whose seasonable acceptance of that command

command has strengthened, and obliged, the whole confederacy.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The just application of the supplies given me by former Parliaments, the plain necessity of continuing this war, the reasonable prospect of putting a good end to it, if we be not wanting to ourselves, and the honour of the first Parliament of Great Britain, are, I make no doubt, sufficient arguments to incite you to provide the necessary supplies, which I am obliged to desire of you for the ensuing campaign in all parts, and particularly for the timely support of the King of Spain, and the making good our treaty with Portugal, as also for strengthening the confederate army under the command of the Duke of Savoy; all which services I do not doubt but you will think so necessary, that they ought not to be neglected, even though they should require an augmentation.

The sums already expended in this war have been very great; and they are sufficient proofs how well satisfied my subjects have always been with the ends of my government, of which I am so sensible, as never to ask any supplies from them, but what are absolutely necessary for the preservation of their religion and liberty; and I look upon it as my great happiness, that I have not the least interest separate from that of all my good subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In a work so great, and new in its kind, as that of the union, it is impossible but that some doubts and difficulties must have arisen; which, however, I hope, are so far overcome, as to have defeated the designs of those who would have made use of that handle to foment disturbances.

There are several matters expressly made liable, by the articles of the union, to the consideration of the Parliament of Great Britain; which, together with such others as may reasonably produce those advantages, that, with due care must certainly arise from that treaty, I earnestly recommend to your serious consideration.

On my part nothing shall be wanting to procure to my people all the blessings which can follow from this happy circumstance of my reign, and to extinguish, by all proper means, the last occasions of jealousy, that either the civil, or religious rights of any part of this my united kingdom can suffer by the consequences of this union.

Such a suggestion shall never in my time have any foundation, how restless soever our enemies may be in their endeavours,

vours, and artifices, to disturb our peace and happiness: those great and valuable blessings cannot but be always secure to us, if we heartily endeavour to confirm, and improve, our present union. I hope, therefore, you will suffer nothing to prevail with you to disunite among yourselves, or abate your zeal in opposing the common enemy.

Address by the House of Commons, November 11, 1707.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do, with all thankfulness and humility, acknowledge the divine goodness in making your Majesty the glorious instrument of uniting your two kingdoms.

And we shall never be so wanting in our duty to your Majesty, and to the trust reposed in us by those we represent, as not to embrace all occasions of confirming, and improving, the advantages of this happy union.

As this cannot fail to strengthen your Majesty's government at home, and answer the well-grounded hopes of all your good subjects, so your faithful Commons are resolved to exert the united strength of this island in such a manner as shall make it a terror to your enemies.

The elector of Hanover being at the head of the army on the Rhine, gives us the greatest hopes of success on that side, from his conduct and authority.

And though your Majesty's great and wise designs for the advantage of this nation, and the good of the common cause, have not had all the desired effects in last campaign, yet we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that no disappointments shall discourage us from making our utmost efforts to enable your Majesty, in conjunction with your allies, to reduce the whole Spanish monarchy to the obedience of the King of Spain, to make good the treaty with Portugal, and to strengthen the confederate army under the command of the Duke of Savoy.

Your Majesty has shewn, throughout the whole course of your reign, that you have no interest separate from that of your people; who have been so sensible of the many blessings they have enjoyed under your administration, as never to be wanting on all occasions to express their gratitude to the best of Queens.

And we, your united Commons of this Parliament, do faithfully promise your Majesty, that we will proceed upon public business with unanimity and dispatch, and give such
effectual

effectual supplies, as may carry on the war with vigour, and, by the blessing of God upon your Majesty's arms, obtain an honourable and lasting peace.

Her Majesty's Answer, November 13, 1707.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you very kindly for this address. The desires you express, of taking all occasions to improve the advantages of our happy union, are extremely agreeable to me.

As you cannot give me a more sensible proof of your loyalty and affection to me, and my government, than by your assurances of supporting me effectually in a vigorous prosecution of the war, so I make no doubt, but that these assurances will have their due weight abroad, and be of the greatest advantage imaginable to the common cause.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 18, 1707.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM very well pleased with the occasion of my coming hither at this time, and desirous to take this opportunity of expressing to you the satisfaction I have in seeing so good a progress made in the public business.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am extremely sensible of the readiness and affection with which you have provided so considerable a part of the supplies.

As I am fully persuaded, it must needs give the greatest satisfaction to all our allies, so I look upon it as a sure pledge of your being disposed to make good those hearty assurances, which you gave me in the beginning of the session.

I told you at the opening of this Parliament, that I did hope, you would look upon the services relating to Spain, Portugal, and the army under the command of the Duke of Savoy, to be of so much importance in the prosecution of this war, that they might deserve an augmentation; which I cannot but think will be of the greatest use to the common cause, both with regard to those particular services, and to the putting ourselves in a condition to improve such favourable opportunities as may arise in the ensuing year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I shall only add, that, as nothing is more essential to my own quiet, and the happiness of all my good subjects, than the

bringing this war to a safe and honourable conclusion ; so I must think myself obliged to look upon all those who are willing and desirous to support me in it, for attaining that end, as the most proper objects of my favour and encouragement.

I cannot conclude, without once more recommending to you to confirm, and improve, the advantages of our happy union, not doubting, but at the same time you will have a due regard to what shall be found necessary for preserving the public peace throughout the whole island of Great Britain.

Joint Address by both Houses, December 22, 1707.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having been always fully persuaded, that nothing could restore a just balance of power in Europe, but the reducing the whole Spanish monarchy to the obedience of the house of Austria ; and having seen several great parts of that monarchy, by the blessing of God upon the victorious arms of your Majesty, and your allies, already in the possession of that House, do think it not only seasonable, but necessary, at this juncture, humbly to offer this our unanimous opinion to your Majesty, that no peace can be honourable, or safe for your Majesty, or your allies, if Spain, the West Indies, or any part of the Spanish monarchy, be suffered to remain under the power of the house of Bourbon.

When we consider what efforts this kingdom has continued to make from the beginning of the war, we cannot but think, a much greater impression might have been made upon the enemy before this time, if some of your allies, who seem principally concerned, and have reaped the most immediate advantage, had seconded your Majesty with like vigour, whereby France might have been equally pressed on all sides.

We are obliged to return our humble thanks to your Majesty for the care you have taken, and the instances you have used with his Imperial Majesty, for sending a considerable force to the relief of Spain, under the command of Prince Eugene, as being certainly the most likely method to ^{set} ~~re~~store the affairs of the confederacy in that country.

But the frequent disappointments we have observed on the part of the emperor and empire, to the great prejudice of the common cause, makes us think it our duty, in order that the war may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion, to beseech your Majesty to make the most pressing instances to the emperor, that he would, with all expedition, send powerful succours

succours to his brother, the King of Spain, under the conduct of that great and successful general ; that he would timely and effectually make good what has been concerted for his putting twenty thousand men under the command of the Duke of Savoy ; and would also make use of his utmost power and interest for strengthening the army upon the Rhine, which is now happily put under the command of that wise and valiant prince, the elector of Hanover.

We believe no part of this can be refused upon your Majesty's earnest interposition, who have done such great things for the house of Austria ; and this being complied with, we may reasonably hope, by God's assistance, the next will prove a happy and glorious campaign.

Her Majesty's Answer, January 7, 1708.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM fully of your opinion, that no peace can be honourable, or safe, for us, or our allies, till the entire monarchy of Spain be restored to the house of Austria ; and very well pleased to find, that the measures I have concerted, for the succour of the King of Spain, are so well approved by both Houses of Parliament.

I shall continue my most pressing instances with the emperor for the hastening of farther succours, and that they may be commanded by Prince Eugene ; as also upon all the other particulars mentioned in your address.

Address by the House of Commons, February, 24, 1708.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having examined the complaints of several merchants against Captain William Kerr, late commander of a squadron of your Majesty's ships of war in the West Indies, do beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it hath been fully proved, that the trade to the West Indies (so beneficial to all your subjects) has been greatly obstructed and prejudiced by the said Captain William Kerr's exacting sums of money from the merchants for convoys.

And we do also humbly represent to your Majesty, that the requiring or demanding of money for convoys is illegal, oppressive to the merchants, and destructive to trade.

We therefore, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Commons, humbly address ourselves to your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased not to employ the said Captain William Kerr in your Majesty's service for the future ; and that your Majesty will be pleased to give orders, that he may be prosecuted according to law.

Address by the House of Commons, March 4, 1708.

WE, your Majesty's most faithful and obedient subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to return our most hearty thanks to your Majesty, for being graciously pleased to communicate to your Parliament the intelligence you have received, of an intended invasion of this kingdom by the pretended Prince of Wales, supported by a French power. We are so sensible of the happiness we enjoy under your Majesty, and are so affected with the dangerous consequences of such an attempt, both to your person and government, that, with hearts full of concern for your Majesty's safety, we beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take particular care of your royal person ; and we, on our parts, are fully and unanimously resolved to stand by and assist your Majesty, with our lives and fortunes, in maintenance of your undoubted right and title to the crown of these realms, against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other your enemies, both at home and abroad.

The care your Majesty has taken for the defence of your dominions, and, particularly, in fitting out so great a fleet in so short a time, give satisfaction and encouragement to all your good subjects, who are likewise very sensible of the zeal the States General have shown upon this occasion.

As a further instance of our duty, we humbly desire, that you will be pleased to order, that the laws against papists, and non-jurors, be put in execution ; and that directions be given to seize and secure such persons, with their horses, and arms, as your Majesty shall have cause to suspect are disaffected to your person and government.

And as we doubt not, but, by the blessing of God upon the continuance of your Majesty's care, your enemies will be put to confusion, so we readily embrace this opportunity to shew to your Majesty, and the whole world, that no attempts of this kind shall deter us from supporting your Majesty in a vigorous prosecution of the present war against France, till the monarchy of Spain be restored to the house of Austria, and your

your Majesty have the glory to complete the recovery of the liberties of Europe.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 6, 1708.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE such entire dependence on the providence of God, and so much trust in the faithful services of my good subjects, that I hope this attempt will prove dangerous only to those who undertake it.

I am extremely sensible of your concern and affection for me and my government, and shall have a very particular regard to the advice you give me upon this occasion.

I am also very well pleased with the justice which you have done the States General, in taking notice of their timely care for our safety, and their readiness to give us all possible assistance.

The firm resolution which you express, upon all occasions, of supporting me, in bringing this war to a safe and happy conclusion, as it is most essentially obliging to me, so, I assure myself, it will mightily dishearten our common enemies, and give the greatest encouragement and advantage to all our allies.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 11, 1708.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THINK it necessary to acquaint you, that I have received advices this morning from Ostend, that the French fleet sailed from Dunkirk, Tuesday, at three in the morning, northward, with the pretender on board; as also, that Sir George Bing had notice of it the same day, at ten; and he being very much superior to the enemy, both in number and strength, I make no question, but, by God's blessing, he will soon be able to give a good account of them.

I have also advice, that ten battalions of my troops were embarked at Ostend, ready to sail with their convoy, as there shall be occasion; and I shall continue to take all proper measures for disappointing the enemy's designs.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, March 12, 1708.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, humbly wait on your Majesty to express the great sense we have of your grace and favour in communicating to us, from the throne, the account of the French King's persisting to invade your dominions, and to impose a pretender upon these realms, over which your Majesty is rightful and lawful sovereign.

The small number of ships and troops with which this project is prosecuted, notwithstanding the great naval force your Majesty has fitted out with so much expedition, as it ought to be regarded with contempt, on the one side, so, on the other, it gives us just cause to believe, that their chief dependency is upon some of your subjects, whose restless passions, and arbitrary principles, have for some years engaged them in forming designs to undermine and destroy the most happy establishment that the government of this island was ever founded upon.

The defence of your Majesty's person and government, and the support of the protestant succession, are things so sacred to us, and your people, that, as a demonstration of our unfeigned zeal to assist and support your Majesty to the utmost of our power, we do, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, give this assurance, that whatsoever charge you shall be at in augmenting your troops at home, and replacing those you have recalled from abroad, or for such other services as your Majesty shall judge necessary upon this extraordinary occasion, shall be effectually made good; and, as we humbly recommend it to your Majesty, that the severest punishments may be inflicted upon such as shall assist in so unnatural a design, as that of betraying your Majesty, and their country; so we do not doubt, but you will give suitable encouragement to all those, who shall shew their fidelity, in opposing the invader, and his accomplices in Scotland, or wherever the descent shall be.

Your Majesty wants no incitement to a steady prosecution of the war in which you are engaged for the common cause; yet permit us to take this opportunity to intreat your Majesty, that this enterprize may no ways divert your constant vigour; that all the world may see, that both your Majesty, and your people, are determined to support your allies in all parts, whatever attempts are made at home.

My

May it please your Majesty,

There can be nothing so dangerous or fatal to the safety of your royal person, and the security of the present happy establishment, as those persons who endeavour to create divisions and animosities among your faithful subjects, or by any artful methods lessen the just esteem your Majesty has for those, who have eminently, and in so distinguishing a manner, commanded your armies, and managed your treasure, to the honour and glory of your Majesty abroad, and the entire satisfaction of your people at home. We therefore humbly beg leave to beseech your Majesty to discountenance all such persons, and designs, in the most remarkable manner.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 15, 1708.

Gentlemen,

I GIVE you my hearty thanks for this your repeated assurance, and certain proof, of your zeal for me, and for the protestant succession.

I am glad your thoughts of the war abroad so perfectly agree with my firm resolution upon that subject.

You may depend, that no apprehensions (farther than are reasonable) shall have any influence on my measures, while the cause of religion and liberty, with the good affections of my people, are on my side.

I think all, who endeavour to make divisions among my faithful subjects, must be mine and the kingdom's enemies; and I shall never countenance any persons, who would go about to lessen the just esteem which I have for those who have done, and continue to do me the most eminent services.

The Lord Chancellor's Speech, November 22, 1708.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN pursuance of the authority given us by her Majesty's commission under the great seal (among other things) to declare the causes of her Majesty's calling this Parliament,

We are, by her Majesty's command, in the first place, to advertise to you, that the extraordinary length of this year's campaign has obliged her Majesty to defer your meeting longer, than otherwise she would have done, that you might be informed, with the greater certainty, of the state and posture of the war, in order to your resolutions for the ensuing year.

This

This necessary delay hath now so far shewn us the success of affairs abroad, as that, whether you consider the places acquired by the allies, or the farther and continued proofs given this last year of their superior courage and conduct (which, as to the future part of the war, is equal to all other advantages) we may, with thanks to God, and justice to those he hath been pleased to use as instruments in this great work, conclude, that, upon the whole, we are brought much nearer than we were the last session, to the end of our undertaking this war, the reducing the dangerous power of France, and settling such a peace, as may secure itself from being violated.

Her Majesty therefore commands us to assure you, she hath not the least doubt, but that this Parliament will be of the same opinion with her last, as to the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the ends of it: believing it impossible, the representative of the British nation can endure to think of losing the fruits of our past endeavours, and the great advantages we have gained, particularly in this present year, by submitting at last to an insecure peace.

And therefore since, probably, nothing can hinder our success abroad for the time to come, but misunderstandings among ourselves at home, we have it in command to conjure you, by your duty to God, and to her Majesty, your zeal for the Protestant religion, your love for your country, and the regard you cannot but have for the liberty of Europe in general, to avoid all occasions of divisions; which are ever hurtful to the public, but will more especially be so at this juncture, when the eyes of all our neighbours are upon you, with a very particular concern; and your unanimity and good agreement will be the greatest satisfaction and encouragement to all our allies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

You cannot but be convinced, that the several parts of the war, which were provided for by the last Parliament, will require your support, at least, in the same degree: but in Flanders, the nature of the war is much altered, by the great advances made there towards entering into France; which hath so far alarmed our enemies, that they are drawing more troops daily to that side for the defence of their own country: and therefore her Majesty hopes you will have so right a sense of our present advantages, as to enable her Majesty to make a considerable augmentation for preserving and improving them; which, by the continuance of God's blessing on our arms, must soon put a glorious period to this long and expensive war.

As to the condition of the fleet, we have it in command from her Majesty to acquaint you, that the constant and remote services,

services, in which the ships have been employed, have made a greater sum, than usual, requisite, as well for the extraordinary repairs, as the building of new ships; and the taking of Port Mahon, as it hath afforded the means of having a part of the fleet operate with more readiness and effect on the enemy, or wherever it may be useful to the common cause in those parts, so the making such provisions, at so great a distance, as will be proper for that service, must of necessity cause some extraordinary expenses; all which her Majesty recommends to your serious consideration; desiring you to provide timely and effectual supplies for those ends, and likewise for the carrying on such fortifications for the security of our ports, and extinguishing the enemies hopes of profiting by disturbances in Scotland, as you shall think fit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The union is esteemed by her Majesty to be so happy and great a part of the successes of her reign, and her Majesty hath so much at heart the confirming and improving it, that she is pleased to command us to remind you of preparing such bills as shall be thought conducing to that end; and particularly, to make the laws of both parts of Great Britain agree, as near as may be, for the common interest of both people, especially as to those laws, which relate to criminal cases and proceedings, and settling the militia on the same foot throughout the united kingdom.

Her Majesty is graciously pleased, we should also assure you, that if you can propose any means for the improvement of our trade or manufactures, or better employment of the poor, her Majesty will take the greatest satisfaction in enacting such provisions; there being nothing she so earnestly desires, as that God will bless her with more and more opportunities of doing all possible good to so well-deserving a people, so firm and affectionate to her interests.

And, as her Majesty does not doubt, by God's blessing, and your good affections, to continue to defeat the designs of the Pretender, and his open and secret abettors; so her Majesty will always endeavour, on her part, to make her people happy to such a degree, as that none (except of desperate fortunes) shall enter into measures, for the disturbance of her government, the union, or the protestant succession, as by law established, without acting, at the same time, manifestly against their own true and lasting interest, as well as their duty.

Addresser.

Addreſſes by the Commons, November 23, 1708.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Maſteſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, take this firſt opportunity of expreſſing to your Maſteſty the deep ſenſe we have of the great loſs your Maſteſty and this kingdom have ſuſtained, in the death of his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark; whoſe tender affection to your Maſteſty, and love to our country, had gained him the hearts of all your good ſubjects, and will render his memory ever dear to them.

We humbly beſeech your Maſteſty to moderate the grief, ſo juſtly due on this ſad occaſion, ſince it cannot be indulged without endangering the health of your royal perſon, on whoſe ſafety the happineſs of Great Britain, and the liberties of Europe, do, under God, depend.

Your faithful Commons think themſelves obliged (more particularly at this time) to aſſure your Maſteſty of their inviolable fidelity to your perſon and government, and of their firm reſolution effectually to ſupport your Maſteſty againſt all your enemies, both at home and abroad.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Maſteſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to congratulate the glorious ſucceſſes of this year, gained by the arms of your Maſteſty, and thoſe of your allies.

The great and ſingular advantages that have been ſo wonderfully obtained, ſo vigorously proſecuted and improved, and upon all occaſions ſo happily accompliſhed, are repeated inſtances, that no difficulties are inſuperable to your great commanders, and no force of the enemy able to obſtruct the progreſs of your victorious arms; which gives us good grounds to hope for further ſucceſs before the concluſion of this long and active campaign.

Your Maſteſty's good ſubjects, through the whole courſe of this war, have moſt cheerfully granted the neceſſary ſupplies for ſupporting carrying it on with vigour, and have ſeen ſuch good fruits of their former zeal, that your Maſteſty may be aſſured, this Houſe will never be wanting in their duty to your Maſteſty, or the intereſt of thoſe they repreſent; but are determined to give ſuch ſupplies as, by the bleſſing of God, may be moſt effectual for reducing the power of the common enemy, and forcing him to accept ſuch a peace as your Maſteſty, in

in conjunction with your allies, shall think honourable and lasting.

The union is so great a glory to your Majesty, and advantage to all your people, that we shall do every thing, on our part, to strengthen and improve it; but, above all, it shall be our utmost care to defend your Majesty's sacred person, to support your undoubted title to the crown, to disappoint the hopes and designs of the Pretender, and all his open and secret abettors, and to maintain the protestant succession, as by law established.

Effect of her Majesty's Answer, November 25, 1708.

THAT the thanks you very kindly for this address; and that the concern which the House has expressed for her affliction, is very acceptable to her Majesty.

Address by both Houses to the Queen, December 23, 1708.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly congratulate your Majesty upon the reduction of Ghent, the last great effort of this glorious year; a year, that will be ever famous in history, as well for the entire disappointment of all the attempts and hopes of your enemies, as for the many wonderful successes with which God has blessed the arms of your Majesty, and your allies. The unusual length of the campaign, the variety of events, and the difficulty and importance of the actions, have given many opportunities to your Majesty's general, the Duke of Marlborough, to shew his consummate ability, and all the great qualities necessary for so high a trust; whereby, in conjunction with the renowned Prince Eugene of Savoy, such considerable progress has been made, and your conquests so far advanced, that we have reason to hope the enemy, in spite of all their presumption, will soon find themselves under an absolute necessity of submitting to a safe and honourable peace.

Her Majesty's Answer, January 10, 1709.

I GIVE you many thanks for your address; and am extremely sensible of the loyalty and affection of both Houses of Parliament, upon all occasions.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, January 27, 1709.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being truly and deeply sensible of the many and great blessings we have enjoyed during the whole course of your Majesty's most glorious reign, do most humbly conceive, we should be unexcusably wanting to ourselves, and the whole kingdom, if we should neglect to use our most zealous endeavours, that those blessings may be derived down to future ages; and therefore, with hearts full of the most profound respect and duty to your royal person, we most humbly beseech your Majesty, graciously to consider the universal desires, and most humble supplications, of your faithful subjects, that your Majesty would not so far indulge your just grief, as to decline the thoughts of a second marriage.

This would be an unspeakable joy to your people, who would join their most fervent prayers to Almighty God, to bless your Majesty with royal issue; all of them concurring in this opinion, that no greater happiness can be desired for your kingdoms, than that they, and their children, may long continue under the gentle and gracious government of your Majesty, and your posterity.

Her Majesty's Answer, January 29, 1709.

THE frequent marks of duty and affection to my person and government, which I receive from both Houses of Parliament, must needs be very very acceptable to me.

The provision I have made for the protestant succession, will always be a proof, how much I have at my heart the future happiness of the kingdom.

The subject of this address is of such a nature, that, I am persuaded, you do not expect a particular answer.

Joint Address to her Majesty by both Houses, March 2, 1709.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, considering the great expense of blood and treasure,

treasure, that your Majesty, and your allies have been at in prosecuting this long war, for securing the liberties of Europe, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that, for preserving the repose and quiet of Europe, and preventing the ambitious designs of France for the future, your Majesty would be pleased to take care, at the conclusion of the war, to continue and establish a good and firm friendship among all the allies; and that the French King may be obliged to own your Majesty's title, and the protestant succession, as it is established by the laws of Great Britain; and that your allies be engaged to become guarantees of the same:

And that your Majesty would take effectual methods, that the Pretender shall be removed out of the French dominions, and not suffered to return to disturb your Majesty, your heirs or successors, in the protestant line:

And that, for the security of your Majesty's dominions, the preservation of trade, and the general benefit of the allies, your Majesty will be graciously pleased that care may be taken, that the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk may be demolished, and destroyed.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 4, 1709.

I AM of the same opinion with my two Houses of Parliament, in the several particulars of this address, as I have also been in all the other, which they have made upon the same subject.

I assure you, no care shall be wanting on my part, to attain the end they have desired.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 15, 1709.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me, that I am able to give you so good an account of the progress of the war since the last session of Parliament.

In the beginning of this year our enemies made use of all their artifices to amuse us with false appearances, and deceitful insinuations, of their desire of peace, in hopes, that from thence means might be found to create some divisions or jealousies among the allies; but they were entirely disappointed in their expectation, and such measures were taken upon that occasion, as made it impossible for them long to disguise their insincerity. The operations of the war were not delayed; and the campaign, which, notwithstanding the backwardness of

the season, immediately followed, has been at least as glorious for the allies, as any of those which have preceded it.

God Almighty has been pleased to bless us with a most remarkable victory, and with such other great and important successes, both before and after it, that France is thereby become much more exposed and open to the impression of our arms, and consequently more in need of a peace, than it was at the beginning of this campaign.

However, the war still continuing, I find myself obliged again to desire you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to grant me such supplies as you shall judge necessary, for the assisting our allies in all parts, and the vigorous prosecution of our advantages; that we may put the last hand to this great work of reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power, which has so long threatened the liberties of Europe.

I assure you, that all you give shall be carefully applied to the uses of the war, if it continues, or to lessening of the debts it has necessarily occasioned, in case of a peace; which though the many wants and distresses of our enemies may naturally lead us to expect, yet, our own late experience may fully convince us, is not to be depended upon any other way, than by being in a condition to compel them to such terms as may be safe and honourable for all the allies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I think it proper to take notice to you, that the great dearth and scarcity, under which our neighbours abroad have suffered this year, begins to affect us, in some measure, at home, by the temptation of profit in carrying out too much of our corn, while it bears so high a price in foreign parts.

This occasions many complaints from the poor; for whose sake I earnestly recommend to you to take this growing evil into your consideration, having not neglected any thing on my part towards the remedying of it that the law would allow.

I cannot conclude, without observing to you, of what great advantage it will be at this time to the end we all propose to ourselves, that the greatest dispatch be given to the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, Nov. 16, 1709.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our most humble thanks to your Majesty for

for your most gracious speech from the throne ; and to congratulate your Majesty upon the continued successes of the last campaign, particularly the victory obtained near Mons by the troops of your Majesty, and those of your allies, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough.

A victory so remarkable in all its circumstances, as must convince your enemies, that the courage and resolution of your troops, conducted by so great a general, are superior to the greatest difficulties.

And your Majesty may be assured, that, since the public credit has been so well supported, since your councils have been so steady, and your allies so firm, that no French artifices could create jealousies or divisions amongst them ; and, since your arms have been so powerful, that no entrenchments or fortifications could withstand them ; we, your faithful Commons, under such encouragements, in duty to your Majesty, and those we represent, will, by speedy and effectual supplies, enable your Majesty to dispatch the necessary preparations for carrying on the war in such a manner, as shall, by the blessing of God, oblige the common enemy to accept a peace upon such terms, as shall be a lasting security to your Majesty, and your allies.

Her Majesty's Answer, November 19, 1709.

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for your address, and the assurances you give me, of providing speedy and effectual supplies for carrying on the war ; which, I persuade myself, will have a very good effect, for the advantage of the whole confederacy.

Address by the House of Commons, Feb. 16, 1710.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having reason to believe, that the negotiations of peace will suddenly be renewed in Holland ; and being justly apprehensive of the crafty and insinuating designs of our enemies, to create divisions among your allies, or, by amusing them with deceitful expectations of peace, to retard their preparation for war, do think ourselves bound in duty most humbly to represent to your Majesty, of how great importance we conceive it is to the interest of the common cause, that the Duke of Marlborough should be abroad at this critical juncture.

We cannot but take this opportunity to express our sense of the great and unparalleled services of the Duke of Marlborough, and, with all imaginable duty, to applaud your Majesty's great wisdom, in having honoured the same person with the great characters of General and Plenipotentiary, who, in our humble opinion, is most capable of discharging two such important trusts.

We therefore make it our humble request to your Majesty, that you would be pleased to order the Duke of Marlborough's immediate departure for Holland, where his presence will be equally necessary to assist at the negotiations of peace, and to hasten the preparations for an early campaign; which will most effectually disappoint the artifices of our enemies, and procure a safe and honourable peace for your Majesty, and your allies.

Her Majesty's Answer, February 20, 1710.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM so sensible of the necessity of the Duke of Marlborough's presence in Holland at this critical juncture, that I have already given the necessary directions for his immediate departure; and I am very glad to find, by this address, that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent services.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, Nov. 29, 1710.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE, by calling this Parliament, made appear the confidence I place in the duty and affection of my subjects; and I meet you here with the greatest satisfaction, having no reason to doubt, but that I shall find such returns as will add new life to our friends, and entirely disappoint the hopes of our enemies.

To this end I shall recommend to you what is absolutely necessary for our common safety.

The carrying on the war in all its parts, but particularly in Spain, with the utmost vigour, is the likeliest means, with God's blessing, to procure a safe and honourable peace for us, and all our allies, whose support and interest I have truly at heart.

For this purpose I must ask from you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the necessary supplies for the next year's service; and let me put you in mind, that nothing will add so much to their efficacy, as unanimity and dispatch.

I cannot

I cannot, without great concern, mention to you, that the navy and other offices are burthened with heavy debts, which so far affect the public service, that I most earnestly desire you to find some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like for the time to come ; the justice of Parliament, in satisfying former engagements, being the certain way of preserving and establishing national credit.

I am sensibly touched with what my people suffer by this long and expensive war, to which when it will please God to put an end, the flourishing condition of my subjects shall be as much my care, as their safety is at present.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The eyes both of friends and enemies are upon you : the way to give spirit to the one, and to defeat the restless malice of the other, is to proceed in such a manner as becomes a British Parliament.

I shall in the plainest words tell you my intentions ; and I do this with the greater satisfaction, because I depend upon their being agreeable to you.

I am resolved to support and encourage the church of England, as by law established ;

To preserve the British constitution according to the Union ;

And to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences.

And, that all these may be transmitted to posterity, I shall employ none but such as are heartily for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover ; the interest of which family no person can be more truly concerned for than myself.

These are my resolutions ; and your concurrence with me, in a steady pursuit of them, will best manifest your zeal for our religion, for the interest of our country, for your own safety, and for my honour.

Address by the House Commons, October 22, 1696.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do joyfully appear before your Majesty, to return our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne. We bring the thanks of your whole people, whom your Majesty has made happy by that confidence you have been pleased to place in their duty and affection ; and we bring our most solemn assurances, that we will make all such returns, as shall

convince your Majesty that your confidence has not been misplaced.

We are satisfied we lie under all possible obligations, both from our duty to your Majesty, and the care we owe to our country, effectually and speedily to grant the necessary supplies for a vigorous prosecution of the war in all its parts, and especially in Spain. This we shall study to do in such a manner as may best answer the public service, and be most easy to those we represent; and the same we shall continue to do, till such a peace may be obtained, as your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, shall judge to be safe and honourable for your subjects; and all your allies.

We have no reason to doubt of your Majesty's care of every thing that concerns the interest and welfare of your people; but we think ourselves obliged, in justice to our fellow subjects, and in order to make them bear with greater cheerfulness the burthens we shall find necessary to lay upon them, most humbly to beseech your Majesty, that you will please to continue your powerful influences with all your allies, that they may exert themselves in the common cause with resolutions equal, and aids proportionable, to our's.

The burthen of those heavy debts, which presses your people with so sensible a weight, is in some measure alleviated by your princely compassion. We shall endeavour to trace the source of this great evil, and to apply a remedy suitable to it. The honour and justice of Parliament shall by us be inviolably maintained, and all other measures pursued, by which the public credit may be preserved and established.

Your faithful Commons are truly sensible of your Majesty's wisdom and goodness in those resolutions, which you have declared; and do most heartily concur in all which you have been pleased to recommend to them.

We return your Majesty our most humble thanks for the firm assurances you have given, both by your words, and by your actions, of supporting and encouraging the church of England, as by law established.

As we are true sons of that church, we cannot but be tenderly concerned for its prosperity, and for its honour; and are, by affection and principle, inclined to secure its doctrine, discipline, and worship.

As we are fellow christians and fellow subjects with those protestant dissenters, who are so unhappy to entertain scruples against conformity with our church, we are desirous, and determined to let them quietly enjoy that indulgence which the law hath allowed them.

As we are Britons, it is our common interest, and shall be our joint endeavour, to preserve that union between the parts of Great Britain, on which the safety of the whole depends.

As we are lovers of our excellent constitution, both in church and state, and solicitous that our posterity may be as happy in all future ages, as we hope long to continue under your Majesty's most auspicious reign, we shall always steadily adhere to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and be most watchful to prevent any danger which may threaten that settlement, so necessary for the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties.

These are ends truly worthy your Majesty's pursuit: and we do, with all humility, represent to your Majesty, that the most effectual way to give spirit to your friends, and defeat the restless malice of your enemies, will be, by discountenancing all persons of such principles, and avoiding all measures of such tendency, as may weaken your Majesty's title and government, the settlement of the crown in the illustrious house of Hanover, and advance the hopes of the Pretender, and all other principles, and measures, that have lately threatened your royal crown and dignity, and which, whenever they prevail, will prove fatal to our own constitution, both in church and state.

Her Majesty's Answer, December 2, 1710.

Gentlemen,

I AM extremely well pleased with your address; and I fully depend upon the assurances you give me, of concurring in all the particulars I have recommended to you.

You may depend upon my care to encourage those whose principles are agreeable to our constitution in church and state.

Message from her Majesty, January 2, 1711.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty having received notice that there has been an action in Spain, very much to the disadvantage of King Charles's affairs; which having fallen particularly on the British forces, the Queen immediately gave directions for sending and procuring troops to repair this loss.

Her Majesty acquaints this House with this intelligence, and likewise with her orders given thereupon, not doubting but the Parliament will approve thereof, and concur in their assistance for remedying so great a misfortune.

Address by the House of Commons, January 3, 1711.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious message; wherein your Majesty has been pleased to communicate to us the intelligences you have received of an action in Spain, very much to the disadvantage of King Charles's affairs, and the directions your Majesty has given for sending and procuring troops to repair this loss.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that this disadvantage will not discourage us from using our utmost endeavours to enable your Majesty to carry on the just and necessary war, in which you are engaged, for preserving the liberties of Europe, but, after the many undoubted instances we have received of your Majesty's great care and wisdom, being perfectly satisfied in the one, and entirely depending on the other, we are resolved effectually to support your Majesty in the prosecution of those measures that your Majesty shall on this occasion think proper for retrieving the loss in Spain.

Her Majesty's Answer, January 5, 1711.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you very kindly for the entire confidence which you place in me; and will endeavour to make the best use I can of it, for the public advantage.

Joint Address to the Queen, March 9, 1711.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, have, to our great concern, been informed of a most barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the person of Robert Harley, Esquire, Chancellor of your Majesty's exchequer, by the Marquis de Guiscard, a French papist, before the time when he was under examination for treasonable practices, at a committee of your Majesty's council. We cannot but be most deeply affected to find such an instance of inveterate malice against one, employed in your Majesty's council, and so near your royal person; and we have reason to believe, that his fidelity to your Majesty, and zeal for your service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the

the abettors of popery and faction. We think it our duty, upon this occasion, to assure your Majesty, that we will effectually stand by and defend your Majesty, and those who have the honour to be employed in your service, against all public and secret attempts of your enemies ; and we most humbly beseech your Majesty that you will be pleased to take all possible care of your sacred person, on whose life the welfare and happiness of your people, as well as the liberties of Europe, entirely depend,

And we do, in all humility, represent to your Majesty, that one effectual means, conducing to the safety of your Majesty's royal person, will be, to give such directions as in your great wisdom shall seem most proper, for causing papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 14, 1711.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I TAKE this address very kindly from you, on the occasion of that barbarous attempt on Mr. Harley, whose zeal and fidelity in my service must appear yet more eminently, by that horrid endeavour to take away his life, for no other reason that appears, but his known opposition to popery and faction. Your warm concern for the safety of my person, and the defence of those employed in my service, is very grateful to me ; and I shall always continue my care for the welfare and happiness of my people, by using all means that may most effectually conduce to those ends, and particularly by giving the proper directions for removing papists from the cities of London and Westminster, according to your desire.

I think it would be reasonable to make a law, to punish with death such villainous attempts on the lives of magistrates, in the lawful execution of their office, though, by God's providence, the mischiefs designed do not take effect.

Address by the House of Commons, April 2, 1711.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, have, with the utmost satisfaction, received your Majesty's gracious message, recommending to us the great and necessary work of building new churches in and about the cities of London and Westminster.

We

We are sensible how much the want of them hath contributed to the increase of schism and irreligion, and shall not fail therefore to do our parts towards supplying that defect, being entirely disposed to promote every thing that is for the interest of the established church, and the honour of your Majesty's reign.

Neither the long expensive war in which we are engaged, nor the pressure of heavy debts under which we labour, shall hinder us from granting to your Majesty whatever is necessary to accomplish so excellent a design, which we hope may be a means of drawing down blessings from Heaven on all your Majesty's other undertakings, as it adds to the number of those places where the prayers of your devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God for the prosperity of your Majesty's government at home, and the success of your arms abroad.

Her Majesty's Answer, April 10, 1711.

Gentlemen,

YOUR address is extremely acceptable to me, as it is a proof of your zeal for the interest of the established church, and for the advancement of religion.

I will take care, that what you grant, shall, in the most speedy and effectual manner, be applied to the good purpose for which it is intended.

Message from her Majesty, April 20, 1711.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty is pleased to acquaint this House with the ill news she hath received of the Emperor's death: and being sensible of the consequence this great loss may be to the allies, how disheartened some of them may be on the one hand, and how diligent France will be on the other, to improve every accident to their own advantage, her Majesty is desirous to let you know, that immediately on the first news of the late Emperor's sickness, she came to a resolution to support the interest of the house of Austria in this conjuncture, and to use her utmost endeavours to get the King of Spain made Emperor, in which the States General have likewise concurred with her Majesty; and, since that, her Majesty hath taken the most proper means to engage all those (who have a share in this election, and are in the interest of the common cause) to join with her in bringing

ing this great work to a good issue : and she hath an entire confidence in the affection and duty of her Parliament, that, with their assistance, under the protection and blessing of Almighty God, she shall be enabled to make a happy conclusion of this war in a safe and honourable peace.

The season of the year, and the length of time that hath past since your meeting, will make you all wish, that you may be at liberty to attend the public, as well as your own private affairs, throughout the kingdom ; and therefore her Majesty does recommend to you, so to hasten your consultations about all the public concerns, that her Majesty may put a speedy end to this session.

Address to her Majesty by both Houses, April 20, 1711.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious message. We are truly sensible of the great loss the alliance has sustained in the death of the Emperor, and do with all duty acknowledge the early and wise care your Majesty has been pleased to take to prevent the ill consequences thereof, by resolving to support the interests of the house of Austria, and endeavouring to promote the election of the King of Spain to the empire.

Your Majesty may safely place an entire confidence in our duty and affection, and may rest assured that we cannot be discouraged by this or any other misfortune, from supporting your Majesty in all the measures which your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall judge proper, to bring the war to a happy conclusion, by a safe and honourable peace.

And being truly convinced, how necessary it is to give all possible dispatch to the public business, we will use our utmost diligence in every part of it, depending before us, that your Majesty may have the satisfaction of putting a speedy end to this session.

Her Majesty's Answer, April 21, 1711.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you very heartily for this address. It is of great importance, that the world should know, that both Houses of Parliament do so unanimously approve the measures I have taken

taken on this occasion of the Emperor's death, which will very much encourage our allies to continue united in the common cause.

*Representation by the House of Commons to her Majesty, .
May 31, 1711.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, have, with the utmost zeal and unanimity, applied ourselves to the dispatch of those great and important affairs, which your Majesty was pleased to recommend to us from the throne; and we humbly hope that we have, in every respect, answered your Majesty's expectations in calling this Parliament.

In making suitable provision for the public service, we have met with great difficulties from the anticipation of funds, and the large sums with which the public revenues stand charged for long terms of years to come: however, we have not been discouraged, but have, with greater diligence, carried on our endeavours to raise such supplies, as, we trust, will be effectual, not only for the service of the present year, but also for the discharge of the heavy debts so long and so justly complained of; and, as the absolute necessity of carrying on the war, and our resolutions to support the public credit, and maintain the honour and justice of Parliament, have obliged us to increase the burthen of taxes upon our fellow subjects, so we are persuaded, that the same reasons will induce them to pay those taxes with cheerfulness and satisfaction.

At the same time, we have thought it another part of our duty to inquire into the causes of the heavy debts we laboured under, and to trace the source of that great evil, as what, we thought, would in some degree satisfy the minds of your people, and prevent the like mischief for the future.

This was a promise and an assurance which we presumed to give your Majesty at the beginning of this session; and now, at the conclusion of it, we beg leave to lay before your Majesty the result of our inquiries, which, we hope, your Majesty will not judge to be unworthy of your royal consideration.

In examining into the state of the war, and looking back from the beginning of it, we find, that in several years the service has been enlarged, and the charge of it increased, beyond the bounds prescribed, and the annual supplies granted by Parliament. To this new and illegal practice we must, in great measure, ascribe the rise and growth of the heavy debts
that

that lie upon the nation : nor^d does the consequence of it end there ; for we must also represent it to your Majesty, as a dangerous invasion of the rights of Parliament. The Commons must ever assert it as their sole and undoubted privilege to grant money, and to adjust and limit the proportions of it ; and, when your Majesty has recommended to them to consider of supplies, and they have deliberated upon the several estimates for the annual services, and considered, and determined, what the nation is able to bear, their proceedings would be very vain and ineffectual, if, after the respective sums are stated and granted, those through whose hands the disposition of them passes are allowed, in any measure, to alter and enlarge them.

This is an attempt which very little differs from levying money without consent of Parliament, as will appear to your Majesty from this one consideration, that a charge of that kind, once incurred, and laid as a debt upon the navy, or any other public office, is so far binding upon Parliament, that, how little soever they approve of the means by which it was contracted, yet, the public credit being pawned, the Commons cannot, without the ruin of that, refuse to provide for it.

This also has been an occasion, why great sums of unappropriated money, arising from the exceedings and surpluses of some of the funds, granted by Parliament, have not been applied as they ought to have been, in aid of the deficiencies of other funds : had this just care been observed, the debts of the nation could not have increased to so exorbitant an height : but other uses were found out, such as were neither voted, nor addressed for by Parliament ; which, therefore, we adjudge to have been a misapplication of public money.

With regard to the debts of the navy, we find, that one great discouragement and burthen which that part of the service has lain under, has been from a liberty that has been used, of diverting several sums issued to that service, and transferring them to other purposes for which they were not intended ; particularly, that the sum of 606,806*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* belonging to the navy, has been paid for provision supplied to land forces sent to Spain and Portugal, and for the garrison of Gibraltar, for which no deductions have been made from the pay of those forces, nor any part of that sum re-assigned to the victualling, notwithstanding the several acts of Parliament provided, and the many letters and representations made to the treasury in that behalf. This unjustifiable proceeding has been a discouragement to the seamen, occasioned the paying extravagant rates upon contracts, and has very much contributed to sink the credit of the navy.

To this we must add the many notorious embezzlements, and scandalous abuses, which appear to have been practised, as well in the management of your Majesty's brewhouse, as in the contracts for furnishing the navy with beer. We have already presumed to address your Majesty, that several persons, whom we discovered to have been guilty of those frauds, should be prosecuted at law for those offences; and we entirely rely upon your Majesty's most gracious assurance, that those prosecutions shall be effectually carried on; but we must also (upon this occasion) beg leave farther to represent to your Majesty, that the commissioners appointed to take care of the victualling your Majesty's navy, have been guilty of great negligence and remissness in their duty: for the instructions which go along with that commission, are so well adapted to the preventing those very abuses which have been committed, that nothing but a notorious mismanagement in that office, and an inexcusable neglect in pursuing those instructions, could have given way to the great loss the public has sustained in that part of the service.

The evil effects of this mismanagement in public offices, and misapplication of parliamentary supplies, have been increased by the very methods of bringing in the public money: for it has appeared to us, that the receivers of the land tax, and of the other revenues, have not been called upon to pay in the money they had received, in due time, as the law requires. Such has been the extreme remissness, and unaccountable indulgence of those whose duty it was to oblige these receivers to due and punctual payments, that on the 8th day of December, 1710, there was an arrear of the several land taxes for five years, ending the 24th of March, 1709, amounting to the sum of 272,596*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* some part of which was paid into the exchequer, after the Commons had ordered an inquiry into that matter; so that the sum standing out at the beginning of April 1711, was 180,439*l.* 7*s.* 6½*d.*

From these omissions, the public remains long under the load of interest, for want of that money which lies in the hands of receivers; so that the supplies granted to your Majesty, however large or well proportioned to the occasions of the war, could never prove effectual to prevent the incumbrance of debts, whilst they were neither collected nor disbursed faithfully, according to the ends and methods designed by Parliament.

Thus far have we proceeded in discovering some of those causes, which have brought so great a weight of debts upon the nation; and we might have made a much greater progress in our inquiries, if the accounts of the public money had been regularly

regularly passed; but, to our great surprise and concern, we find, that they, who of late years have had the management of your Majesty's treasury, and ought to have compelled the several accountants duly to pass their respective accounts, have been guilty of so notorious a breach of trust, and of so high an injustice to the nation, that of the monies granted by Parliament, and issued for the public service to Christmas 1710, there remains unaccounted for the sum of 35,302,107*l.* for a great part of which no accounts have so much as been laid before the auditors; and for the rest, though some accounts have been brought in, yet they have not been prosecuted by the accountants, and finished. This has made it impracticable for us to arrive at so exact knowledge of the state of the nation, with regard to the public money, as we wish, and might have expected; and your Majesty will please to consider, in such an immense sum unaccounted for, how many embezzlements may be concealed, and how justly it is to be suspected, that so scandalous a remissness has been allowed with no other design.

We humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will give immediate and effectual directions for the compelling the several imprest accountants speedily to pass their accounts; and, in the mean time, we humbly hope your Majesty will approve the resolution of your Commons, that such of the accountants who have neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be intrusted with the receiving the public money.

We cannot omit taking notice to your Majesty of another extraordinary instance in which the public money has been misapplied, by bringing over the poor Palatines to inhabit and settle themselves in this kingdom. This was not only an extravagant and an unreasonable expense in itself, but many other ways uneasy and grievous to your people; for, as it was visible, that such numbers of necessitous and useless foreigners must unavoidably tend to the increase and oppression of the poor of this kingdom, so, being a mixture of people of all religions, it was evident, how dangerous they might prove to the quiet of our government, and the constitution of our established church. Upon what encouragement and invitation they came over, we have not been able to discover; but we look upon it as certain, that the calling over so many families, from a country so remote, could not be brought about without industry and contrivance; and those who were concerned in it seemed to have been conscious of the evil of their own designs, by the secrecy with which they pursued them. Your Majesty, in your great wisdom, will best recollect from whence this attempt and advice proceeded; and we humbly represent it as

our opinion, that the authors of it were enemies to your Majesty and your kingdom.

We beg leave to offer to your Majesty's consideration but one thing more, which has alarmed your people with just fears; the arbitrary attempt of new-modelling corporations, by imposing a charter upon the borough of Bewdley; a charter void and illegal, not being accepted by the corporation then in being; destructive of the constitution of Parliament, in transferring the rights of electors to others; and, injurious to your Majesty's subjects, in divesting them of their franchises and freeholds, even after they had been affirmed by judgments upon the rigorous prosecutions of *quo warrantos*.

We return your Majesty our most humble thanks for putting a stop to so pernicious a precedent, by ordering the proper methods to be taken for repealing the said charter, and restoring the borough in the possession of their ancient privileges. We are truly sensible of your Majesty's tender regard to the rights of all your people; and we cannot, without indignation, reflect upon the oppressive designs of those evil counsellors, who endeavoured to have brought a blemish of this kind upon your Majesty's most just and gentle reign.

From all these evil practices, and worse designs, of some persons who had, by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into your royal favour, irreparable mischief had accrued to the public, had not your Majesty, in your great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures; and, out of your singular goodness to your people, removed from the administration of affairs those who had so ill answered the favourable opinion your Majesty had conceived of them, and, in so many instances, grossly abused the great trust reposed in them. Your people could, with greater patience, have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat your sacred person with undutifulness and disregard; but, as the interests of your Majesty and your people are inseparable, and are, by your Majesty and your good subjects, inseparably pursued, the wrongs which these men had done to the public, drew upon them your royal displeasure; and their irreverence towards your Majesty justly exposed them to the indignation of your people.

Your Majesty had, from the beginning of your auspicious reign, expressed a true christian moderation, by promises of lenity and protection to all your peaceable subjects, and of countenance and favour to those who should most recommend themselves by their zeal for the established government in
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church and state; but these ministers framed to themselves wild and unwarrantable schemes of balancing parties, and, under a false pretence of temper and moderation, did really encourage faction, by discountenancing and depressing persons zealously affected to your Majesty, and to the church, and by extending their favour and patronage to men of licentious and impious principles, such as shake the very foundation of all government, and all religion.

Out of our unfeigned zeal for your Majesty's honour and service, and our faithful affection to the public good, we cannot forbear, with all humility and earnestness, to beseech your Majesty, that you would avoid, as the greatest enemies to your royal dignity, and to your people's safety, all persons who shall endeavour to engage you in such pernicious measures; and that you would employ, in places of authority and trust, such only as have given good testimonies of their duty to your Majesty, and of their affection to the true interest of your kingdom.

These are the humble desires of your faithful Commons, and these we know to be your Majesty's gracious intentions. From your tender concern for this church and nation, and from what you lately have done, and are going on to do, for the happiness and satisfaction of your people, we promise ourselves a favourable acceptance of this our application; and from our duty to your Majesty, and our fidelity to our trust, your Majesty may confide in us, that we will, upon all occasions, defend and support your Majesty, and our happy constitution; against all enemies and opposers whatsoever.

Her Majesty's Answer, June 7, 1711.

Gentlemen,

THIS representation gives me fresh assurances of your zeal for my service, and for the true interest of your country. It contains many particulars: I will take them all into my serious consideration, and give the necessary directions to redress the grievances you complain of. Be assured, that your advice upon all occasions has the greatest weight with me.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 7, 1711.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IHAVE called you together as soon as the public affairs would permit: and I am glad, that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both

place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace.

Our allies, especially the States General, whose interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have, by their ready concurrence, expressed their entire confidence in me: and I have no reason to doubt, but that my own subjects are assured of my particular care of them.

My chief concern is, that the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these nations, may be continued to you, by securing the succession to the crown, as it is limited by Parliament, to the house of Hanover. -

I shall endeavour, that, after a war which has cost so much blood and treasure, you may find your interest in trade and commerce improved and enlarged by a peace; with all other advantages which a tender and affectionate Sovereign can procure for a dutiful and loyal people.

The princes and states which have been engaged with us in this war, being, by treaties, intitled to have their several interests secured at a peace, I will not only do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable satisfaction; but I shall also unite with them, in the strictest engagements, for continuing the alliance, in order to render the general peace secure and lasting.

The best way to have this treaty effectual, will be to make early provision for the campaign: therefore, I must ask of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the necessary supplies for the next year's war: and I do most earnestly recommend to you to make such dispatch therein, as may convince our enemies, that, if we cannot obtain a good peace, we are prepared to carry on the war with vigour.

Whatever you give will be still in your own power to apply: and I doubt not, but in a little time after the opening of the treaty, we shall be able to judge of its event.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As I have had your cheerful assistance for the carrying on this long and chargeable war, so I assure myself, that no true protestant, or good subject, will envy Britain, or me, the glory and satisfaction of ending the same by a just and honourable peace for us, and all our allies.

Such a peace will give new life to our foreign trade; and I shall do my utmost to improve that happy opportunity to encourage our home manufactures: which will tend to the easing of my subjects in that excessive charge they now lie under in maintaining the poor; and to correct and redress such abuses

abuses as may have crept into any part of the administration during so long a war.

I cannot conclude without earnestly recommending to you all unanimity, and that you will carefully avoid every thing which may give occasion to the enemy to think us a people divided amongst ourselves; and, consequently, prevent our obtaining that good peace, of which we have such reasonable hopes; and so near a view.

I pray God direct your consultations to this end, that, being delivered from the hardships of war, you may become a happy and a flourishing people.

Address by the House of Commons to her Majesty, Dec. 8, 1711.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our sincere and hearty thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne; wherein your Majesty, by expressing your great care and concern, in so particular a manner, for the protestant religion, which, above all things, is most dear to us; for those laws and liberties which make us peculiarly happy above other nations; and for the succession of the house of Hanover, as limited by Parliament, upon which the future security of our religion, laws, and liberties, depends; has given us a fresh demonstration, that your Majesty has nothing so much at heart, as the safety and happiness of your people.

Having an entire confidence in your Majesty's wisdom and goodness, in your honour and justice to your allies, and in your particular care of your own subjects, we cannot but express our satisfaction in what your Majesty has been pleased to declare, of the just and honourable peace your Majesty has in view.

This was the end for which your Majesty entered into the war; and nothing can add more to the glory of your reign, than, after the many unparalleled successes in the course of this war, to have your Majesty conclude it with the blessing of such a peace; which, we cannot doubt, will be rendered secure and lasting by your Majesty's pursuing the wise resolution you have taken, of entering into the strictest engagements for continuing the alliance to that end.

And we presume to assure your Majesty, we will take all possible care to preserve that unanimity your Majesty has recommended to us; and use our utmost endeavours to disappoint,

as well the arts and designs of those who, for private views, may delight in war, as the hopes the enemies may have vainly entertained of receiving advantage from any division among us.

We entirely concur with your Majesty, that the best way to bring this treaty to good effect, is to make an early provision for the next campaign: for which purpose, notwithstanding the heavy burdens which, during this long and expensive war, your Majesty's subjects have undergone, we will, with the greatest alacrity, grant such effectual and speedy supplies, as shall enable your Majesty to carry on the war with vigour; and convince your enemies, if the intended negotiations should prove ineffectual, that no amusements nor attempts whatsoever can alter our firm and steadfast resolution of supporting the best of sovereigns in carrying on so just a war, till a safe lasting, and honourable peace may be procured for your Majesty, and all your allies.

Her Majesty's Answer, Dec. 11, 1711.

THIS very dutiful address is what I expected from the zeal and loyalty of such an House of Commons; I return you my hearty thanks for the confidence you have in me: I entirely rely upon your assurances; and you may depend upon my affection, and care for your interests.

Message from her Majesty to the House of Commons, January 14, 1712.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty fully determined to have been personally present in Parliament this day; but, being prevented by a sudden return of the gout, her Majesty, in hopes she may, by the blessing of God, be able to speak to both her Houses of Parliament on Thursday next, desires this House may forthwith adjourn itself to Thursday next, the seventeenth of this instant January.

Message from her Majesty to the House of Commons, January 17, 1712.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty, not having yet recovered strength enough, since the return of the gout, to be present this day in person; and being unwilling that the public business should
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receive any delay, thinks fit to communicate to this House the substances of what she intended to have spoke.

At the opening of this session, her Majesty acquainted her Parliament, that both time and place were appointed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries of all the confederates, to treat with those of the enemy concerning a general peace: and also expressed the care which she intended to take of all her allies, and the strict union in which she proposed to join with them, in order to obtain a good peace, and to guarantee and support it when obtained.

Her Majesty can now tell you, that her plenipotentiaries are arrived at Utrecht, and have begun, in pursuance of her instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all in alliance with her, according to their several treaties; and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies.

You may depend on her Majesty's communicating to her Parliament the terms of peace before the same shall be concluded.

The world will now see how groundless those reports are which have been spread abroad, by men of evil intentions, to serve the worst designs, as if a separate peace had been treated; for which there has not been the least colour given.

Her Majesty's ministers have directions to propose, that a day may be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement, of this treaty; and, in the mean time, all the preparations are hastening for an early campaign.

The zeal which this House has already expressed is a sure pledge, that they will proceed in giving the necessary dispatch to the supplies which have been asked of them.

Her Majesty finds it necessary to observe, how great licence is taken in publishing false and scandalous libels; such as are a reproach to any government: this evil seems to be grown too strong for the laws now in force: it is therefore recommended to you to find a remedy equal to the mischief.

St. James's, 17th January, 1712. •

Address by the House of Commons to her Majesty, Jan. 18, 1712.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, appear before your Majesty, with the greatest satisfaction, to return our most humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious message.

Your Majesty has, on all occasions, shewn such a tenderness and regard to the welfare of your people, and such a generous and disinterested concern for the support and advantage of your allies, in so many instances, during the prosecution of the present war, that we have no reason to doubt your Majesty's care of both in a treaty of peace; and that the most proper ways will be concerted of procuring a just satisfaction to all in alliance with your Majesty, according to their several treaties; and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies: however, we think ourselves obliged, with the greatest gratitude, to acknowledge your Majesty's goodness and condescension, in promising to communicate to your Parliament the terms for a general peace before the same shall be concluded: and this, if any thing can, must entirely silence those seditious reports that have been industriously and maliciously spread abroad, to the dishonour of your Majesty, that a separate peace has been treated; which can have been raised only by some factious incendiaries, who; to cover their own disaffection to the present establishment and administration, and such designs as they have not dared publicly to own, endeavour to distract your subjects with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies.

Your Majesty's approbation of the zeal your faithful Commons have already expressed for raising the necessary supplies, will engage them to continue their application, and to give all possible dispatch thereunto.

We are very sensible how much the liberty of the press is abused, by turning it into such a licentiousness as is a just reproach to the nation; since not only false and scandalous libels are printed and published against your Majesty's government, but the most horrid blasphemies against God and religion: and we beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty, that we will do our utmost to find out a remedy equal to this mischief, and that may effectually cure it.

Message from her Majesty to the House of Commons, Jan. 21, 1712.

ANNE R.

HER Majesty thinks fit to inform the House, that in pursuance of an act, intitled, "An Act for granting to her Majesty several duties on coals, for building fifty new churches in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof, and other purposes therein mentioned;" she issued her commission, under the great seal of Great Britain, authorising

authorising several persons to execute the powers therein mentioned :

That her Majesty, finding, by the report of the commissioners, that they have not been able, within the time limited, fully to answer the purposes of the said commission, earnestly recommends to her Parliament, that the time may be enlarged for effecting this work ; and such farther powers may be given, as shall appear necessary to render her Majesty's pious intentions more effectual.

Her Majesty's Answer to the last Address, Jan. 22, 1712.

I HAVE received so many proofs of the loyalty of this House of Commons, and of their love of our country, that the best answer which I can return to this most dutiful address is, to give you my hearty thanks for it ; and to repeat not only that good opinion which I have of my Commons, but also my assurances, that the confidence which you place in me shall be answered by my utmost endeavours to promote the safety and advantage of all my subjects. *

*A Representation to her Majesty by the House of Commons,
March 1, 1712.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having nothing so much at heart as to enable your Majesty to bring this long and expensive war to an honourable and happy conclusion, have taken it into our most serious consideration, how the necessary supplies to be provided by us may be best applied, and the common cause may, in the most effectual manner, be carried on by the united force of the whole confederacy : we have thought ourselves obliged, in duty to your Majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire into the true state of the war in all its parts : we have examined what stipulations have been entered into between your Majesty and your allies ; and how far such engagements have, on each side, been made good : we have considered the different interests which the confederates have in the success of this war ; and the different shares they have contributed to its support : we have, with our utmost care and diligence, endeavoured to discover the nature, extent, and charge, of it ; to the end, that by comparing the weight thereof with our own strength, we might adapt the one to the other, in such measure,

sure, as neither to continue your Majesty's subjects under a heavier burden than in reason and justice they ought to bear ; nor deceive your Majesty, your allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than the nation, in its present circumstances, is able to perform.

Your Majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble applications, to order such materials to be laid before us, as have furnished us with the necessary information upon the particulars we have inquired into : and when we shall have laid before your Majesty our observations and humble advice upon this subject, we promise to ourselves this happy fruit from it, that, if your Majesty's generous and good purposes for the procuring a safe and lasting peace should, through the obstinacy of the enemy, or by any other means, be unhappily defeated, a true knowledge and understanding of the past conduct of the war, will be the best foundation for a more frugal and equal management of it for the time to come.

In order to take a more perfect view of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the whole before your Majesty in a true light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the beginning of the war ; and beg leave to observe the motives and reasons upon which his late Majesty King William engaged first in it : the treaty of the grand alliance explains those reasons to be, for the supporting the pretensions of his Imperial Majesty, then actually engaged in a war with the French King, who had usurped the entire Spanish monarchy for his grandson, the Duke of Anjou ; and for the assisting the States General, who, by the loss of their barrier against France, were then in the same, or a more dangerous condition than if they were actually invaded : as these were the just and necessary motives for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained by it were equally wise and honourable : for, as they are set forth in the eighth article of the same treaty, they appear to have been, the procuring an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty, and sufficient securities for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and commerce, of the King of Great Britain, and the States General ; the making effectual provision, that the two kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united under the same government ; and particularly, that the French should never get into the possession of the Spanish West Indies, or be permitted to sail thither, upon the account of traffic, under any pretence whatsoever ; and lastly, the securing to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and the States General, all the same privileges and rights of commerce throughout the whole dominions of Spain, as they enjoyed before the death of Charles II. King of Spain,
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by virtue of any treaty, agreement, custom, or any other way whatsoever: for the obtaining these ends, the three confederated powers engaged to assist one another with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose: we do not find, that any such convention was ever ratified; but it appears, that there was an agreement concluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be binding upon each party respectively; and according to which, the proportions of Great Britain were, from the beginning, regulated and founded: the terms of that agreement were, that, for the service at land, his Imperial Majesty should furnish 90,000 men; the King of Great Britain 40,000; and the States General 102,000; of which there were 42,000 intended to supply their garrisons, and 60,000 to act against the common enemy in the field: and, with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and the States General; the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being, five-eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three-eighths on the part of the States General.

Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702; at which time the whole yearly expence of it to England amounted to 3,706,494*l.* a very great charge, as it was then thought by your Majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them; for it appears, by estimates given in to your Commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year, in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more than 6,960,000*l.* besides interest, for the public debt, and the deficiencies accruing the last year; which two articles require 1,143,000*l.* more; so that the whole demands upon your Commons are arisen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply: we know your Majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them; and as we are assured it fully convinces your Majesty of the necessity of our present inquiry, so we beg leave to represent to you, from what causes, and by what steps, this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

The service at sea, as it hath been very large and extensive in itself, so it hath been carried on, through the whole course of the war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to your Majesty and your kingdom: for the necessity of affairs requiring

that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for the maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of West France, your Majesty's example and readiness, in fitting out your proportion of ships for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the States General to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your Majesty hath furnished; sometimes no less than two-thirds, and generally more than half, of their quota: from hence your Majesty has been obliged, for the preventing disappointments in the most pressing services, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships: nor hath the single increase of such a charge been the only ill consequence that attended it; for, by this means, the debt of the navy hath been enhanced, so that the discounts arising upon the credit of it have affected all other parts of the service: from the same cause, your Majesty's ships of war have been forced, in greater numbers, to continue in remote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year, to the greater damage and decay of the British navy: this also hath been the occasion that your Majesty hath been straitened in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been exposed, for want of a sufficient number of cruizers to guard them; and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they have received those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expenses of this war.

That part of the war which hath been carried on in Flanders, was at first immediately necessary to the security of the States General, and hath since brought them great acquisitions, both of revenue and dominion: yet, even there, the original proportions have been departed from, and, during the course of the war, have been sinking by degrees, on the part of Holland; so that, in this last year, we find the number in which they fell short of their three-fifths to your Majesty's two-fifths, to have been 20,837 men: we are not unmindful, that in the year 1703 a treaty was made between the two nations, for a joint augmentation of 20,000 men; wherein the proportions were varied, and England consented to take half upon itself: but it having been annexed, as an express condition, to the grant of the said augmentation in Parliament, that the States General should prohibit all trade and commerce with France; and that condition having not been performed by them, the Commons think it reasonable, that the first rule, of three to two, ought to have taken place again, as well in

that as in other subsequent augmentations; more especially when they consider, that the revenues of those rich provinces which have been conquered would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great number of new additional forces against the common enemy; notwithstanding which, the States General have raised none upon that account, but make use of those fresh supplies only to ease themselves in the charge of their first established quota.

As in the progress of the war in Flanders, a disproportion was soon created to the prejudice of England, so the very beginning of the war in Portugal brought an unequal share of burden upon us: for although the Emperor and the States General were equally parties with your Majesty in the treaty with the King of Portugal, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his Imperial Majesty's defect upon themselves, your Majesty hath been obliged to furnish two-thirds of the entire expense created by that service: nor has the inequality stopped there, for ever since the year 1706, when the English and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the States General have entirely abandoned the war in Portugal, and left your Majesty to prosecute it, singly, at your own charge; which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater number of troops there than even at first you took upon you to provide: at the same time, your Majesty's generous endeavours for the support and defence of the King of Portugal have been but ill seconded by that Prince himself; for notwithstanding that, by his treaty, he had obliged himself to furnish 12,000 foot, and 3000 horse, upon his own account, besides 11,000 foot, and 2000 horse more, in consideration of a subsidy paid him; yet, according to the best information your Commons can procure, it appears, that he hath scarce, at any time, furnished 13,000 men in the whole.

In Spain, the war hath been more unequal and burdensome to your Majesty than in any other branch of it; for, being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves: a small body of English and Dutch troops were sent thither in the year 1705, not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country, but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to set King Charles upon the throne, occasioned by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations to the house of Austria: but this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an established war, under all the disadvantages of the distance
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of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other allies : the account we have to lay before your Majesty on this head is, that although this undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the Imperial court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern to them than the reducing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria ; yet neither the late emperors, nor his present Imperial Majesty, have ever had any forces there on their own account till the last year ; and then only one regiment of foot, consisting of 2000 men : though the States General have contributed something more to this service, yet their share also hath been inconsiderable, for in the space of four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive, all the forces they have sent into that country have not exceeded 12,200 men ; and from the year 1708 to this time they have not sent any forces or recruits whatsoever : to your Majesty's care and charge the recovery of that kingdom has been, in a manner, wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it ; and the forces which your Majesty hath sent into Spain in the space of seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than 57,973 men ; besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons, for which your Majesty hath paid a subsidy to the Emperor : how great the established expense of such a number of men hath been, your Majesty very well knows, and your Commons very sensibly feel : but the weight will be found much greater, when it is considered how many heavy articles of unusual and extraordinary charge hath attended this remote and difficult service ; all which have been entirely defrayed by your Majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by the States General, and the victualling of them during their transportation only : the accounts delivered to your Commons shew, that the charge of your Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the service of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man per month, from the time they sailed from hence till they returned, were lost, or put upon other services, hath amounted to 6,540,966*l.* 14*s.* the charge of transports on the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, from the beginning of it till this time, hath amounted to 1,336,719*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* that of victualling land forces for the same service to 583,770*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* and that of contingencies and other extraordinary, for the same service, to 1,840,353*l.*

We should take notice to your Majesty of several sums paid upon account of contingencies, and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of one million one hundred and seven thousand ninety-six pounds ; but we are not able to
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make any comparison of them with what the States General have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us.

There remains, therefore, but one particular more for your Majesty's observation; which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign Princes: these, at the beginning of the war, were borne in equal proportion by your Majesty, and the States General; but, in this instance also, the balance hath been cast in precisely to your Majesty: for it appears, that your Majesty hath since advanced, more than your equal proportion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five thousand crowns, besides extraordinary, paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arise to five hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred fifty three pounds.

We have laid these several particulars before your Majesty in the shortest manner we have been able: and by an estimate, grounded on the preceding facts, it does appear, that, over and above the expences on the part of Great Britain answering to those contributed by your allies, more than nineteen millions have been expended by your Majesty, during the course of this war, by way of surplusage, or exceeding in balance; of which none of the confederates have furnished any thing whatsoever.

It is with very great concern, that we find so much occasion given us to represent how ill an use hath been made of your Majesty's and your subjects' zeal for the common cause: that the interest of that cause hath not been proportionably promoted by it; but others only have been eased, at your Majesty's and your subjects' costs; and have been connived at in laying their part of the burden upon this kingdom, although they have, upon all accounts, been equally, and, in most respects, much more nearly concerned than Britain, in the issue of the war: we are persuaded your Majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some resentment, to complain of the little regard which some of those whom your Majesty of late years intrusted, have shewn to the interests of their country, in giving way, at least, to such unreasonable impositions upon it, if not, in some measure, contriving them: the course of which impositions hath been so singular and extraordinary, that the more the wealth of this nation hath been exhausted, and the more your Majesty's arms have been attended with success, the heavier hath been the burden laid upon us; whilst, on the other hand, the more vigorous your Majesty's efforts have been, and the greater the advantages which have redounded thence to your allies, the more those allies have abated in their share of the expense.

At

At the first entrance into this war, the Commons were induced to exert themselves in the extraordinary manner they did, and to grant such large supplies as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war; and to bring that in which they were necessarily engaged to a speedy conclusion: but they have been very unhappy in the event, whilst they have so much reason to suspect, that what was intended to shorten the war, hath proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those to whom the profits of it have accrued, have been disposed not easily to forego them: and your Majesty will soon thence discern the true reason why so many have delighted in a war which brought in so rich an harvest, yearly, from Great Britain.

We are as far from desiring, as we know your Majesty will be from concluding any peace, but upon safe and honourable terms: and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible supplies for an effectual prosecution of the war, till such a peace can be obtained; all that your faithful Commons aim at, all that they wish, is an equal concurrence from the other powers engaged in alliance with your Majesty; and a just application of what hath been already gained from the enemy, towards promoting the common cause. Several large countries and territories have been restored to the house of Austria; such as the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and other places in Italy: others have been conquered, and added to their dominions; as the two electorates of Bavaria and Cologne, the duchy of Mantua, and the bishopric of Liege: these having been reduced in great measure, by our blood and treasure, may, we humbly conceive, with great reason, be claimed to come in aid towards carrying on the war in Spain: and therefore, we make it our earnest request to your Majesty, that you will give instructions to your ministers to insist with the Emperor, that the revenues of those several places, excepting only such a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, be actually so applied: and as to the other parts of the war, to which your Majesty hath obliged yourself by particular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual care, that your allies do perform their parts stipulated by those treaties; and that your Majesty will, for the future, no otherways furnish troops, or pay subsidies, than in proportion to what your allies shall actually furnish and pay. When this justice is done to your Majesty and to your people, there is nothing which your Commons will not cheerfully grant towards supporting your Majesty in the cause in which you are engaged: and
whatever

whatever further shall appear to be necessary for carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we will effectually enable your Majesty to bear your reasonable share of any such expense; and will spare no supplies which your subjects are able, with their utmost efforts, to afford.

After having inquired into, and considered the state of the war, in which the part your Majesty has borne appears to have been not only superior to that of any one ally, but even equal to that of the whole confederacy, your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they should find care had been taken securing some particular advantages to Britain in the terms of a future peace, such as might afford a prospect of making the nation amends in time for that immense treasure which hath been expended, and those heavy debts which have been contracted in the course of so long and burdensome a war: this reasonable expectation could no way have been better answered, than by some provision made for the further security, and the greater improvement of the commerce of Great Britain: but we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes, that, in a treaty not long since concluded between your Majesty and the States General, under colour of a mutual guarantee given for two points of the greatest importance to both nations, the succession and the barrier, it appears, the interest of Great Britain hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several articles in the said treaty are destructive to the trade and welfare of this kingdom; and therefore highly dishonourable to your Majesty.

Your Commons observe, in the first place, that several towns and places are, by virtue of this treaty, to be put into the hands of the States General; particularly Nieuport, Dendermonde, and the castle of Ghent; which can in no sense be looked upon as part of a barrier against France; but being the keys of the Netherlands towards Britain, must make the trade of your Majesty's subjects in those parts precarious, and, whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it: the pretended necessity of putting these places into the hands of the States General, in order to secure to them a communication with their barrier, must appear vain and groundless; for the sovereignty of the Low Countries being not to remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that communication must be always secure and uninterrupted; besides, that in case of a rupture, or any attack, the States have full liberty allowed them to take possession of all the Spanish Netherlands, and therefore needed no particular stipulation for the towns above-mentioned.

Having taken notice of this concession made to the States General, for seizing upon the whole ten provinces; we cannot
but

but observe to your Majesty, that in the manner this article is framed, it is another dangerous circumstance, which attends this treaty : for had such a provision been confined to the case of an apparent attack from France only, the avowed design of this treaty had been fulfilled, and your Majesty's instructions to your ambassador had been pursued ; but this necessary restriction hath been omitted ; and the same liberty is granted to the States to take possession of all the Netherlands, whenever they shall think themselves attacked by any other neighbouring nation, as when they shall be in danger from France ; so that if it should at any time happen, which your Commons are very unwilling to suppose, that they should quarrel even with your Majesty, the riches, strength, and advantageous situation of these countries, may be made use of against yourself ; without whose generous and powerful assistance they had never been conquered.

To return to those ill consequences which relate to the trade of your kingdoms ; we beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that though this treaty revives, and renders your Majesty a party to, the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the treaty of Munster ; by virtue of which, the impositions upon all goods and merchandises brought into the Spanish Low Countries by the sea, are to equal those laid on goods and merchandises imported by the Scheld, and the canals of Sals and Swyn, and other mouths of the sea adjoining ; yet no care is taken to preserve that equality upon the exportation of those goods out of the Spanish provinces, into those countries and places which, by virtue of this treaty, are to be in the possession of the States : the consequence of which must in time be, and your Commons are informed that in some instances it has already proved to be the case, that the impositions upon goods carried into those countries and places by the subjects of the States General, will be taken off, whilst those upon the goods imported by your Majesty's subjects remain ; by which means, Great Britain will entirely lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it hath been in all ages possessed of, even from the time when those countries were governed by the house of Burgundy, one of the most ancient, as well as the most useful allies to the crown of England.

With regard to the other dominions and territories of Spain : your Majesty's subjects have always been distinguished in their commerce with them, and both by ancient treaties and an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater privileges and immunities of trade, than either the Hollanders, or any other nation whatsoever : and that wise and excellent treaty of the grand alliance provides effectually for the security and continuance of these valuable privileges to Britain, in such a manner, as that each

each nation might be left at the end of the war upon the same foot as it stood at the commencement of it ; but this treaty we now complain of, instead of confirming your subjects' rights, surrenders and destroys them : for although by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the treaty of Munster, made between his Catholic Majesty and the States General, all advantages of trade are stipulated for, and granted to the Hollanders, equal to what the English enjoyed ; yet the crown of England not being a party to that treaty, the subjects of England have never submitted to those articles of it ; nor even the Spaniards themselves ever observed them : but this treaty revives those articles in prejudice to Great Britain, and makes your Majesty a party to them ; and even a guarantee to the States General for privileges against your own people.

In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner your Majesty's ambassador consented to deprive your subjects of their ancient rights, and your Majesty of the power of procuring to them any new advantage, most evidently appears from his own letters, which by your Majesty's directions have been laid before your Commons : for when matters of advantage to your Majesty and to your kingdoms had been offered, as proper to be made parts of this treaty, they were refused to be admitted by the States General, upon this reason and principle, that nothing foreign to the guarantees of the succession, and of the barrier, should be mingled with them ; notwithstanding which, the States General had no sooner received notice of a treaty of commerce concluded between your Majesty and the present Emperor, but they departed from the rule proposed before, and insisted upon the article of which your Commons now complain : which article your Majesty's ambassador allowed of, although equally foreign to the succession, or the barrier ; and although he had, for that reason, departed from other articles which would have been for the service of his own country.

We have forbore to trouble your Majesty with general observations upon this treaty, as it relates to and affects the empire, and other parts of Europe : the mischiefs which arise from it to Great Britain are what only we have presumed humbly to represent to you : as they are very evident, and very great ; and, as it appears that the Lord Viscount Townshend had not any orders or authority for concluding several of those articles which are most prejudicial to your Majesty's subjects, we have thought we could do no less than declare your said ambassador, who negotiated and signed, and all others who advised the ratifying of this treaty, enemies to your Majesty and to your kingdom.

Upon these faithful informations and advices from your Commons, we assure ourselves your Majesty, in your great
 VOL. I. H h goodness

goodness to your people, will rescue them from those evils which the private councils of ill-designing men have exposed them to; and that in your great wisdom, you will find some means for the explaining and amending the several articles of this treaty, so as that they may consist with the interest of Great Britain, and with a real and lasting friendship between your Majesty and the States General.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 5, 1712.

THIS representation is a further instance of that dutiful affection to my service, and concern for the public interest, which this House of Commons has always shewn.

You may be assured that I will give such orders as shall effectually answer what you desire of me in every particular.

A Message from her Majesty, March 14, 1712.

ANNE R.

IT having been certified to her Majesty, by the Earl of Strafford, her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Provinces, that the collections for building a church at Rotterdam, wherein divine service is celebrated after the usage of the church of England, for the benefit of the Queen's subjects in that place, are not sufficient to complete the charge of that work by about two thousand five hundred pounds, her Majesty thinks fit earnestly to recommend to the House the making a provision for the same.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 6, 1712.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE making peace and war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown: yet such is the just confidence I place in you, that at the opening of this session I acquainted you, that a negotiation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace before the same should be concluded.

In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made.

I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that these difficulties

culties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interest of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

The assuring of the protestant succession, as by law established, in the house of Hanover, to these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to have an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France, who has pretended to disturb this settlement.

The apprehension that Spain and the West Indies might be united to France, was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of such an union was the principle I laid down at the commencement of this treaty.

Former examples and the late negotiations sufficiently shew how difficult it is to find means to accomplish this work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or depend on treaties only; I insisted on what is solid, and to have at hand the power of executing what should be agreed.

I can therefore now tell you, that France is at last brought to offer, that the Duke of Anjou shall, for himself and his descendants, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France: and that this important article may be exposed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promise.

At the same time the succession to the crown of France is to be declared, after the present Dauphin and his sons, to be in the Duke of Berry and his sons, in the Duke of Orleans and his sons; and so on to the rest of the house of Bourbon.

As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to those dominions, after the Duke of Anjou and his children, is to descend to such prince as shall be agreed upon at the treaty; for ever excluding the rest of the house of Bourbon.

For confirming the renunciations and settlements beforementioned, it is farther offered, that they shall be ratified in the most strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantee to the same.

The nature of this proposal is such, that it executes itself: the interest of Spain is to support it; and in France the persons to whom that succession is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever: and thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power

be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the prohibitions of others, make it impossible to finish this work so soon as were to be desired: care is, however, taken to establish a method of settling this matter; and in the mean time, provision is made, that the same privileges and advantages as shall be granted to any other nation by France, shall be granted, in like manner, to us.

The division of the island of St. Christopher between us and the French, having been the cause of great inconvenience and damage to my subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of that whole island; and France agrees to this demand.

Our interest is so deeply concerned in the trade of North America, that I have used my utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the most beneficial manner: France consents to restore to us the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver up the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an absolute cession of Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia or Acadie.

The safety of our home trade will be better provided for by the demolition of Dunkirk.

Our Mediterranean trade, and the British interest and influence in those parts, will be secured by the possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the whole island of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

The trade to Spain and the West Indies may, in general, be settled as it was in the time of the late King of Spain, Charles the Second; and a particular provision be made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges which have been granted, or which may hereafter be granted, by Spain to any other nation, shall be, in like manner, granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

But the part which we have borne in the prosecution of this war, entitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace; I have insisted, and obtained, that the assiento or contract for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, shall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it has been enjoyed by the French for ten years.

I have not taken upon me to determine the interests of our confederates: these must be adjusted in the congress at Utrecht, where my best endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint

acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire ; to yield Brisac, the fort of Kehl, and Landau ; and to rase all the fortresses, both on the other side of the Rhine, and in that river.

As to the protestant interest in Germany, there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the resettling thereof on the foot of the treaty of Westphalia.

The Spanish Low Countries may go to his Imperial Majesty, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may likewise be yielded, By the treaty of peace, to the Emperor.

As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remains no dispute concerning the cession of it by the Duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined.

The interest of the States General, with respect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own ministers, with the exception only of some very few species of merchandises ; and the entire barrier, as demanded by the States in 1709, from France, except two or three places, at most.

As to these exceptions, several expedients are proposed ; and I make no doubt but this barrier may be so settled as to render that Republic perfectly secure against any enterprize on the part of France, which is the foundation of all my engagements upon this head with the States.

The demands of Portugal depending on the disposition of Spain, and that article having been long in dispute, it has not yet been possible to make any considerable progress therein, but my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to assist that King in his pretensions.

Those of the King of Prussia are such as I hope will admit of little difficulty on the part of France ; and my utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an ally.

The difference between the barrier demanded for the Duke of Savoy in 1709, and the offers now made by France, is very inconsiderable ; but that Prince having so signally distinguished himself in the service of the common cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still farther advantages.

France has consented that the Elector Palatine shall continue his present rank among the electors, and remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate.

The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the house of Hanover, according to the article inserted at that Prince's desire, in my demands.

And, as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have now communicated to you not only the terms of peace, which may, by the future treaty, be obtained for my own subjects, but likewise the proposals of France for satisfying our allies.

The former are such as I have reason to expect to make my people some amends for that great and unequal burden, which they have lain under through the whole course of this war; and I am willing to hope, that none of our confederates, and especially those to whom so great accessions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her share in the glory and advantage of it.

The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted as a little more time might have rendered them; but the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

I can make no doubt but you are all fully persuaded, that nothing will be neglected, on my part, in the progress of this negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your cheerful concurrence with me.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, June 6, 1712.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave most humbly to acknowledge your Majesty's great condescension in communicating to us the terms upon which a general peace may be made.

Our hearts are full of gratitude for what your Majesty has already done; and we want words to express the satisfaction with which we have received all that your Majesty has been pleased to impart to your Commons.

We have an entire confidence in your Majesty, that you will steadily pursue the true interest of your own kingdoms; and that you will endeavour to procure for all your allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

These assurances are the least returns which your faithful Commons can make to so much condescension and goodness:
and

and they humbly desire your Majesty, that you will please to proceed in the present negotiations for the obtaining a speedy peace

Her Majesty's Answer, June 10, 1712.

I HAVE the safety and interest of all my people so much at heart, that I cannot but take a great deal of pleasure in this your dutiful and prudent address; and thank you most kindly for it.

I have studied your welfare; and by this you will find the good effects of that confidence which you place in me; and which ought always to remain between so affectionate a prince, and such faithful subjects.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 21, 1712.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE last time I was here I spoke so fully, and afterwards received from both Houses such satisfactory addresses, that there remains little more for me to say at the close of this meeting of Parliament, but to repeat my hearty thanks for your late solemn assurances: they will give me strength to struggle with any difficulties which may yet be raised; and, I hope, that neither they who envy the making a good peace, nor who think it their interest to continue the war, will be able to defeat our joint endeavours for the honour and advantage of Britain, and the security of all our allies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

At the same time that I thank you most kindly for the supplies you have cheerfully granted, I cannot but let you know my satisfaction in the near view I have of a peace; since it will, in some measure, recompense my subjects for their vast expenses, and also lighten that heavy burden they have borne during the war.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You have expressed how sensible you are of the advantage and security which accrue to Britain, and our allies, by the terms proposed for a peace; and I need not mention to you the mischiefs which must follow the breaking off this treaty: our burdens would be, at least, continued, if not increased; the present opportunity would be irrecoverably lost of Britain's establishing a real balance of power in Europe, and improving our

own commerce; and, if any one of our allies should gain something by such a proceeding, the rest would suffer in the common calamity: but, I hope, by God's blessing, such fatal designs will be disappointed.

You are now returning into your respective countries; and, I persuade myself, you will not be wanting in your endeavours to obviate the designs of any ill-minded persons who may attempt to sow sedition amongst my subjects; and, under specious pretences, carry on designs they dare not own.

I hope, at your next meeting, there will be an opportunity of perfecting what I have recommended to you, which you have left unfinished in this session.

I cannot conclude without assuring you, that nothing shall move me from steadily pursuing the true interest of so dutiful and affectionate a people.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 9, 1713.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I ENDED the last session with my hearty thanks for the solemn assurances you had given me; by which I have been enabled to overcome the difficulties contrived to obstruct the general peace.

I have deferred opening the session until now, being very desirous to communicate to you, at your first meeting, the success of this important affair; it is therefore with great pleasure I tell you, the treaty is signed, and in few days the ratification will be exchanged.

The negotiation has been drawn into so great a length, that all our allies have had sufficient opportunity to adjust their several interests: though the public charge has been thereby much increased, yet I hope my people will be easy under it, since we have happily obtained the end we proposed.

What I have done for securing the protestant succession, and the perfect friendship there is between me and the house of Hanover, may convince such as wish well to both, and desire the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts are to divide us; and those who would make a merit by separating our interests, will never attain their ill ends.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

As great a progress has been made in reducing the public expence, as the circumstances of affairs would admit.

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What force may be necessary for securing our commerce by sea, and for guards and garrisons, I leave entirely to my Parliament.

Make yourselves safe, and I shall be satisfied.

Next to the protection of the Divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people.

I want no other guarantee.

I recommend to your care those brave men who have served well by sea or land this war, and cannot be employed in time of peace.

I must desire you to provide the supplies you shall judge requisite; and to give such dispatch as may be necessary for your own ease, and the public service.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The many advantages I have obtained for my own subjects, have occasioned much opposition and long delay to this peace.

It affords me great satisfaction that my people will have it in their power, by degrees, to repair what they have suffered during so long and burdensome a war.

The easing of our foreign trade, as far as is consistent with national credit, will deserve your care:

And to think of proper methods for improving and encouraging our home trade and manufactures, particularly the fishery; which may be carried on to employ all our spare hands, and be a mighty benefit even to the remotest parts of this kingdom.

Several matters were laid before you last session, which the weight and multiplicity of other business would not permit you to perfect; I hope you will take a proper opportunity to give them due consideration.

I cannot, however, but expressly mention my displeasure at the unparalleled licentiousness in publishing seditious and scandalous libels.

The impunity such practices have met with has encouraged the blaspheming every thing sacred, and the propagating opinions tending to the overthrow of all religion and government: prosecutions have been ordered; but it will require some new law to put a stop to this growing evil; and your best endeavours in your respective stations to discourage it.

The impious practice of duelling requires some speedy and effectual remedy.

Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let me conjure you all to use your utmost endeavours for calming men's minds at home, that the arts of peace may be cultivated,

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Let not groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party rage, effect that which our foreign enemies could not.

I pray God to direct all your consultations for his glory, and the welfare of my people.

Address by the House of Commons to her Majesty, April 10, 1713.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave, with all humility, to approach your royal person with our unanimous acknowledgments for all the benefits we enjoy under your Majesty's most auspicious reign.

The many and great successes which have attended your Majesty's arms, had left nothing to be wished but such a peace as might be conducted by your councils, which now we have the happiness to see accomplished: and as we are truly sensible of your Majesty's gracious and generous intentions in undertaking that great work, so we have all possible reason to admire your steadiness in carrying it on, and overcoming the many difficulties contrived to obstruct it: and it is with the highest satisfaction we congratulate your Majesty upon the happy conclusion of this treaty; for we are so much convinced of your Majesty's tender regard to the public welfare, and the many instances of your wisdom have taught us to have so perfect a reliance upon it, that we cannot doubt but your Majesty hath procured all reasonable satisfaction for your allies, and established the interest of your own kingdoms in such a manner as to make us not only secure for the future, but a flourishing and a happy people.

Your Majesty can give no higher proof of the care you take of posterity, than by the concern you are pleased to express for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover; upon which the future happiness of this kingdom so much depends: we hope and trust, that nothing will ever be able to interrupt the friendship between your Majesty and that illustrious family, since the wicked designs of those who would endeavour to separate your interests must be too plain ever to succeed.

Your faithful Commons can never enough express the grateful sense they have of the many gracious assurances contained in your Majesty's speech: and after what your Majesty hath done to ease your subjects of the heavy burden which before lay upon them, and after your unparalleled goodness in de-

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manding nothing from them for the time to come, but what they themselves shall judge requisite for their own safety ; the best return they can make will be a ready and dutiful compliance with every thing you have been pleased to recommend to them ; and they cannot fail most cheerfully to set about the providing the supplies necessary for this year's service. Your Majesty's repeated condescensions must in the strongest manner engage the hearts and affections of all your subjects to your Majesty : and we are satisfied, we cannot more truly represent them, than by contributing our utmost endeavours to make your reign as prosperous, glorious, and easy to yourself, as it is beneficial and happy to your people.

Her Majesty's Answer, April 13, 1713.

Gentlemen,

THIS address cannot but be very agreeable to me, as it comes from my loyal Commons ; and as it is a continuation of those expressions of duty and affection which you have shewn through this whole Parliament.

Address by the House of Commons to her Majesty, June 24, 1713.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having, at the opening of this session, congratulated your Majesty upon the conclusion of a peace, find ourselves now under equal obligations of duty to express our thankfulness to your Majesty, since we have been acquainted with the conditions and terms of it ; which by your great wisdom have been procured, and by your gracious condescension have been communicated to us : your Majesty's extensive care hath not only provided for the security, but the honour of your kingdoms ; and we should be wanting in our concern for both, if we should omit our just acknowledgments for the particular regards which your Majesty in this, as well as in other instances, hath shewn to them.

The good foundation your Majesty hath laid for the interests of your people in trade, by what you have done in the treaty of navigation and commerce with France, gives us hopes of seeing it yet farther improved to the advantage of your kingdoms : and we make it our humble request to your Majesty, that you will be pleased to appoint commissaries to treat with those

* Those of France, for the adjusting such matters as are still necessary to be settled ; and that you will give such orders for the perfecting the said treaty, and explaining the several parts of it, that an entire scheme of trade may be framed between Great Britain and France ; which may fully answer, and make effectual, your Majesty's gracious intentions for the good and welfare of your people.

*Message from her Majesty to the House of Commons,
June 25, 1713.*

ANNE R.

HER Majesty thinks fit to acquaint her loyal House of Commons with the difficulties, which, in a particular manner, she lies under by the debts contracted in her civil government, occasioned by several extraordinary expenses formerly incurred ; so that her Majesty thinks herself obliged, in justice to many creditors, to order an estimate to be laid before this House of what was owing on the civil list in the year 1710.

Her Majesty hath used unexampled parsimony to remove, if possible, this burden from herself ; but the granting away, and lessening, some part of her revenue, by Parliament, has made that impracticable : therefore her Majesty hopes, that this House of Commons, which, on all occasions, has shewed themselves so well affected to her, will not be unwilling to empower her to raise such a sum of money on the civil list funds, as may enable her to discharge the debts, and settle the expense to be regularly paid for the future.

Kensington, June 25, 1713.

Her Majesty's Answer, June 27, 1713.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you most heartily for this address ; which so fully expresses your approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce with France.

It was with no small difficulty that so great advantages in trade were obtained for my subjects ; and I will readily comply with your desires, in continuing my utmost care to secure the benefits I have stipulated for my people.

Address

Address by the House of Commons, July 3, 1713.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having nothing so justly at our hearts as the honour and safety of your most sacred person, and government, and the security of the protestant succession, do crave leave most thankfully to acknowledge the great care which your Majesty, in tenderness to your people, hath always taken to prevent the Pretender to your crown from being in a condition to disturb these realms; and particularly, by the late treaty of guaranty with the States General, and the treaty of peace between your Majesty and the French King; wherein, amongst other just and necessary provisions for the security of the protestant succession, it is stipulated, that the Pretender to your Majesty's crown shall not be suffered to reside in any of that King's dominions.

Your Majesty wisely insisted upon his removal from that neighbouring kingdom; and your faithful Commons are so fully convinced of the necessity there is to remove him as far as possible, that they cannot but express to your Majesty their apprehensions of the many dangers which may accrue to your Majesty, and to your kingdoms, from his residing in the territories of the Duke of Lorrain.

We do therefore, out of the highest duty and concern for the preservation of your royal person, and the quiet of your people, most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to use the most speedy and pressing instances with the Duke of Lorrain, and with all other princes and states in amity or correspondence with your Majesty, that they will not, under any pretext whatsoever, receive, or suffer to continue, within any of their dominions, that person who, in defiance of your Majesty's most undoubted title to the crown, and the settlement thereof on the illustrious house of Hanover, has assumed the title of King of these realms: and we farther beg leave to assure your Majesty, that the Commons of Great Britain will, on all occasions, to the utmost of their power, support your Majesty in such steps as shall be necessary towards rendering those instances effectual, and your Majesty safe and easy upon your throne.

Her Majesty's Answer, July 9, 1713.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you heartily for your address; and I will give directions according as you desire.

Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 2, 1714.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE much satisfaction in being able, at the opening this Parliament, to tell you, that the ratifications of the treaties of peace, and of commerce with Spain, are exchanged; by which my subjects will have greater opportunities than ever to improve and extend their trade: many advantages, formerly enjoyed by cognivance, and procured by such methods as made a distinction between one British merchant and another, are now settled by treaty, and an equal rule is established.

It has pleased God to bless my endeavours to obtain an honourable and advantageous peace for my own people, and for the greatest part of my allies: nothing which I can do shall be wanting to render it universal: and I persuade myself, that, with your hearty concurrence, my interposition may at last prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe.

In the mean while, I congratulate with my own subjects, that they are delivered from a consuming land war; and entered on a peace, the good effects whereof nothing but intestine divisions can obstruct.

It was the glory of the wisest and greatest of my predecessors to hold the balance of Europe; and to keep it equal, by casting in their weight, as necessity required: by this conduct they enriched the kingdom, and rendered themselves dreadful to their enemies, and useful to their friends: I have proceeded on the same principle; and I doubt not but my successors will follow these examples.

Our situation points out to us our true interest; for this country can flourish only by trade; and will be most formidable by the right application of our naval force.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered such accounts to be prepared, and laid before you, as will shew you, at the conclusion of the war, the true state of your condition; whereby you will be better able to judge what aids are necessary: and I only ask of you supplies
for

for the current service of the year ; and for the discharge of such debts as you shall find, on examination, to be just and reasonable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The joy which has been generally expressed on my recovery from my late indisposition, and on my coming to this city, I esteem as a return to that tender affection which I have always had for my people.

I wish that effectual care had been taken, as I have often desired, to suppress those seditious papers, and factious rumours, by which designing men have been able to sink credit, and the innocent have suffered.

There are some who have arrived to that height of malice, as to insinuate, that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover is in danger under my government.

Those who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and to bring real mischiefs upon us.

After all I have done to secure our religion and your liberties, and to transmit both safe to posterity, I cannot mention these proceedings without some degree of warmth ; and I must hope, you will all agree with me, that attempts to weaken my authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to me, can never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession.

I have done, and shall continue to do, my best for the good of all my subjects : let it be your endeavour, as it shall be mine, to unite our differences, not by relaxing from the strictest adherence to our constitution in church and state, but by observing the laws yourselves, and enforcing a due obedience to them in others.

A long war has not only impoverished the public, however some particular men may have been gainers by it, but has also greatly affected government itself.

Let it be your care so to improve the present opportunity, as to lay the foundation of recovering from those disorders.

I had the concurrence of the last Parliament in making the peace : let it be the honour of this, to assist me in obtaining such fruits from it, as may not only derive blessings on the present age, but even down to latest posterity.

Address to her Majesty by the House of Commons, March 4, 1714.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do, with all humility, return our sincere and hearty thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that as nothing could be more afflicting to your people than the indisposition of the best of Sovereigns, so nothing has ever been an occasion of greater joy and satisfaction to them than your Majesty's late happy recovery.

We congratulate your Majesty on the conclusion of the treaties of peace and commerce with Spain; whereby your Majesty is pleased to declare, that you have procured new benefits to your subjects: but your royal care hath not been confined to your own people, it hath been extended to all your allies: and your Majesty's goodness must be for ever admired, that, notwithstanding any discouragements you may have met with, you are pleased still to continue your endeavours to make the peace universal, and thereby to complete the settlement of Europe: and your faithful Commons will never be wanting in an hearty concurrence to assist your Majesty in all such measures as your Majesty shall judge proper to finish a design so great and so glorious.

Your Commons will, with all cheerfulness, grant such supplies as are necessary for the current service, and for the discharge of such debts as are just and reasonable: they can never sufficiently express the sense they have of their happiness, in being delivered from the calamities of a consuming war: they will, therefore, in duty to your Majesty, and in justice to those they represent, do all that is in their power, that the good effects of peace may not be obstructed by any intestine divisions: they will, as far as in them lies, disappoint the designs of malicious and unreasonable men: they will, on all occasions, shew their just abhorrence of the licentious practices in publishing scandalous papers, and spreading seditious rumours: and, as your Commons will always support and maintain the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, they cannot but be astonished at the malicious insinuations of any, who would suggest that succession to be in danger under your Majesty's most auspicious government: for when we consider, that it is secured by the greatest obligations, civil and sacred; by acts of Parliament, oaths, and treaties; we cannot but declare our entire acquiescence

acquiescence in these securities; and must look upon such insinuations to be groundless in themselves, and affronting to your Majesty, and your government.

And your Majesty may depend, that your loyal Commons, will never be prevailed on, by any pretences whatsoever, to countenance attempts that may tend to weaken your Majesty's authority, and to render the possession of the crown uneasy to you; which can only proceed from the rage of a disappointed faction, and the spirit of rebellion.

Her Majesty's Answer, March 6, 1713.

Gentlemen,

THIS address is so dutiful, and expresses so fully the sense of my loyal subjects, that I esteem it a proof of the good choice they have made of you to represent them.

I give you my hearty thanks for it.

The confidence you have in my affection, the abhorrence you declare of the malicious insinuations of the protestant succession being in danger under my government, and your acquiescence in the present securities for it, are very suitable returns for the tender regard I have always had for what concerns my people: and will most effectually, by the blessing of God, unite the minds of my subjects, and disappoint the designs of those who would disturb the present tranquillity.

Joint Address by both Houses, April 22, 1714.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to express the just sense which we have of your Majesty's goodness to your people, in delivering them by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France and Spain, from the heavy burden of a consuming land war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable: and we do most earnestly intreat your Majesty, that you will be pleased with the same steadiness, notwithstanding all the obstructions which have been, or may be thrown in your way, to pursue such measures as you shall judge necessary for completing the settlement of Europe on the principles laid down by your Majesty in your most gracious speech from the throne.

Her Majesty's Answer, April 26, 1714.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE state of public affairs in Europe, and the necessities of my own kingdoms, obliged me to enter in a negotiation of peace; and, notwithstanding all obstructions and difficulties, I have, by the blessing of God, brought it to a happy conclusion.

I esteem this address as the united voice of my affectionate and loyal subjects; and I return you all the heartiest thanks which can be given by a Sovereign, who desires nothing more than to see her people safe and flourishing.

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, August 5, 1714.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IF having pleased Almighty God to take to himself our late most gracious Queen, of blessed memory, we hope that nothing has been omitted which might contribute to the safety of these realms, and the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, in this great conjuncture: as these invaluable blessings have been secured to us, by those acts of Parliament which have settled the succession to these kingdoms in the most illustrious house of Hanover, we have regulated our proceedings by those rules which are therein prescribed.

The privy council, soon after the demise of the late Queen, assembled at St. James's; where, according to the said acts of Parliament, the three instruments were produced and opened, which had been deposited in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Resident of Brunswick: those who, either by their offices, or by virtue of these instruments, had the honour of being appointed lords justices, did, in conjunction with the council, immediately proceed to the proclaiming of our lawful and rightful Sovereign King George; taking, at the same time, the necessary care to maintain the public peace.

In pursuance of the acts before mentioned, this Parliament is now assembled; and we are persuaded, you all bring with you so hearty a disposition for his Majesty's service, and the public good, that we cannot doubt of your assistance in every thing which may promote those great ends.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

We find it necessary to put you in mind, that several branches of the public revenue are expired by the demise of
her

her late Majesty ; and to recommend to you the making such provisions in that respect, as may be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown : and we assure ourselves, you will not be wanting in any thing that may conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We forbear laying before you any thing that does not require your immediate consideration ; not having received his Majesty's pleasure : we shall only exhort you, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to our Sovereign's interest, as being the only means to continue among us our present happy tranquillity.

Address by the House of Commons, August 6, 1714.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having a just sense of the great loss the nation has sustained by the death of our late Sovereign, Lady Queen Anne, of blessed memory, humbly crave leave to condole with your Majesty on this sad occasion.

It would but aggravate our sorrow, particularly to enumerate the virtues of that pious and most excellent princess : the duty we owe to your Majesty, and to our country, oblige us to moderate our grief, and heartily to congratulate your Majesty's accession to the throne ; whose princely virtues give us a certain prospect of future happiness in the security of our religion, laws, and liberties ; and engage us to assure your Majesty, that we will, to our utmost, support your undoubted right to the imperial crown of this realm, against the Pretender, and all other persons whatsoever.

Your faithful Commons cannot but express their impatient desire for your Majesty's safe arrival and presence in Great Britain.

In the mean time, we humbly lay before your Majesty the unanimous resolution of this House, to maintain the public credit of the nation ; and effectually to make good all funds which have been granted by Parliament, for the security of any money which has been, or shall be advanced for the public service ; and to endeavour, by every thing in our power, to make your Majesty's reign happy and glorious.

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, August 13, 1714.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction we can now tell you, that we have this morning received a letter from the King; wherein his Majesty is graciously pleased to acquaint us, that his Majesty is hastening hither to employ his utmost care for putting these kingdoms into a happy and flourishing condition.

He has commanded us, in the mean time, to continue our care of every thing that may conduce to the peace and safety of his dominions: and we are assured, that, if this had required his more immediate presence, he wou'd, without the least delay, have repaired hither for the support of so dutiful and faithful subjects; for his Majesty does very particularly express his great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people have universally shewn upon his Majesty's accession to the crown.

At the opening this session, we did not mention to you the apprehensions we then had, from the smallness of the sum at that time advanced, that the lottery would not be full; being desirous, in the first place, to try to make it effectual in the manner the Parliament had established it: but we are obliged now to acquaint you, that all our endeavours have failed of the desired success though the contributions have been thereby considerably increased.

We must therefore earnestly recommend to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to take this into your consideration; and to give such further encouragement as you shall think proper, for raising the whole sum which was intended, and is absolutely necessary for carrying on the service of the year.

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, August 21, 1714.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WE cannot but express our greatest satisfaction, and, in his Majesty's name, return you thanks for the convincing proofs which you have given in this session of your duty and affection to his Majesty, and of your zeal for his government.

We must particularly thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, for the aids which you have granted to his Majesty; for the better support of the honour of the crown, and for preventing any disappointment in the supplies given in the last session for the service of this year: you may be assured, that

that the unanimity, the chearfulness, and the dispatch* with which you have proceeded in granting these aids, will render them yet more acceptable to his Majesty; and you may depend upon our making a faithful representation thereof to him.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

All necessary business being now happily concluded, it will be proper for us to put a speedy end to this session: we think fit at present, in his Majesty's name, to desire you forthwith respectively to adjourn yourselves until Wednesday next.

His Majesty's Answer to the last Address, August 25, 1714.

GEORGE REX.

YOUR dutiful and loyal address is very acceptable to me. The unanimity and affection my Commons have shewn upon my accession to the crown, are most agreeable instances and pledges of their fidelity to me. I have a just sense of your inexpressible loss by the death of your late Sovereign. You may be assured of my constant endeavours to secure to you the full enjoyment of your religion, laws, and liberties; and that it will always be my aim to make you an happy and flourishing people; to which your resolution to maintain the public credit of the nation will greatly contribute. I am hastening to you, according to your earnest desire, and the just expectations of my people.

Speech by the Speaker, March 21, 1715.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, have, in obedience to your Majesty's command, proceeded to the choice of their Speaker; and now attend, with all humility, to present me to your Majesty, as the effect of that choice.

It must be very surprising to your Majesty, that from amongst so many honourable, learned, and worthy persons, who are every way qualified to discharge this great trust, any thing could induce your Commons to present me for your Majesty's approbation, who have none of those endowments necessary for the execution of this important charge: I have neither memory to retain, judgment to collect, nor skill to guide their debates; nor can I boast of any thing that could intitle me to the favour of the Commons, but an unshaken fidelity to the protestant succession; this, Sir, to your faithful Commons,

supplied the want of all qualifications: by this first step, they design to convince the world, that a steady adherence to the interest of your Majesty's royal house is the only recommendation to the favour of your Commons: this, your Commons hope, may be some excuse for their presuming to present to your Majesty a person, whose insufficiency rendered him so improper for them to elect, or for your Majesty to approve: but though your Majesty may be graciously pleased to allow this as a justification for your Commons, yet I should be unpardonable, did I not, with all humility, represent to your Majesty, that though my zeal be great, my infirmities are greater: this employment requires a man of better understanding and stronger judgment than I am master of; and I am, therefore, an humble suitor to your Majesty to accept my excuse, and to command the knights, citizens, and burgeses, to return to their House, and there to make choice of some fitter person to discharge the great trust, on the due execution whereof the public welfare so much depends. •

Then the Lord Chancellor, taking directions from his Majesty, said:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I AM to acquaint you, by his Majesty's command, that his Majesty is perfectly well satisfied with the choice you have made of Mr. Compton to be your Speaker; and therefore his Majesty doth allow of, and confirm you, Mr. Compton, to be Speaker of the House of Commons.

Then Mr. Speaker said:

THAT, since it is not your Majesty's pleasure to admit my excuse, it is my duty to submit, and cheerfully to undergo this burden, which your Majesty and the Commons have been pleased to lay on me; having an entire confidence in your Majesty's goodness for pardon for my errors and infirmities; at least, that they may not be imputed to your faithful Commons: on whose behalf I lay claim, by humble petition to your Majesty, to all their ancient rights and privileges, particularly, that they may have privilege from arrests and disturbance, for their persons, estates, and servants; liberty of speech, for the better management of their debates; and free access to your Majesty's royal person, as occasion shall require.

Then

Then the Lord Chancellor, receiving further directions from his Majesty, said :

Mr. Speaker,

I AM commanded by his Majesty to say, that his Majesty, being fully assured of the prudence, loyalty, and good affections of the House of Commons, does most willingly grant to them all their privileges, in as full a manner as they have at any time been granted, or allowed, by any of his Majesty's royal predecessors.

And, as to what you have prayed in relation to yourself, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to put the best and most favourable construction upon your words and actions in the execution of this great trust, as Speaker of the House of Commons; being satisfied, by your past conduct, of your good intentions and zeal for his service, and the true interest of your country, and of your experience and abilities in the business of Parliaments.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 23, 1715.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS being the first opportunity I have had of meeting my people in Parliament, since it pleased Almighty God, of his good providence, to call me to the throne of my ancestors, I most gladly make use of it, to thank my faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness that hath been shewn in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices that have been used to defeat it : and I shall never forget the obligations I have to those who have distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

It were to be wished, that the unparalleled successes of a war, which was so wisely and cheerfully supported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a suitable conclusion : but it is with concern I must tell you, that some conditions, even of this peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, are not yet duly executed ; and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we shall have formed defensive alliances to guarantee the present treaties.

The Pretender, who still resides in Lorrain, threatens to disturb us, and boasts of the assistance which he still expects here, to repair his former disappointments.

A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable; this, if not retrieved, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

The public debts are very great, and surprisngly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms: my first care was, to prevent a farther increase of these debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ships which had been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continuing such an expense.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

I rely upon you for such supplies as the present circumstances of our affairs require for this year's service, and for the support of the public faith: the estimates shall be laid before you, that you may consider of them; and what you shall judge necessary for your safety, I shall think sufficient for mine.

I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the support of the credit of the nation, than a strict observance of all parliamentary engagements.

The branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government are so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain, and have been granted to me, will fall much short of what was at first designed, for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown: and since it is my happiness, as I am confident you think it your's, to see a Prince of Wales, who may, in due time, succeed me on the throne; and to see him blessed with many children, the best and most valuable pledges of our care and concern for your prosperity; this must occasion an expense to which the nation has not of many years been accustomed; but such as surely no man will grudge: and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reason to hope for from you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the issue of this first session: let no unhappy divisions of parties here at home divert you from pursuing the common interest of your country; let no wicked insinuations disquiet the minds of my subjects: the established constitution in church and state shall be the rule of my government; the happiness, ease, and prosperity, of my people, shall be the chief care of my life: those who assist me in carrying on these measures, I shall always esteem my best friends: and I doubt not, but that I shall be able, with your assistance, to disappoint the designs of those who would deprive me of that blessing which I most value, the affection of my people.

Address

Address by the House of Commons, March 24, 1715.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty their unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

'Tis with inexpressible joy that we approach your Majesty, peaceably seated upon the throne of your royal ancestors; and being thoroughly sensible of the many open and secret practices that have, of late years, been used to defeat the protestant succession, we cannot sufficiently adore the Divine Providence that so seasonably interposed and saved this nation, by your Majesty's happy accession to the crown.

Your faithful Commons receive with the highest gratitude your most gracious assurances, that the established constitution in church and state shall be the rule of your government; and the safety, ease, and prosperity of your people, the chief care of your life: we are sensible of your goodness, expressed to those who have distinguished themselves by their zeal and firmness for the protestant succession: and as we doubt not but the wisdom and steadiness of your government will unite the hearts of all your faithful subjects in duty and affection to your sacred person, so we most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we not only highly resent the wicked insinuations used to disquiet the minds of your subjects; but are resolved, to the utmost of our power, to suppress and extinguish that evil disposition that is still at work to deprive your Majesty of the affections of your people.

We are sensibly touched, not only with the disappointment, but with the reproach brought upon the nation, by the unsuitable conclusion of a war which was carried on at so vast an expense, and was attended with such unparalleled successes; but as that dishonour cannot, in justice, be imputed to the whole nation, so we firmly hope and believe, that through your Majesty's great wisdom, and the faithful endeavours of your Commons, the reputation of these your kingdoms, will, in due time, be vindicated and restored.

We are under astonishment to find, that any conditions of the late peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered that peace not precarious: and as no care shall be wanting in your loyal Commons to inquire into these fatal miscarriages, so we entirely rely on your Majesty's wisdom, to enter into such alliances as

you

you shall judge necessary to preserve the peace of Europe ; and we faithfully promise to enable your Majesty to make good all such engagements.

It is with just resentment we observe, that the Pretender still resides in Lorrain ; and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your Majesty's subjects to rebellion ; but that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain : it shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment.

Your Commons are under the deepest concern, that a great part of our trade is rendered impracticable, which, if not retrieved, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation : but though we are too sensible of those fatal consequences, we are not yet without hopes, that your Majesty's great wisdom, by the assistance of your Commons, may find means to extricate your people from their present difficulties.

The blessings derived to these nations from your Majesty's auspicious reign, are not confined to the present times : we have a prospect of future and lasting happiness entailed upon your people, by a long succession of your royal progeny : and, as this is a blessing which these kingdoms have a long time wanted, so they could never hope to have seen it so well supplied, as in the person of his royal highness the Prince of Wales and his issue : your faithful Commons shall therefore think it their duty to enable your Majesty to support the dignity of the crown, and to make an honourable provision for the royal family.

The surprising increase of the public debts, even since all thoughts of carrying on the war were laid aside, shall not discourage us from granting such supplies as shall be necessary for the service of this year, and for the support of the public faith : and we do entirely concur with your Majesty in opinion, that nothing can contribute more towards preserving the credit of the nation, than a strict observance of all parliamentary engagements, which we are firmly resolved, upon all occasions, inviolably to maintain.

His Majesty's Answer, March 26, 1715.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for the many kind assurances you have given me in your dutiful and loyal address.

No endeavours shall be wanting on my part to promote your true interest, and to endear myself to all my people ; and I will

will depend on your zeal and affection to defeat all evil designs that may tend to disquiet the minds of my people, and disturb the tranquillity of my government.

Message from his Majesty, June 28, 1715.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having received an address from the commissioners appointed for building fifty new churches in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof, representing how difficult they find it to proceed in perfecting the establishment of such churches, for want of a due maintenance for the ministers who are to attend the service of the same; and praying him to recommend it to the care and wisdom of the Parliament to provide such maintenance, that this good work may not be rendered ineffectual for want of such a provision: his Majesty does most heartily recommend it to this House, to consider of the best means for settling such a maintenance as may bring this pious design to perfection, for the honour of the church of England, and the advancement of our holy religion.

Address by the House of Commons, July 11, 1715.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WHE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having, with the utmost satisfaction received your Majesty's gracious message, recommending to us the providing a maintenance for the ministers, who are to attend the service of the fifty new churches intended to be erected in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, with all cheerfulness, set about the making such a provision as shall fully answer your Majesty's pious intentions, and the wants of so many of the inhabitants of your two great and populous cities.

It is very grateful to your obedient Commons to be employed in a work that is so much for the honour of the church of England, and the advancement of our holy religion, and that comes recommended by so gracious a sovereign; who, ever since his happy accession to the throne, has taken all occasions to express a great and tender concern for the support of our excellent constitution, both in church and state, and the good order and welfare of his subjects.

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As we shall always be ready to do our parts towards the attaining these great ends, in every thing that comes before us. so we trust that this good work in particular, which your Majesty has so much at heart, will bring down the blessing of God upon all your undertakings, and be a means of promoting the quiet and peace, as it cannot but add to the glory, of your reign.

May your Majesty live not only to see it accomplished, but to enjoy the fruits of your piety, in a long and prosperous reign over a religious, and orderly, and obedient, and thankful people!

• *His Majesty's Answer, July 13, 1715.*

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for the just concern expressed in this address for our excellent constitution both in church and state, and for the assurances you give me of promoting so good and pious a design: I could not expect less from a House of Commons which hath given so many proofs of their affection to me and my government.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons; July 18, 1715.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being highly concerned at the continued endeavours of the enemies of your person and government to disturb the tranquillity and happiness of your kingdoms, and to deprive your people of the great blessings they enjoy under your auspicious reign; and it having appeared to us that, by the encouragement and the false and traiterous insinuations of persons disaffected to your title and government, great numbers of your poor deluded subjects have been prevailed upon, in many parts of the kingdom, to assemble together, and, in a tumultuous and rebellious manner, to commit great disorders, and do great injuries to others of their fellow subjects and fellow protestants; we think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express our utmost abhorrence of all such traiterous proceedings, and our highest resentment against the authors and promoters of them; and to renew to your Majesty the hearty and vigorous resolutions of your faithful Commons to support your Majesty and your government against all your open and secret enemies;

mies; and to contribute the utmost in our power to the honour and safety of your sacred person, and the quiet and security of your government.

And, to that end, we crave leave most humbly to beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several magistrates throughout your kingdom, that the laws now in force may be put in a speedy and in the most vigorous execution, against all such persons as shall be found any way concerned in the rebellious and tumultuous riots and disorders which have been committed, and are now carrying on, by persons disaffected to your Majesty and your government; and that a strict inquiry may be made, to discover the authors and promoters of them, so as they may be brought to condign punishment.

And it being apparent, that the neglect or misbehaviour of many justices of peace, and other magistrates, have given great encouragement to the said disorders, we crave leave, in all humility, to beseech your Majesty, that an account may be taken of such justices of the peace as have failed in the discharge of their duty on these occasions; and that such of them as shall appear to your Majesty to have neglected their duty, may be forthwith put out of the commissions of the peace; and that such other magistrates as shall likewise appear to your Majesty to have neglected their duty therein, may be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law.

And as your loyal Commons are fully assured, that, by the wisdom and steadiness of your administration, the sceptre in your royal hand will soon become a terror to all those who, by open or secret practices, shall any way abet the enemies of your person or government; so, from our most dutiful regard to your Majesty, and in justice to those of your subjects, who, for their zeal and firm adherence to your Majesty and your government, have been sufferers in the said tumultuous and traiterous disorders, we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be most graciously pleased to give directions, that an exact account may be taken of the losses and damages which any of your subjects have sustained by reason of the said tumultuous and rebellious proceedings; and that the sufferers may have full compensation made them for their damages; your faithful Commons most humbly assuring your Majesty, that all expenses which shall be incurred on that account shall be made good to your Majesty out of the next aids that shall be afterwards granted by Parliament.

And, for the security of your sacred person, and the quieting the minds of your faithful subjects, we do further most humbly advise your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased

pleased to give orders, that the magistrates throughout the kingdom, in their several stations, do speedily and effectually put the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors.

His Majesty's Answer, July 20, 1715.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you heartily for your address, and the many marks of zeal and affection which you express for my honour and safety, and the security of the kingdom.

I will give immediate directions for putting in execution the several matters which you so justly recommend to me; and as I am resolved on all occasions to follow the advice of my Parliament, so I have no doubt but that, by the blessing of Almighty God, and your seasonable and vigorous assistance, I shall soon be enabled effectually to suppress that spirit of rebellion which is so industriously fomented among us, and to establish the peace and prosperity of my people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, July 20, 1715.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal you have shewn for preserving the peace of my kingdoms, and your wisdom in providing so good a law to prevent all riotous and tumultuous proceedings, give me great satisfaction; but I am sorry to find that such a spirit of rebellion has discovered itself, as leaves no room to doubt but these disorders are set on foot and encouraged by persons disaffected to my government, in expectation of being supported from abroad.

The preservation of our excellent constitution, and the security of our holy religion, has been, and always shall be, my chief care; and I cannot question but your concern for these invaluable blessings is so great as not to let them be exposed to such attempts as I have certain advices are preparing by the Pretender from abroad, and carrying on at home by a restless party, in his favour.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

In these circumstances, I think it proper to ask your assistance, and make no doubt but you will so far consult your own safety as not to leave the nation, under a rebellion actually begun at home, and threatened with an invasion from abroad, in a defenceless condition; and I shall look upon the provision
you

you shall make for the safety of my people as the best mark of your affection to me.

Message from his Majesty, August 30, 1715.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty has been pleased to direct, that letters patents be prepared for granting to the Prince of Wales one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, out of the civil list revenues, for the support of himself and his family; and likewise for granting fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, together with Somerset House, to the Princess of Wales, for her jointure, in case she shall survive the Prince; but it not being in his Majesty's power to extend this provision to the Princess beyond his own life, his Majesty hopes that you will think it reasonable to enable him to make this provision for the Princess certain and secure to her, during the term of her own life.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, September 21, 1715.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM persuaded you are all, by this time, very desirous of some recess; and that it cannot be deferred longer without great inconvenience to your private affairs.

But, before I can part with you, I must return you my most sincere thanks for your having finished, with so much wisdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care; and particularly I must thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, for the provision you have made, as well for the support of the honour and dignity of the crown, as for the other necessary occasions of the public; especially for your having done it by means so little burdensome to my people, which, I assure you, recommends the supplies to me above any other circumstance whatsoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The open and declared rebellion which is now actually begun in Scotland must convince all, who do not wish to see us given up into the hands of a popish Pretender, of the dangers to which we have been and are still exposed. I thought it incumbent upon me to give you the earliest notice of the designs of our enemies; and I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal and dispatch with which you empowered me, at a time when

the nation was in so naked and defenceless a condition, to make such preparations as I should think necessary for our security. You shall have no reason to repent of the trust and confidence you repose in me, which I shall never use to any other end than for the protection and welfare of my people.

It was scarce to be imagined that any of my protestant subjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits of our excellent constitution, and have heard of the great dangers they were wonderfully delivered from by the happy revolution, should, by any arts and management, be drawn into measures that must at once destroy their religion and liberties, and subject them to popery and arbitrary power; but such has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made instrumental to the Pretender's designs, who had never dared to think of invading us, or raising a rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the success his emissaries and adherents have already had in stirring up riots and tumults, and by the farther hopes they entertain of raising insurrections in many parts of my kingdoms.

The endeavouring to persuade my people that the church of England is in danger under my government has been the main artifice employed in carrying on this wicked and traitorous design. This insinuation, after the solemn assurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every thing that may tend to the advantage of the church of England, is both unjust and ungrateful; nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a calumny can make any impression upon the minds of my faithful subjects; or that they can be so far misled as to think the church of England is to be secured by setting a popish Pretender on the throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The proofs this Parliament has given of their unshaken duty and affection to me, and of their love and zeal for the interest of their country, will recommend you to the good opinion and esteem of all who have their religion and liberty truly at heart, and has laid a lasting obligation upon me; and I question not but, by your farther assistance in the several countries to which you are going, with the blessing of Almighty God, who hath so frequently interposed in favour of this nation, I shall be able to disappoint and defeat the designs of our enemies.

Our meeting again to do business early in the next winter, will be useful on many accounts; particularly, that the sitting of Parliaments may be again brought into that season of the year which is most convenient; and that as little delay may be
given

given as is possible to your judicial proceedings : and I shall, at present, give such orders to my Lord Chancellor, as may not put it long out of my power to meet you on any sudden occasion.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, October 6, 1715.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in Parliament assembled, have now finished the supplies granted to your Majesty for the service of this present year. Your Commons had much sooner offered these supplies to your Majesty, had not their zeal for your Majesty's service, and the duty they owed their country, led them into inquiries which have drawn this session to an unusual length.

But your Commons could not see, without the utmost indignation, the glories of her late Majesty's reign tarnished by a treacherous cessation of arms ; the faith of treaties violated ; that ancient probity, for which the English nation had been justly renowned throughout all ages, exposed to scorn and contempt ; and the trade of the kingdom given up by insidious and precarious treaties of commerce ; whilst the people, amused with new worlds explored, were contented to see the most advantageous branches of their commerce in Europe lost or betrayed.

Such was the condition of the kingdom, when it pleased the Divine Providence to call your Majesty to the throne of your ancestors, under whose auspicious reign your Commons, with pleasure, behold the glories of the Plantagenets, your Majesty's royal ancestors, revive ; and have an unbounded prospect of the continuance of this happiness, even to the latest posterity, in a race of princes lineally descended from your Majesty.

And that nothing might be wanting on the part of your Commons to establish your Majesty's throne on solid and lasting foundations, they have applied themselves, with unwearied diligence, to vindicate the honour of the British nation, and to restore a mutual confidence between this kingdom and its ancient and faithful allies, by detecting the authors of these pernicious counsels, and the actors in these treacherous designs, in order to bring them to justice by the judgment of their peers, according to the law of the land, and the usage of Parliament.

It was not to be expected but that the enemies to the nation's peace would use their utmost endeavours to obstruct your Commons in these inquiries ; but despairing of any success in the

representative body of the kingdom, they fomented tumults among the dregs of the people at home, and spirited up the Pretender from abroad. This gave your faithful Commons fresh opportunities of shewing their affection to your Majesty's person, and their fidelity to your government, by their unanimous concurrence in granting such supplies as were necessary to disappoint the one, and by their passing such laws as were necessary to suppress the other; and in every respect to express their abhorrence of a popish Pretender, concerning whom nothing remains unsuspected, but his bigotry to superstition, and his hatred to our holy religion; for the advancement of which, your Majesty has expressed your pious care, by recommending to your Commons the providing a maintenance for the ministers who are to officiate in the new churches. This your Commons readily complied with, trusting that the prayers there offered to the Almighty will bring down a blessing on all your Majesty's undertakings; and not doubting but the doctrines there taught, will be a means to secure the quiet of your kingdoms, and the obedience of your people.

The revenues set apart for the uses of the civil government your Commons found so much entangled with mortgages and anticipations, that what remained was far from being sufficient to support the honour and dignity of the crown: this your Commons took into serious consideration; and being truly sensible, that, on your Majesty's greatness the happiness of your subjects entirely depends, they have put the civil revenues into the same state in which they were granted to your Majesty's glorious predecessor King William, of immortal memory; and thereby enabled your Majesty to make an ample provision for the Prince of Wales, whose heroic virtues are the best security of your Majesty's throne, as his other personal endowments are the joy of all your faithful subjects.

I should but ill discharge the trust reposed in me by the Commons, did I not lay before your Majesty with what cheerfulness they received your Majesty's gracious intentions for her royal highness the Princess; and with how much readiness and unanimity they enabled your Majesty to settle a revenue suitable to the dignity of a Princess, whose piety and steady adherence to the protestant religion is the glory of the present age, and will be the admiration of all future generations.

May it please your Majesty,

The bills which the Commons have prepared to complete the supplies for this year's service, and for the other purposes I have mentioned, are severally intituled,

Am

An act to enable his Majesty to settle a revenue for supporting the dignity of her royal highness, in case she shall survive his royal highness the Prince of Wales :

An act for enlarging the capital stock and yearly fund of the South Sea Company ; and for supplying thereby 822,032*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* to public uses ; and for raising 169,000*l.* for the like uses, by sale of annuities, upon divers encouragements therein mentioned ; and for appropriating several supplies granted to his Majesty :

An act for making provision for the ministers of the fifty new churches, which are to be built in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof ; and for rebuilding and finishing the parish church of St. Mary Wolnoth, in the said city of London :

Which they, with all humility, now present to your Majesty for your royal assent.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Dec. 14, 1715.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty understanding that many, both of the House of Lords and Commons, are detained in the country, as well by their private as the public business ; and the holidays being so near, during which there is usually a recess ; it is his Majesty's pleasure, that the Parliament adjourn to Monday, the 9th day of January next : at which time his Majesty intends the Parliament shall sit to do business.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 9, 1716.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal and affection to my government, and the vigilant care for the safety of the nation which you have shewn in your respective countries, have not only fully answered my expectations, but give me assurances that you are met together, resolved to act with a spirit becoming a time of common danger, and with such a vigour as will end in the confusion of all those who have openly engaged in this rebellion, and in the shame and reproach of such as, by secret and malicious insinuations, have fomented, or by an avowed indifference, encouraged this traitorous enterprize.

It is, I doubt not, a great satisfaction to you, to have observed that the powers you intrusted me with for the preservation of the public safety, have been employed in the most pro-

per and effectual manner, and made strictly subservient to those purposes only for which you intended them ; and you must have had the pleasure to reflect, with me, that ~~as~~ the measures taken for our defence have been just and necessary, so it has pleased the Divine Providence to bless them with a series of suitable success : and I cannot but take this opportunity of doing justice to the officers and soldiers of the army, whose brave and faithful discharge of their duty has disappointed our enemies, and contributed so much to the safety of the nation.

I did hope the detecting and preventing the designed insurrections in some parts of the kingdom, and the defeating, in others, those who had taken up arms against me, would have put an end to this rebellion : but it is plain, that our enemies, animated by some secret hopes of assistance, are still endeavouring to support this desperate undertaking ; and the Pretender, as I have reason to believe, is now landed in Scotland.

It is, however, with pleasure I can acquaint you, that notwithstanding these intestine commotions, Great Britain has, in some measure, recovered its influence and reputation abroad : the treaty for settling the barrier for the Netherlands is now fully concluded between the Emperor and the States General, under my guaranty. The King of Spain has agreed to a treaty, by which that valuable branch of our commerce will be delivered from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected by the late treaties, and will stand settled, for the future, on a foot more advantageous and certain than it ever did in the most flourishing time of any of my predecessors ; and the treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great Britain and the States General is brought very near to its conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must rely on your affection to me, and your care and concern for the safety of the nation, to grant me such supplies as may enable me to restore and to secure the peace of the kingdom ; and I will order estimates of the necessary expenses to be laid before you.

Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this rebellion, none affects me more sensibly, than that extraordinary burden which it has and must create to my faithful subjects ; to ease them, as far as lies in my power, I take this first opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the estates that shall become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expenses incurred on this occasion.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is matter of the greatest uneasiness to me, that the first years of my reign, the whole course of which I wished to have transmitted to posterity, distinguished by the fair and endearing marks of peace and clemency, should be clouded and overcast with so unnatural a rebellion; which, however impotent and unsuccessful, a due care may render it in all other respects, does most sensibly afflict me, by the calamities it has brought on many of my faithful subjects, and by those indispensable returns of severity which their sufferings and the public safety do most justly call for. Under this concern, my greatest comfort is, that I cannot reproach myself with having given the least provocation to that spirit of discontent and calumny that has been let loose against me; or the least pretence for kindling the flame of this rebellion.

Let those whose fatal counsels laid the foundation of all these mischiefs, and those whose private discontents and disappointments, disguised under false pretences, have betrayed great numbers of deluded people into their own destruction, answer for the miseries in which they have involved their fellow subjects. I question not but that, with the continuance of God's blessing, who alone is able to form good out of evil, and with the cheerful assistance of my Parliament, we shall, in a short time, see this rebellion end not only in restoring the tranquillity of my government, but in procuring a firm and lasting establishment of that excellent constitution in church and state, which it was manifestly designed to subvert; and that this open and flagrant attempt in favour of popery will abolish all other distinctions among us, but of such as are zealous assertors of the liberties of their country, the present establishment, and the protestant religion, and of such as are endeavouring to subject the nation to the revenge and tyranny of a popish Pretender.

Address by the House of Commons, January 10, 1716.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave most heartily to congratulate your Majesty upon the success that has attended your arms: and it is with the greatest satisfaction we observe, that the officers and soldiers of the army have, by a brave and faithful discharge of their

duty, deserved your Majesty's approbation; and that the just and necessary measures taken for strengthening your Majesty's hands have had so good an effect in preventing insurrections in several parts of the kingdom.

The wise and seasonable provision which your Majesty has made, both at home and from abroad, for the safety of the nation; your goodness in giving all such estates as shall be forfeited by this rebellion in ease of your people; and the tender regard and concern which you have been pleased to express for their sufferings; call for all the returns of duty, zeal, and affection, which faithful and loyal subjects can owe, or pay to the best of kings.

This rebellion, for which not the least colour of provocation has been given, as it ought very justly to be the object of your Majesty's contempt, so it raises in your truly loyal Commons the highest resentment and indignation against those ungrateful desperate rebels, whose pernicious principles, private disappointments, and disappointments, have engaged them to involve their country in blood and confusion.

We look with pity upon those unhappy deluded people, who, by false pretences and malicious insinuations, have been betrayed to their own destruction: but we detest, and will do our utmost to confound the devices of those who, professing an unlimited obedience, have stirred up a rebellion against your Majesty; and, under the disguise of the danger of the church, are endeavouring to introduce popery: and when we reflect, that nothing less than our holy religion, your Majesty's crown, and the liberties of our country, are concerned in the event of this wicked undertaking, we cannot but with astonishment observe the indifference of some in this great and important juncture.

But your faithful Commons, with hearts full of a due sense of the invaluable blessings which they enjoy under your Majesty's most auspicious government, offer their lives and fortunes in defence of your undoubted title to the crown, in support of the protestant religion, and in maintenance of the liberty and property of the subject; which, as they were wonderfully preserved to us by your Majesty's happy accession to the throne, can only be secured to posterity by the eye of Heaven watching over, and guarding your sacred person, and your royal family.

And, that this nation may long continue to be a protestant and a free people, your most dutiful and loyal Commons do most readily promise to grant such early and effectual supplies, as may enable your Majesty to put an end to this unnatural rebellion; to contound and extinguish for ever all hopes of the Pretender, his open and secret abettors; and secure the future peace

peace and tranquillity of your kingdoms; being well assured that your good people will think no burden grievous, that is necessary for the preservation of all that is dear and valuable to them.

But your Majesty's care and concern for the public welfare has not been confined to your own kingdoms; and however your enemies might flatter themselves that these intestine commotions would lessen the influence of Great Britain in foreign parts, your Commons with admiration see, and with gratitude acknowledge the effect of your wisdom, which has been able to surmount these difficulties, in settling the barrier treaty for the Netherlands between the Emperor and the States General, under your Majesty's guarantee; in having made so great a progress towards renewing all former alliances between Great Britain and the States General; and particularly in delivering that valuable branch of our commerce with Spain from those grievous impositions and hardships to which it was subjected by the treachery of the late mal-administration. •

And as the same fatal and pernicious counsels have been the cause and source of all the mischiefs and calamities that must attend this unnatural rebellion; and as your faithful Commons, desirous to testify their zeal and duty to your Majesty, and their abhorrence of this treasonable enterprize, have already exerted themselves in endeavouring to bring to speedy and exemplary justice the open and declared instruments of this rebellion, they think themselves obliged, in justice to their injured country, to continue, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, to prosecute the authors of those evil and destructive counsels, which have drawn down these miseries upon the nation.

His Majesty's Answer, January 12, 1716.

Gentlemen,

I REIUEEN you my hearty thanks for the kind and warm assurances of loyalty contained in this address, from which I promise myself the most happy consequences, since nothing can so effectually restore the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, as the commendable zeal you have expressed upon this occasion.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 16, 1716.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAD reason to believe, when I last spoke to you, that the Pretender was landed in Scotland: the accounts I have received since, do put it beyond all doubt, that he is heading the
 K k 4 rebel-

rebellion there, and does assume the stile and title of King of these realms : his adherents do likewise confidently affirm, that assurances are given them of support from abroad : this Parliament hath, on all occasions, expressed so much duty to me, and so true a regard for the religious and civil rights of my people, that I am persuaded this daring presumption of our enemies will heighten your just indignation against them, and beget such further resolutions, as, with the blessing of God, will enable me to defeat their attempt.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The most effectual way to put a speedy end to these troubles will be, to make such a provision as may discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels : I do therefore hope, that every sincere protestant and true Briton will look upon the extraordinary expence which a timely preparation may require, to be the best husbandry ; since it will, in any human probability, prevent that desolation, and those calamities which would unavoidably ensue if the rebellion should be suffered to spread, and be supported by popish forces from abroad.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The world must be convinced, by all you have already done, that you have nothing but the honour and interest of your country at heart : and, for my own part, I rely entirely upon you ; and doubt not but you will take such resolutions at this juncture, as will be most for the present safety and future ease of my people.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, Jan. 23, 1716.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do, with all humility, return our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne, and for your great goodness in communicating to us those important advices, which so highly concern the immediate safety of your kingdom.

We can never sufficiently express our grateful sense of your Majesty's constant care and tenderness for your people, on every occasion, since your accession to the throne of your ancestors ; but it is with the utmost satisfaction of heart, that we now experience the happy effects of that just confidence which your loyal and affectionate Commons have already reposed in your great wisdom, for making such augmentation of troops as your Majesty should find necessary for our common safety.

And

And though the growth of this rebellion has already necessitated an increase of forces ; yet we must ever acknowledge your wise and tender concern for your people, in having made provision for our defence, in such manner, at this time of common danger, as must convince the world that it is with the utmost reluctance to your Majesty that any further burdens are brought on your subjects ; and that your Majesty has nothing at heart but the security and welfare of your people.

Your dutiful Commons do likewise acknowledge, with the highest gratitude to your Majesty, that to the prudent disposition of your forces, not only the designs of our enemies to have raised insurrections in many parts of the kingdom have been entirely frustrated, and the peace and tranquillity of these nations thereby, in a great measure preserved ; but to that we owe, under God, those signal successes which have checked the progress of the rebellion, and which have given us, your faithful Commons, so early and just an occasion to exert ourselves, in the most vigorous and effectual manner, for bringing some of the chief actors in it to condign punishment.

We are astonished at the daring presumption of the Pretender and his adherents, and do most sincerely and heartily assure your Majesty, that our indignation is thereby heightened against them ; and that we cannot so far forget our duty and affection to your Majesty, and our concern for our religion and liberties, as not to take, at this critical juncture, such farther resolutions, as will effectually enable your Majesty, with the blessing of God, to defeat their designs.

Your faithful Commons being therefore firmly and unalterably resolved to spare no expense, and to decline no hazard, for the support of your Majesty's title and government, whereon all that is dear and valuable to us and our posterities, under God, entirely depends ; and being most earnestly desirous to give all imaginable proofs of our constant and unshaken zeal and affection for your sacred person ; and being thoroughly convinced that we cannot more effectually consult our own security, than by testifying our entire confidence in your Majesty's known justice, wisdom, and goodness ; do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to give directions, from time to time, for such further augmentation of troops, as the exigency of affairs shall render necessary.

And we do farther assure your Majesty, that we will grant such supplies as shall be sufficient, not only to maintain such additional forces, and to defeat all the attempts of your enemies, both at home and abroad, and to prevent those calamities which must ensue, if this unnatural rebellion should be suffered to spread ; but also to enable your Majesty, with the blessing of
God,

God, effectually to shew your resentment against any foreign power that shall presume, directly or indirectly, to abet or support the Pretender, or his adherents.

Answer by his Majesty, January 25, 1716.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you heartily for this address. If any thing could add to the good opinion this House of Commons deserves from me, it would be the zeal and unanimity you have shewn upon this occasion. You may depend upon my continuing always, as I have hitherto done, to make use of the confidence and powers you put in me, only, for restoring and securing the peace and quiet of my people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 17, 1716.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I TAKE this opportunity of acquainting you, that my forces have obliged the Pretender to fly out of Scotland; and he is since, as I am informed, landed near Gravelines; but I don't know yet, whether any country in amity with us will give him protection, after having so publicly invaded our kingdom.

The dangers to which the nation was exposed, made me determine that neither the extraordinary rigour of the season, nor any fallacious proposal of the rebels, should divert me from using all possible endeavours towards putting a speedy and effectual end to this unnatural rebellion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must return you my thanks for the great progress you have made in the supplies. The necessary dispositions are made for raising additional forces; but, as I shall always consult the ease of my people, as far as it is consistent with their own security, I shall not make use of the confidence you have placed in me, unless the restless malice of our enemies should make it necessary to go on with those levies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I promise myself, from the zeal and wisdom of this Parliament, that the future happiness and tranquillity of my subjects will be established on a solid foundation, and such measures taken as may deprive our enemies at home of the power, since that alone can deprive them of the inclination, again to attempt the

the disturbance of my government : this, therefore, is what I think myself obliged to recommend to you, as a deliberation of the utmost importance to the future safety, ease, and prosperity of my people.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Feb. 18, 1716.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do, with hearts full of gratitude, return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and do beg leave most heartily to congratulate with your Majesty upon the success with which it has pleased Almighty God so far to bless your arms, as to force the Pretender out of your Majesty's dominions.

We are willing to hope, that no prince or state in amity with your Majesty will give refuge, countenance, or protection to a person, who, in so notorious a manner, has disturbed the peace of your kingdoms : but the dangers to which your Majesty's sacred person and government, the religion, laws, and liberties of our country, have been once exposed, by this vile attempt, would leave your Commons without excuse to those they represent, if they should see with patience the nation exposed to the like hazard for the future, by the Pretender to your Majesty's crown being sheltered in your neighbourhood : we do therefore make it our humble request to your Majesty, that you will use the most earnest and most pressing instances with all princes and states in amity with your Majesty, that he may not be harboured in their territories : and we beg leave to give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that we will, to the utmost of our power, contribute whatever shall, by your Majesty, be judged necessary to render those instances effectual.

The tender regard which your Majesty expresses for the ease of your people, in declining to put the nation to any farther expence at present, for additional forces, does, if possible, heighten that confidence which we so justly had reposed in you : but we beseech your Majesty, that in settling the proportion of forces to be maintained this year by sea and land, your Majesty will have such a regard to the disposition and preparations of our neighbours, from time to time, as to provide effectually for the security of your kingdoms against any power that shall presume to countenance or abet the Pretender.

Your Commons cannot sufficiently express the just sense they have of your Majesty's consummate wisdom, and firm resolution, not to be diverted or amused by any difficulties of the
season.

season, or any specious artifices, for the pursuing the rebels in Scotland to their several retreats; since that method alone could restore, and secure with honour, peace and tranquillity to that part of your dominions.

It is with the utmost concern we observe, that the malice and inveteracy of our enemies at home is so great, that they want not the inclination to disturb your Majesty's government; but your faithful Commons, in duty to your Majesty and love for their country, will endeavour to deprive them of the power, by taking such prudent and necessary measures as may most effectually secure the future safety, ease, and prosperity of your people.

His Majesty's Answer, February 21, 1716.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for this dutiful and affectionate address: I will endeavour, by all proper means, to prevent the Pretender's being suffered to give perpetual jealousies, by continuing in our neighbourhood; and will, if the advices I shall receive from abroad do render it necessary, not lose any time in making such an augmentation of forces, by sea and land, as may, with the blessing of God, effectually answer your wishes to see the nation secured from any foreign or intestine attempt whatsoever.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
March 23, 1716.*

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty has been pleased to direct, that letters patent be prepared for granting the regalities and lands now remaining in the crown, in North and South Wales, and Cheshire, to his royal highness the Prince of Wales: but, it not being in his Majesty's power to grant the same in such a manner and form as the principality of Wales and earldom of Chester were usually granted to former Princes of Wales, his Majesty hopes you will think it reasonable to enable him to make this grant accordingly.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 20, 1717.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I WAS in hopes, that the success which it pleased God to give us, in defeating the late rebellion, might have secured to the nation peace, plenty, and tranquillity.

My

My endeavours have not been wanting, during your recess, to improve the happy prospect which was in view, by entering into such negotiations, as I judged most conducive to those good ends; and 'tis with pleasure I can acquaint you, That many defects in the treaties of Utrecht, which very nearly affected the trade, and even the security of these kingdoms, have been remedied by subsequent conventions; the happy consequences of which have already very sensibly appeared, by the flourishing condition of our trade and credit.

By the alliance lately concluded with France, and the States General, we are soon to be eased of all future apprehensions from Dunkirk and Mardyke: the Pretender is actually removed beyond the Alps; his adherents are deprived of all hopes of support and countenance from France; and even the assistance of that crown is stipulated to us, in case of exigency.

It seemed reasonable to expect, that such a situation of affairs at home and abroad should have recovered from their delusion all such of our subjects as had unhappily been seduced by the craft and wickedness of desperate and ill-designing men; and thereby have afforded me the opportunity, which I desired, of following the natural bent of my own inclinations to lenity, by opening this session with an Act of Grace: but such is the obstinate and inveterate rancour of a faction amongst us, that it hath again prompted them to animate and stir up foreign powers to disturb the peace of their native country: they will chuse rather to make Britain a scene of blood and confusion, and to venture even the putting this kingdom under a foreign yoke, than give over their darling design of imposing a popish Pretender.

I have ordered to be laid before you copies of letters, which have passed between the Swedish ministers on this occasion; which contain a certain account of the projected invasion: and I promise myself, from your experienced zeal and affection to my person and government, that you will come to such resolutions, as will enable me, by the blessing of God, to defeat all the designs of our enemies against us.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I did hope, the putting an end to the late rebellion would have so far secured the peace and tranquillity of the nation, that I might, consistently with the safety of my people, have made a considerable reduction of the forces: but the preparations, which are making from abroad to invade us, oblige me to ask such supplies, as you shall find absolutely necessary for the defence of the kingdom.

You

You are all sensible of the insupportable weight of the national debts, which the public became engaged for, from the necessity of the times; the pressures of a long and expensive war, and the languishing state of public credit: but the scene being now so happily changed, if no new disturbances shall plunge us again into straits and difficulties, the general expectation seems to require of you, that you should turn your thoughts towards some method of extricating yourselves, by reducing by degrees the debts of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen, '

I have an entire confidence in you; and have therefore nothing to ask, but that you would take such measures as will best secure your religion and liberties: while you preserve those inestimable blessings, I shall sit easy and safe on my throne; having no other view but the happiness and prosperity of my people.

Address by the House of Commons, February 21, 1717.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty their humblest thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Your Majesty's safe and happy return into your kingdoms gave an universal joy to all your people; and as the prudent administration of the government by his royal highness the Prince of Wales, under your Majesty, did, in some degree, make the want of your royal presence more easy to us, we beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the peace and security, that, during your Majesty's absence, was, by the great care of his Royal Highness, preserved in the kingdom, to the general satisfaction of all your subjects.

We can never sufficiently acknowledge the repeated instances of your Majesty's goodness and unwearied concern for the welfare of your kingdoms: we see, with admiration, many of the fatal defects of the treaties at Utrecht, and the great disadvantages that were imposed upon this nation, at the head of a victorious army, and powerful confederacy, happily remedied by your Majesty, even in the midst of intestine dangers and troubles: your consummate wisdom has renewed those alliances that were basely betrayed and dissolved, and concluded such new treaties, as may render the peace safe and lasting; and we are at a loss to determine, whether, in future ages, the suffering

the demolition of the port of Dunkirk to be scandalously evaded, will be a greater reproach, or the procuring the destruction of the sluices of Mardyke, a greater honour to the British nation.

We cannot at the same time, but with the highest resentment and indignation, look upon the obstinate and inveterate rancour of those, who are again endeavouring to embroil their native country in blood and confusion: it is astonishing to find, that any, who call themselves protestants, can be so inflexible and restless in their endeavours to impose upon us a popish Pretender; and rather venture to subject the kingdom to a foreign yoke, than depart from their darling and avowed design of altering and subverting the present happy establishment in the protestant succession. We adore the watchful eye of heaven, that has so wonderfully guarded and protected your sacred person; and cannot too much extol the wisdom and vigilance that has been used, in so early and seasonably discovering this desperate attempt: and, in order most effectually to defeat it, your faithful Commons, with hearts sincerely zealous in the cause of their King and country, assure your Majesty, that they will, to the utmost, stand by and support your Majesty against all your enemies at home and abroad, that shall, in any manner, presume to aid or abet the Pretender to your crown; and will most cheerfully grant to your Majesty such supplies as shall be found necessary for the safety of your royal person, and the defence of the kingdom.

We are all but too sensible of the insupportable weight of the national debts; and therefore will not neglect to apply ourselves with all possible diligence and attention to the great and necessary work of reducing and lessening, by degrees, this heavy burden; which may prove the most effectual means of preserving to the public funds a real and certain security.

His Majesty's Answer, February 23, 1717.

Gentlemen,

THE duty and zeal which you express, in this loyal address, to my person and government; your affectionate concern for the welfare of your country; your promises of an effectual support against all our enemies at home and abroad: and your resolution of applying yourselves to ease my people, by reducing gradually the heavy load of the public debts, deserve my hearty thanks: you shall never have cause to repent of the confidence you repose in me; the honour, welfare, and prosperity of this nation being what I have chiefly at heart.

Message

Message from his Majesty, April 3, 1717.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty, being desirous above all things, not only to secure his kingdoms against the present danger with which they are threatened from Sweden, but likewise to prevent, as far as is possible, the like apprehensions for the future, thinks it necessary, that such measures should be early concerted with other princes and states, as may conduce most effectually to this end:

And, as this may require some expense, his Majesty hopes that his Commons will, by their assistance at this juncture, enable him to make good such engagements, as may ease his people of all future charge and apprehensions upon this account.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 6, 1717.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction, that, after this short recess, I can acquaint you with the certain advice I have received, that my fleet is safely arrived in the Sound; which, by the blessing of Almighty God, will secure these kingdoms against any immediate danger of an invasion.

I have, by this means, an opportunity which is very acceptable to me, of making a considerable reduction in our land forces; having established it as a rule with myself, to consult the ease of my people in every thing, so far as is consistent with their safety: and, for my own part, as I shall always place my greatness in the prosperity of my subjects, so I shall always desire, that my power may be founded in their affections.

It is upon these considerations that I have given orders for the immediate reducing of ten thousand men.

That nothing may be wanting in me to quiet the minds of all my subjects, I have likewise given directions to prepare an Act of Grace; and, however it may be received by those who are obstinately bent on the ruin of their country, I promise myself, that it will raise a due sense of gratitude in all such as have been artfully misled into treasonable practices against my person and government, and preserve them from standing in need of the like mercy for the future, when such an instance of clemency may not be so expedient for the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to my own inclinations.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons, •

I thank you for your readiness to support me in the present juncture of affairs; and for the supplies which you have given; and do promise you, that they shall be employed for the uses for which you designed them.

I shall order such faithful accounts to be laid before you the next session, as will make it appear, there was no other view in asking any particular supply, than to prevent a much greater expense, which the nation must have unavoidably incurred without it.

I must recommend to you, as I did at the beginning of the session, to take all proper methods for reducing the public debts, with a just regard to parliamentary credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The year being so far advanced, I hope you will go through the public business with all possible dispatch and unanimity; it being my intention to meet you early the next winter, that the sitting of Parliament may be brought into the more usual and convenient season.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, May 7, 1717.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, crave leave to approach your sacred person with hearts full of gratitude to your Majesty, for the many gracious declarations you have been pleased to make to us from the throne.

Our duty to your Majesty, and our concern for the security of your kingdoms, at a time when the nation was threatened with a desperate invasion, obliged us to make provision for keeping up such a body of land forces, as might shew that we were in a posture of defence; but your Majesty having grounds to hope, on the arrival of your fleet in the Sound, that, by the blessing of God, a check will be put to that design, we must for ever acknowledge, that the early directions you have been pleased to give for reducing such a body of those land forces, is the most acceptable pledge you could give your people of your tenderness for them; and that your Majesty has nothing so much at heart as their present and future welfare; and is such an instance of your great wisdom and goodness, as must for ever endear your Majesty to all your subjects.

We are bound to express our just satisfaction in your gracious intentions of mercy, as being highly conducive to the tran-

quillity of the Kingdom, and a convincing proof of your Majesty's desire to reign in the affections of all your subjects.

We have so often experienced the happy effects of the confidence we have reposed in your Majesty, that we can never entertain any doubt of the due application of any supplies granted by us; and do receive, in the most dutiful and affectionate manner, your Majesty's promise to lay the accounts of such application before us, as a great instance of your justice to the nation.

We are truly sensible, how much the ease and prosperity of your subjects depend on the accomplishing that great and necessary work of reducing the public debts; and are resolved to carry it on in the most effectual manner, with just regard to parliamentary credit.

We are likewise resolved, by the dispatch and unanimity of our proceedings, to convince the world, that we are inviolably engaged in duty and affection to your most sacred person and government; on the support of which, the welfare and happiness of these kingdoms, under God, entirely depend.

His Majesty's Answer, May 10, 1717.

Gentlemen,

IT is with great pleasure that I find the directions I have given to make a reduction in the army, and my intentions to grant an Act of Grace, are so much to the satisfaction of my faithful Commons.

I thank you for the hearty assurances you give me of your affections to my person and government; and shall always make such an use of the confidence you repose on me, as may be most for the advantage of my people.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, July 4, 1717.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most faithful subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly represent to your Majesty, that in our impeachment exhibited against Robert, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, we did set forth, that he, the said Earl, did traiterously adhere to, aid, and abet, the late French King, then an enemy to her late Majesty; and did begin, and carry on, a clandestine and separate correspondence and negotiation with the ministers of the said French King; in consequence of which, it is evident, that

great part of the forces, maintained at the expence of so much British treasure, in order to reduce the power of France; as likewise great part of the subsidies granted by Parliament to foreign princes for the same end, were, in reality, made subservient and instrumental to awe the good allies of her Majesty into a compliance with the hard terms dictated by France; the unhappy Catalans were abandoned; the Emperor, Empire, and King of Portugal, were left to treat for themselves; the kingdom of Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, as an inducement and reward to him for quitting the common cause, in direct defiance and violation of the grand alliance, and of the declared sense of most of our good allies, and especially the Dutch, who, to this day, have never assented to that condition of the treaty of Utrecht; a shameful and dishonourable treaty of peace was at last concluded; by which, impracticable terms of trade were imposed on Great Britain; the demolition of Dunkirk, which had been addressed for by Parliament, was eluded by a treacherous connivance at the making of a new canal at Mardyke; and the security which was proposed by removing the Pretender out of France, was in like manner evaded by a treacherous connivance at his residing in Lorrain.

It is owing to your Majesty's unwearied endeavours for the good of your subjects, and that just regard which is paid to your Majesty by foreign princes and states, that we see ourselves delivered, in a great degree, from the effects of these pernicious measures, which might otherwise have proved fatal to your kingdoms.

But as we reflect, with equal gratitude and admiration, on your Majesty's being able to retrieve such miscarriages, especially in a time which has been disturbed by public tumults and rebellions; we think it is a great aggravation of guilt in those who gave up so many national advantages at a time when they laboured under no such difficulties at home, and when the continued successes of a long and glorious war had put them into a condition of gaining the most beneficial terms from the enemy.

Your faithful Commons did likewise exhibit several other charges against the said Earl; representing him, in many notorious instances, as a person who had abused the trust and confidence which her late Majesty had reposed in him; and sacrificed the honour of his sovereign, and the good of her people, to private views of interest and ambition.

Your faithful Commons have not been wanting in their endeavours to bring the said Earl to justice; but, by reason of the unhappy differences that have, in this proceeding, arisen between the two Houses, we have found ourselves disappointed of our just expectation, and reduced to the necessity either of giving

up rights and privileges of the highest importance to all the Commons of Great Britain, or seeing this great offender escape with impunity for the present.

For these reasons, we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty will be pleased to except Robert, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, out of the Act of Grace, which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to promise from the throne; to the end the Commons may be at liberty to proceed against the said Earl in a parliamentary way.

His Majesty's Answer, July 6, 1717.

Gentlemen,

I WILL give directions in relation to the Earl of Oxford as you desire; and it is with pleasure I observe the sense, expressed in your address, of my endeavours for the security, honour, and advantage of these kingdoms.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 21, 1717.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM very glad I have been able to bring the sitting of Parliament into a more proper and usual season of the year; I hope such an early meeting will not only be a benefit to the public, but a convenience to your private affairs.

As I have always had at heart the security and ease of my people, so I never kept up any troops but for their protection; and have taken every opportunity to disband as many as I thought consistent with their safety; I have reduced the army to very near one half since the beginning of the last session of Parliament; and lessened them to such a number as will neither be a burden to my good subjects, nor an encouragement to our enemies to insult them.

You cannot but be sensible of the many attempts which have been set on foot to disturb the peace of Europe, and of these kingdoms: they only pretend not to see, who are not afraid of them: but as no application has been wanting on my part to preserve the public tranquillity, I have the pleasure to find my good offices have not been altogether unsuccessful; and have reason to hope they will, in the end, have their full and desired effect.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I question not but you are very well pleased to find, that your endeavours for lessening the national debts have, at the same time, raised the public credit; and that whatever was proposed for that end is actually and completely effected: this success must chiefly be attributed to that just and prudent regard you have shewn to parliamentary engagements.

It was with the view of procuring and settling a lasting tranquillity, that I demanded the extraordinary supply which you granted me last session: the credit which this confidence reposed in me hath given us abroad, has already been so far effectual, that I can acquaint you, we have a much better prospect than we had; I have ordered an account to be laid before you of the very small part of that supply, which, as yet, has been expended: any further issues that may be made of it shall be also laid before you; and you may be assured, that every part of it shall either be employed for your service, or saved to the public.

I have ordered to be laid before you a state of the deficiencies of the present year, and the several estimates for the service of the next; which you will find considerably diminished: I rely upon your making the necessary provision for them; not doubting of the continuance of that zeal for the good of your country, which hath been so eminently conspicuous in every session of this Parliament.

I cannot in justice avoid putting you in mind, that several arrears of pay and subsidy, incurred before my accession to the crown, are claimed by foreign princes and states: I shall order them to be laid before you, to the end you may put them in a method to be examined and stated; which will very much tend to the honour and credit of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I could heartily wish, that, at a time when the common enemies of our religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it both at home and abroad, all those who are friends to our present happy establishment might unanimously concur in some proper methods for the greater strengthening the protestant interest; of which, as the church of England is unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so will she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing by the union, and mutual charity, of all protestants.

As none can recommend themselves more effectually to my favour and countenance than by a sincere zeal for the just rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people; so I am determined to encourage all those who act agreeably to the constitution

tion of these my kingdoms; and, consequently, to the principle on which my government is founded.

The eyes of all Europe are upon you at this critical juncture: it is your interest, for which reason I think it mine, that my end avails for procuring the peace and quiet of Christendom should take effect; nothing can so much contribute to this desirable end as the unanimity, dispatch, and vigour, of your resolutions for the support of my government.

Address by the House of Commons, November 22, 1717.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, crave leave to express our gratitude to your Majesty for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Our minds are filled with the most lively sense of your Majesty's regard to your people, in bringing the sitting of Parliament into a more proper and usual season of the year; and, as your Majesty has been graciously pleased to consider the convenience of our private affairs in this early meeting, we shall endeavour to answer your Majesty's gracious intentions, by improving it, as much as we are able, to the benefit of the public.

We are highly sensible of the concern your Majesty has shewn for the welfare of your people, by the reductions you have been pleased to make, from time to time, of the land forces, so soon as the posture of affairs rendered it safe to these your kingdoms; it is our peculiar happiness to see ourselves governed by a sovereign who is not influenced by any notions of greatness that are inconsistent with the prosperity of his subjects, and who proposes to himself the ease of his people, as the chief glory of his reign.

We acknowledge, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, your Majesty's unwearied endeavours to prevent the many attempts which have been set on foot to disturb the peace of Europe, and the quiet of these kingdoms; and have the more reason to apprehend the ill consequences of such attempts, since there are those, who, as they would be thought to see no danger in them, give us reason to believe, that they would not be troubled at their success: we are therefore firmly resolved, in the most effectual manner, to support your Majesty in such measures as your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall judge necessary to procure the establishment of the tranquillity of Europe.

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We receive with the greatest satisfaction your Majesty's gracious expressions and assurances, touching the extraordinary supply granted last year; and will cheerfully grant your Majesty such supplies as shall effectually provide for the public service.

It is, with unspeakable sorrow of heart, that we observe the many artifices which are made use of by the common enemies of our religion to undermine and weaken it both at home and abroad; and, as we have the most grateful sense of the tender concern which your Majesty has been pleased to express for the protestant religion, and especially for the main support of it, the church of England as by law established; so we are resolved, on our part, to consider of the most effectual methods for strengthening the protestant interest of these kingdoms.

It is a pleasure to us, that the eyes of all Europe are turned upon us, at this critical juncture; since we have thereby an opportunity of shewing the world the just confidence we repose in your Majesty, and our unshaken resolutions to support your government in such manner as shall enable your Majesty to settle the peace of Christendom.

His Majesty's Answer, November 25, 1717.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for the repeated assurances you have given me, in this dutiful and loyal address, of your affectionate support and assistance in the present juncture of affairs: I expected no less from a House of Commons so affectionate to my person, and so zealous for the public welfare.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, Feb. 1, 1718.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having received a very dutiful address from the South Sea Company, that he would be graciously pleased to permit himself to be elected governor of the said company; and his Majesty being willing to condescend thereto, recommends it to this House to consider of proper methods to remove any difficulties that may arise on that occasion.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
March 17, 1718.*

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty, being at present engaged in several negotiations of the uttermost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary; does think fit to acquaint this House therewith; not doubting but that, in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea service, the House will, at their next meeting, provide for such exceeding.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 11, 1718.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE given orders to my Lord Chancellor to declare to you, in my name and words, the causes of my meeting you in Parliament at this time.

And thereupon his Majesty delivered into the Lord Chancellor's hands, from the throne, the following speech; which his Lordship read to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE your last recess, I have, by the blessing of Almighty God, concluded such terms and conditions of peace and alliance between the greatest princes of Europe, as will, in all human appearance, induce others to follow their example, and make any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity, not only dangerous, but impracticable.

These engagements, I am persuaded, will be so much the more agreeable to all my good subjects, as they bind the contracting powers to support the succession to these kingdoms in my family, to which some were not at all, and others not so fully, bound by any former treaties.

During the whole course of these negotiations, a most strict regard has been had to the interests of Spain; and better conditions have been stipulated for that King than were insisted upon in his behalf even at the treaty of Utrecht: but the war in Hungary, which, by our mediation, is since happily ended, having

having tempted the court of Spain, unjustly, to attack the Emperor ; and the hopes they have since conceived of raising disturbances in Great Britain, France, and elsewhere, having encouraged them to believe, that we should not be able to act in pursuance of our treaties, for the defence of the dominions invaded by them, nor even to support those other essential and necessary conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, which provide against the great monarchies of Europe being at any time hereafter united under one Sovereign ; they have not only persisted in such a notorious violation of the public peace and tranquillity, but have rejected all our amicable proposals, and have broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of our commerce.

To vindicate therefore the faith of our former treaties, as well as to maintain those which we have lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of my subjects, which has, in every branch, been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for our naval forces to check their progress : it was reasonable to hope, that the success of our arms, the repeated offers of friendship which I have never ceased to make in the most pressing manner, and the measures taken, in concert with the Emperor, and the most christian King, to restore the public tranquillity, would have produced a better disposition in the court of Spain : but I have received informations, that, instead of listening to our reasonable terms of accommodation, that court has lately given orders, at all the ports of Spain, and of the West Indies, to fit out privateers, and to take our ships.

I am persuaded, that a British Parliament will enable me to resent such treatment as becomes us ; and it is with pleasure that I can assure you of the ready and friendly resolutions of our good brother, the Regent of France, to concur and join with me in the most vigorous measures.

The firm confidence I repose in the affections of my people, together with my earnest desire to ease them of every charge not absolutely necessary, determined me, immediately after the exchange of the ratification of our great alliance, to make a very considerable reduction of our land forces ; nor could I better express, than by so doing, how little we apprehend the attempts of our enemies to disturb the peace of my kingdoms, even though Spain should think fit to continue some time in war : our naval force, employed in concert with our allies, will, I trust in God, soon put a happy end to the troubles which the ambitious views of that court have begun, and secure to my subjects the execution of the many treaties in force relating to our commerce.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must desire you to grant me such supplies as will enable me to carry on the service of the year: I have given orders to have the proper estimates laid before you; whereby you will perceive, I have reduced the expense as much as our circumstances can well admit: I have the pleasure to observe to you, that the funds appropriated for sinking the public debts have answered above expectation: I must, however, recommend to you, to consider of proper methods for improving them, by preventing the frauds and abuses daily committed in the public revenues; not doubting but, in all your proceedings, you will have that regard to the inviolable preservation of the public credit, which may quiet the minds of all those that have trusted to parliamentary engagements.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

There never was a time when your unanimity, your vigour, and dispatch, were more necessary, to so many good ends as those we have now in view: I have done my part; it remains with you to give the last finishing to this great work: our friends and our enemies, both at home and abroad, are waiting the event of your resolutions; and I dare promise myself, that the first have nothing to apprehend, nor the others to hope, from your conduct in this important juncture, who have, during the whole course of my reign, given such lively proofs of your zeal and affection to my person, and of your love to your country.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Nov. 12, 1718.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do return our most sincere and unfeigned thanks to your sacred Majesty, for your most gracious speech from the throne; and for the many and great instances which you have been graciously pleased therein to give your people, of your constant endeavours for their security and welfare.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we have this opportunity to assure your Majesty, that we have an entire satisfaction in those measures which you have already taken for strengthening the protestant succession to the crown of these realms in your own family; and for establishing lasting tranquillity in Europe; and particularly, in relation to the crown of Spain: and we are resolved on our parts, to the utmost of our power,

to enable your Majesty, in concurrence with your allies, not only to resent the injuries which that crown has already done to the commerce of these kingdoms, in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two nations; but will likewise support your Majesty, in the most vigorous and effectual manner, in such farther measures as in your great wisdom you shall judge necessary to complete the public tranquillity, and to check the growth of that naval power, which must otherwise prove dangerous to the trade of these kingdoms, and the repose of Europe.

We should be wanting in our duty to your Majesty, if we did not express, in the most affectionate manner, the great sense we have of that instance of your tender concern for the ease of your people, in the farther reduction which you have made of your land forces; which must be accepted by all your good subjects, as the strongest proof of your wisdom and goodness.

We crave leave to concur with your sacred Majesty, that regard must always be had to the inviolable preservation of the public credit, for the quiet and just security of all those who have trusted to parliamentary engagements:

And do further assure your Majesty, that we will, by our conduct in this important juncture, give your Majesty, and the whole world, all imaginable proofs of our zeal, and inviolable duty and affection to your person and government, and of our love to our country.



His Majesty's Answer, November 14, 1718.

Gentlemen,

I AM extremely sensible of the duty and affection you express to my person; your vigour and resolution to support me will encourage our friends, and, by the blessing of God, enable me to defeat the ill-grounded hopes of our enemies: as, I am persuaded, the necessity and usefulness of your proceedings will be approved by the event, I do return you my very hearty thanks for this loyal address.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, March 10, 1719.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE given orders to my Lord Chancellor to declare to you, in my name and words, a matter I think of the greatest importance.

And

And the Lord Chancellor thereupon acquainted both Houses, that he had received his Majesty's commands from the throne, to declare to them, in his Majesty's name, and in his Majesty's own words, the reasons of his coming this day to Parliament.

Then the Lord Chancellor read a speech, as followeth :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING received from our good brother and ally, the most christian King, repeated advices that an invasion will suddenly be attempted from Spain, against my dominions, in favour of the Pretender to my crown, I have judged it convenient to make you acquainted with it ; and shall, on my part, take all the necessary measures to defeat the designs of our enemies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

This attempt, if it proceed, must engage me in some further expenses by sea and land, than provision has been made for : I must therefore recommend it to you, that I be enabled, in such manner as you shall judge convenient, to make the necessary dispositions for our security ; and you may depend upon it, that I shall, upon this, and all occasions, have as much regard to the case of my people, as shall be consistent with their safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The many proofs I have had of the affection and loyalty of this Parliament, leave me no room to doubt of your steady and vigorous perseverance in support of my person and government upon this occasion.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 23, 1719.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE given order to my Lord Chancellor, to declare to you, in my name and words, the causes of my meeting you in Parliament at this time.

And the Lord Chancellor thereupon acquainted both Houses, that he had received a speech from his Majesty, from the throne ; which the Lord Chancellor read ; and of which Mr. Speaker said, he had, to prevent any mistakes, obtained

tained a copy ; which he read to the House ; and is as followeth :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE satisfaction with which I always meet you is very much increased at this time, when it has pleased Almighty God so to strengthen the arms of Great Britain, and our confederates, and so to prosper our several negotiations, that, by his blessing on our endeavours, we may reasonably promise ourselves to reap very soon the fruits of our successes. I am persuaded it will be accounted, by all my good subjects, a sufficient reward for some extraordinary expence, that all Europe, as well as these kingdoms, is upon the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and counsels : one protestant kingdom has already been relieved by our seasonable interposition ; and such a foundation is laid, by our late treaties, for an union amongst other great protestant powers, as will very much tend to the security of our holy religion.

I believe you cannot but be surpris'd at the continuation of a war, where our enemies have nothing to hope, and so much to fear : it is indeed difficult to frame any judgment of those counsels which have broke out of late in so many rash and ill-concerted measures : if they depend upon our divisions at home, I doubt not but, in a very short time, their hopes, founded upon this expectation, will prove as vain and ill-grounded as any of their former projects.

In congratulating with you on this happy posture of affairs, I must tell you, that as I have been very just and faithful to my engagements, so I have met such frank and powerful returns of assistance from my allies, as will, I doubt not, establish a lasting friendship among us.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

You will see, by the accounts I have ordered to be delivered to you, how moderate a use I have made of the power intrusted with me, to augment my forces by sea and land. I depend upon the eminent duty and affection you have always shewn to my person and government, that you will be vigorous in dispatching the necessary supplies for the year : to which purpose I have ordered the estimates to be laid before you ; and, at the same time, I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You must all be sensible of the many undeserved and unnatural troubles I have met with during the course of my reign :
our

our divisions at home have gone magnified abroad ; and, by inspiring into some foreign powers a false opinion of our force, have encouraged them to treat us in a manner which the crown of Great Britain shall never endure, while I wear it.

The trouble and expense which this hath brought upon us, have been most loudly complained of by those who were the occasion of them : but, with your assistance, I have hitherto got through all these difficulties ; and, by the continuance of your help, I hope very soon to overcome them, since the hand of God has so visibly been with us in all our undertakings.

If the necessities of my government have sometimes engaged your duty and affections to trust me with powers, of which you have always, with good reason, been jealous ; the whole world must acknowledge they have been so used, as to justify the confidence you have reposed in me : and as I can truly affirm, that no prince was ever more zealous to increase his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper methods to establish, and transmit to your posterity the freedom of our happy constitution ; and, particularly, to secure that part which is most liable to abuse : I value myself upon being the first who hath given you an opportunity to do it ; and I must recommend it to you to complete those measures which remained imperfect the last session.

So far as human prudence can foretel, the unanimity of this session of Parliament must establish, with the peace of all Europe, the glory and trade of these kingdoms on a lasting foundation : I think every man may see the end of our labours : all I have to ask of you is, that you would agree to be a great and flourishing people, since it is the only means by which I desire to become a happy King.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Nov. 24, 1719.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do return our most unfeigned thanks to your Majesty for your most gracious speech from the throne ; and assure your Majesty, that our hearts are filled with unspeakable joy, upon your safe and happy return to these your kingdoms ; and with the most just and grateful sense of your unweary'd labours for our welfare, and the security of the protestant religion.

We heartily congratulate with your Majesty on the success of your British arms ; and return the thanks of this House, in the

the most dutiful manner, for such measures taken, by the influence of British counsels, as afford the nearest prospect of a general peace abroad, and of enjoying, with glory, the benefits of trade and tranquillity.

And we crave leave to assure your Majesty, that we will on our parts, by the vigour of our resolutions for the support of your government, and by the dispatch which we will give to the necessary supplies, convince the world, that, if our enemies have conceived any hopes from our divisions at home, this hath been the vainest of all their projects: and we will enable your Majesty, in concert with your allies, effectually to support and perfect those just and equitable measures which have been taken to establish a general peace.

And we further assure your Majesty, that we will apply ourselves to find out the best means for lessening the debts of the nation, and supporting the public credit; and will concur in all proper methods to establish and preserve the freedom of our happy constitution, for which your sacred Majesty has given so many tender proofs of your care and affection.

His Majesty's Answer, Nov. 25, 1719.

Gentlemen,

THIS loyal address deserves my best thanks: it contains the most dutiful and affectionate expressions to my person and government; and you shall perceive my sense of them, by the endeavours I will always use to procure your welfare and prosperity.

Message from His Majesty, May 4, 1720.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having received several petitions from great numbers of the most eminent merchants of the city of London, humbly praying, that he would be graciously pleased to grant them his letters patents for erecting corporations to assure ships and merchandise; and the said merchants having offered to advance and pay a considerable sum of money, for his Majesty's use, in case they may obtain letters patents accordingly; his Majesty being of opinion, that erecting two such corporations, exclusive only of all other corporations and societies, for assuring of ships and merchandise, under proper restrictions and regulations, may be of great advantage and security to the trade and commerce of the kingdom, is willing and desirous to be strengthened by the advice and assistance of
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this House, in a matter of this nature and importance: he therefore hopes for their ready concurrence, to secure and confirm the privileges his Majesty shall grant to such corporations; and to enable him to discharge the debts of his civil government, without burdening his people with any new aid or supply.

Address by the House of Commons, May 7, 1720.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for communicâting to this House the applications made to your Majesty for obtaining charters for insuring ships and merchandises: your Majesty being graciously pleased not to take any steps in a matter of such importance to the trade and commerce of the kingdom, without the advice and concurrence of your Parliament, is an instance of so much condescension as deserves the highest returns of duty and thankfulness.

We acknowledge your Majesty's goodness in applying to the use of the civil government the advantages arising to your Majesty from such proposals: it is a great satisfaction to your Commons to see the honour and dignity of the crown supported under the difficulties which the necessity of your Majesty's affairs may have occasioned, without laying the burden of any new aid or supply upon your people.

And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that this House is resolved to render effectual your Majesty's gracious intentions for the ease, security, and welfare of your trading subjects.

His Majesty's Answer, May 9, 1720.

Gentlemen,

I RECEIVE this address as a particular mark of your affection to me: it is a new proof to me, and all the world, how much I can always depend upon it: I thank you for it in a particular manner.

Joint Address to his Majesty by both Houses, June 3, 1720.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly return your Majesty our most hearty

heartly thanks for the continuance of your seasonable interposition, in conjunction with the other protestant powers, on the behalf of the poor persecuted protestants abroad.

We also beg leave humbly to express our satisfaction in the prospect there is, that, by your Majesty's gracious endeavours, they may obtain the redress of their grievances, and be restored to the enjoyment of those rights and privileges to which they have the justest title by the most solemn treaties, and be secured in the future enjoyment of them.

And we do assure your Majesty, that we will cheerfully concur with your Majesty, in the prosecution of such measures as your Majesty, in your wisdom, shall judge most conducive to so great and good an end.

His Majesty's Answer, June 8, 1720.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HOPE that my endeavours, in conjunction with the other protestant powers, to procure ease and security to our distressed brethren abroad, will, by the blessing of God, prove successful.

The unanimous and commendable zeal which you express upon this occasion cannot fail to add weight to my instances; and you may depend upon it, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to comply with what you so justly desire.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 8, 1720.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE given order to my Lord Chancellor to declare to you, in my name and words, the causes of my meeting you in Parliament at this time.

And the Lord Chancellor thereupon acquainted both Houses, that he had received the following speech from his Majesty from the throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE we last parted the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable; the peace in the south only wants the form of a congress; and that of the north is brought much nearer to a conclusion: I shall, at a proper time, order the several treaties I have made to be laid before you; by which

you will perceive the success of our endeavours to establish a peace throughout Europe, and to secure and support the protestant religion : at the same time, I can never sufficiently express my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs which has so much affected the public credit at home.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I do most earnestly recommend it to you, that you consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting foundation : you will, I doubt not, be assisted in so commendable and necessary a work by every man that loves his country, and especially by the several great societies of this kingdom : I hope you will, on this occasion, remember, that all your prudence, your temper, and resolution, are necessary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortune ; which will, if you succeed, serve to increase that reputation you have so justly acquired ; particularly, if you shall be able, notwithstanding these difficulties, to discharge a part of the public debts.

I have ordered the several estimates to be laid before you of the expence for the ensuing year ; and must desire you to dispatch the supplies necessary for them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am glad to observe to you, that our trade does appear to have been more extended this year than in the preceding one : we have the most flourishing navy of any nation whatsoever to protect it ; and, I hope, you will turn your thoughts to the best methods for the security and enlarging of our commerce ; you may depend on my hearty concurrence to all such provisions as shall appear to you necessary for the good of my people.

Adds by the House of Commons, December 9, 1720.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most dutiful and hearty thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We can never sufficiently express our gratitude to your Majesty, for your constant care of the true interest of your subjects ; nor the satisfaction of your faithful Commons, in seeing that the just influence of your Majesty's counsels abroad has procured so near a prospect of a general peace throughout Europe ; which is a fresh instance to them, that your Majesty

places your greatness only in the prosperity and happiness of your people.

If any thing could more effectually endear your Majesty to us than the mildness of your government, it would be that tender and affectionate concern you express for the present misfortunes of your people, occasioned by the unhappy turn of affairs that hath so much affected the public credit of this kingdom.

But your faithful Commons are met together with minds fully disposed to take the most just and effectual methods, and to do every thing that becomes an affectionate Parliament at this critical conjuncture, wherein your Majesty's government, and the interest of your people, are so highly concerned, to restore and fix the credit of this nation upon such solid and lasting foundations as may effectually give ease and quiet to the minds of your Majesty's subjects: and we flatter ourselves, that our undertaking will be the more easy, since we are determined to proceed with all possible prudence, temper, and resolution, to inquire into the causes of our present misfortunes; and, with the maturest deliberation, apply ourselves to find out the most proper measures for redressing them, and for punishing the authors of them.

The improvement of our trade is of so public a concern, and so necessary for the support and power of this kingdom, that we will employ our utmost endeavours to consider in what manner the commerce of the nation may be best secured and extended.

And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, with all cheerfulness and unanimity, grant the supplies which shall be necessary for the service of the ensuing year, and the support of your government, upon which the happiness of the nation, the liberty of your subjects, and the security of our religion, so entirely depend.

His Majesty's Answer, December 12, 1720.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this address; and, as I depend on your applying a speedy remedy to the present distress, I am persuaded you will take the most prudent measures to make it effectual.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, June 16, 1721.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having taken the first opportunity, upon the death of the late King of Sweden, to renew the ancient alliances between this kingdom and Sweden; and having stipulated, by a treaty, to pay a subsidy to that crown, hath ordered that treaty to be laid before the House of Commons; and hopes, from their known zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and the true interest of their country, that they will enable him to make good the engagements he has entered into upon this occasion.

His Majesty being informed that two ships, called the Bristol Merchant and Turkey Merchant, now lying under quarantine, did arrive from Cyprus, and other parts of Turkey, infected with the plague, and have cotton wool and other goods on board, which are dangerous to spread the infection; and conceiving it necessary for the preservation of the health of his subjects, that the said ships and their ladings be burnt and destroyed, and that a reasonable satisfaction be given to the owners, hath, by the advice of his privy council, caused the value thereof to be computed by his Majesty's officers, and ordered those computations to be laid before the House of Commons, that provision may be made for satisfying the same.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, July 11, 1721.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty finds it necessary to acquaint his loyal House of Commons with the difficulties he labours under by reason of debts contracted in his civil government; which, being computed at Lady-day last, do amount to more than five hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

If the provision made by an act of the last session of Parliament, for discharging this debt, had not hitherto proved, in a very great degree, ineffectual, his Majesty had not been under a necessity of applying again to Parliament upon this occasion; but, being resolved to cause a retrenchment to be made of his civil list expenses for the future, and finding that such a retrenchment cannot well be effected without discharging the present arrears, has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid before the House; and hopes he may be empowered to raise
ready

ready money for that purpose on the civil list revenues, which, to avoid the laying any new burden on his people, his Majesty proposes shall be replaced to the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction to be made out of the salaries and wages of all offices, and the pensions and other payments from the crown.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, July 31, 1721.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE ordered my Lord Chancellor to deliver to you, in my name and words, the causes of my calling you together so suddenly, and at this season of the year.

And the Lord Chancellor thereupon acquainted both Houses, that he had received the following speech from his Majesty from the throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE occasion of my calling you together again so suddenly, is to give you an opportunity of resuming the consideration of the state of public credit.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The progress that you made in this affair during the last session, has laid such a foundation of this necessary work, that the world is fully apprised of what is reasonably to be hoped for at this present conjuncture.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must recommend to you all possible dispatch, and am persuaded, that at this season of the year your deliberations will be confined to what is absolutely necessary upon this extraordinary occasion.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 19, 1721.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE ordered my Lord Chancellor to deliver to you, in my name and words, the causes of your meeting at this time in Parliament.

And the Lord Chancellor thereupon acquainted both Houses, that he had received the following speech from his Majesty from the throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I ACQUAINTED you, when we parted last, with our having renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain; since which, peace is happily restored in the north by the conclusion of the treaty between the Czar and the King of Sweden; and, by that which I have made with the Moors, a great number of my subjects are delivered from slavery; and all such of them as trade to those parts of the world, are, for the future, secured from falling under that dreadful calamity.

In this situation of affairs we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend: it is very obvious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be: by this means the balance of trade may be preserved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed:

I must therefore recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to consider how far the duties upon these branches may be taken off, and replaced without any violation of public faith, or laying any new burden upon my people; and I promise myself, that, by a due consideration of this matter, the produce of these duties, compared with the minute advantages that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

The supplying ourselves with naval stores upon terms the most easy, and least precarious, seems highly to deserve the care and attention of Parliament: our plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade, and maritime strength; and if, by due encouragement, we could be furnished from hence with those naval stores which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power, of this nation; but, by employing our own colonies in this useful and advantageous service, divert them from setting up and carrying on

on manufactures, which directly interfere with those of Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It will be a great pleasure to me, if, in raising the supplies of this year, it may be so ordered, that my people may reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad: I have ordered estimates to be prepared for the service of the ensuing year; and likewise an account of the debts of the navy to be laid before you: you cannot but be sensible of the ill consequences that arise from such a large debt remaining unprovided for; and that, as long as the navy and victualling bills are at a very high discount, they do not only affect all other public credit, but greatly increase the charge and expense of the current service: it is therefore very much to be wished, that you could find a method of discharging this part of the national debt, which, of all others, is the most heavy and burdensome; and, by that means, have it in your power to ease your country of some part of the taxes, which, from an absolute necessity, they have been obliged to pay.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The unspeakable misery and desolation that has of late raged in some parts of Europe, cannot but be a sufficient warning to us to use all possible precautions to prevent the contagion from being brought in among us; or, if these kingdoms should be visited with such a fatal calamity, to be in a condition, with the blessing of God, to stop its further progress: and, as all other provisions will be altogether vain and fruitless, if the abominable practice of running of goods be not at once totally suppressed, I most earnestly recommend to you to let no other consideration stand in competition with a due care of preserving so many thousand lives.

The several affairs which I have mentioned to you being of the highest and most immediate concern to the whole kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into the consideration of them with that temper, unanimity, and dispatch, that the necessity and importance of them require.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, Oct. 20, 1723.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We congratulate your Majesty upon the success that has attended your unwearied application for restoring tranquillity to Europe; for securing our commerce by treaties; and for releasing great numbers of your subjects from slavery among the Moors, and for delivering the trading part of the nation from the apprehensions of the like calamity for the future: which are so many instances of your Majesty's goodness, in which all your subjects are so nearly concerned, that we are no less bound by interest, than led by inclination and duty, most thankfully to acknowledge these happy effects of your Majesty's care for your people.

Your Majesty's recommending to us to improve the general tranquillity abroad, towards extending and enlarging our commerce, is an additional proof how much your Majesty has the real interest of Great Britain at heart in all your counsels and undertakings.

Your Commons are thoroughly sensible, that our poor cannot be sufficiently employed, nor the balance of trade be long preserved in our favour, while such duties are continued, as either clog the exportation of our own manufactures, or render the manufacturing of them at home less easy and practicable: and they will most cheerfully apply themselves to consider how far such duties can be taken off and replaced without laying any new burden on your people, or violating the public faith; having great reason to promise themselves that the free circulation of trade, which must naturally succeed upon the taking off this pressure, will, in a short space of time, compensate any diminution of the customs which this alteration may occasion for the present.

And since the trade, navigation, and safety, of this nation must remain, in some measure, precarious, as long as we are under the necessity of purchasing and importing all our naval stores from foreign countries, your Majesty's most faithful Commons will do their utmost endeavours, that this important and beneficial branch of trade may be supplied from your Majesty's plantations in America; and thereby divert our colonies from setting up manufactures which directly interfere with those of their mother country.

Your Majesty's tender concern to have the supplies of this session so ordered, that your subjects may be among the earliest in reaping the happy effects of the general tranquillity abroad, cannot fail of exciting in your faithful Commons a desire of making suitable returns, by proceeding, with all alacrity, to grant the necessary supplies for the current service of the year, and for discharging the heavy debt of the navy: and we find ourselves engaged, by all the ties of duty and interest, to se-

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cond your Majesty's provident intentions for suppressing the infamous and pernicious practice of running goods; which, besides that it defrauds the public revenues, and discourages the honest trader, may, at this juncture, endanger the health and lives of many thousands of your Majesty's innocent subjects.

The several points which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to recommend to us, carry in them such evident marks of your Majesty's paternal and most affectionate concern for your people, and are of such lasting consequence to the welfare and safety of this nation, that we should be inexcusable, if we did not, by a ready concurrence on our parts, do all in our power to render these your Majesty's most gracious purposes effectual; and proceed in the consideration of them with such temper, unanimity, and dispatch, as may fully answer your Majesty's expectations, and defeat the designs of those who hope for any other contentions amongst us, but of zeal and affection towards your Majesty's sacred person and government.

His Majesty's Answer, October 23, 1721.

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address; and for the assurances you give me of going through the weighty affairs now before you with unanimity and dispatch: and I promise myself, from your experienced zeal and application, that my good wishes for the welfare and prosperity of my people will be rendered effectual.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Oct. 11, 1722.

May it please your Majesty,

THE knights, citizens, and burgessees, in Parliament assembled, having, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, proceeded to the choice of a Speaker, do now humbly attend to present me to your Majesty, as the person they have called to that service: but as I am conscious of my own weakness, and as my want of ability cannot be unknown to your Majesty, I most earnestly beseech your Majesty to accept my excuse, and to command your Commons to present to your Majesty some other Person more worthy of your royal approbation.

Then

Then the Lord Chancellor, taking directions from his Majesty, said :

Mr. COMPTON,

YOU have so long, and so very well discharged the important trust of the Speaker of the House of Commons; and his Majesty has had full experience of your zeal for his service, and for the interest of your country, which are really inseparable, that he is pleased to command me to tell you, that he is perfectly well satisfied with the choice which his Commons have made of you now to be their Speaker; and therefore does not admit of your excuse, but allows of, and confirms you, to be Speaker.

Then Mr. Speaker said :

SINCE it is your Majesty's pleasure to approve the choice your Commons have made, it is my duty to submit, and to endeavour to supply my want of capacity by a diligent application to the discharge of this trust which I am commanded to undertake.

The experience I have had of your Majesty's great goodness, in pardoning my past errors, encourages me to hope, that any involuntary mistakes I may hereafter make will receive a favourable construction; and I entirely rely on your Majesty's justice and goodness, that none of my failings or infirmities may be imputed to your faithful Commons, in whose name I lay claim, by humble petition to your Majesty, to all their ancient and accustomed rights, privileges, and immunities; particularly,

That for their better attendance on the public service, their persons, estates, and servants, may be free from arrests, suits, and molestations;

That they may have liberty and freedom of speech, for the better management of their debates;

That they may have free access to your Majesty, at all convenient times, as occasion shall require :

And that their proceedings may be free from misconstruction, and receive the most favourable interpretation.

Then

Then the Lord Chancellor, receiving further directions from his Majesty, said :

I AM commanded by his Majesty to say, that his Majesty, being fully assured of the prudence, loyalty, and good affections of the House of Commons, does most willingly grant to them all their privileges, in as full a manner as they have at any time been granted or allowed by any of his Majesty's royal predecessors.

And, as to what you have said in relation to yourself, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to put the best and most favourable constructions upon your words and actions, in the discharge of your duty as Speaker of the House of Commons.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, October 15, 1722.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM concerned to find myself obliged, at the opening of this Parliament, to acquaint you, that a dangerous conspiracy has been for some time formed, and is still carrying on, against my person and government, in favour of a popish Pretender.

The discoveries I have made here, the informations I have received from my ministers abroad, and the intelligences I have had from the powers in alliance with me, and indeed from most parts of Europe, have given me most ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked design.

The conspirators have, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for assistance from foreign powers, but were disappointed in their expectations: however, confiding in their numbers, and not discouraged by their former ill success, they resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of my government.

To this end, they provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and thought themselves in such readiness, that, had not the conspiracy been timely discovered, we should, without doubt, before now, have seen the whole nation, and particularly the City of London, involved in blood and confusion.

The care I have taken has, by the blessing of God, hitherto prevented the execution of their traitorous projects: the troops have been encamped all this summer; six regiments, though very necessary for the security of that kingdom, have been brought over from Ireland; the States General have given

given me assurances, that they would keep a considerable body of forces in a readiness to embark, on the first notice of their being wanted here; which was all I desired of them, being determined not to put my people to any more expense than what was absolutely necessary for their peace and security.

Some of the conspirators have been taken up, and secured; and endeavours are used for the apprehending others.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having thus, in general, laid before you the state of the present conspiracy, I must leave to your consideration what is proper and necessary to be done for the quiet and safety of the kingdom: I cannot but believe the hopes and expectations of our enemies are very ill grounded, in flattering themselves that the late discontents, occasioned by private losses and misfortunes, however industriously and maliciously fomented, are turned into disaffection and a spirit of rebellion.

Had I, since my accession to the throne, ever attempted any innovation in our established religion; had I, in any one instance, invaded the liberty or property of my subjects; I should less wonder at any endeavours to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into measures that can end in nothing but their own destruction.

But to hope to persuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for slavery, the protestant religion for popery, and to sacrifice at once the price of so much blood and treasure as have been spent in defence of our present establishment, seems an insatiation not to be accounted for: but, however vain and unsuccessful these desperate projects may prove in the end, they have at present so far the desired effect, as to create uneasiness and diffidence in the minds of my people, which our enemies labour to improve to their own advantage: by forming plots, they depreciate all property that is vested in the public funds, and then complain of the low state of credit: they make an increase of the national expenses necessary, and then clamour at the burden of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my government, as grievances, the mischiefs and calamities which they alone create and occasion.

I wish for nothing more than to see the public expenses lessened; and the great national debt put in a method of being gradually reduced and discharged, with a strict regard to parliamentary faith: and a more favourable opportunity could never have been hoped for, than the state of profound peace which we now enjoy with all our neighbours; but public credit

dit will always languish under daily alarms and apprehensions of public danger; and, as the enemies of our peace have been able to bring this immediate mischief upon us, nothing can prevent them from continuing to subject the nation to new and constant difficulties and distresses, but the wisdom, zeal, and vigorous resolutions, of this Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the accounts to be made up, and laid before you, of the extraordinary charge that has been incurred this summer, for the defence and safety of the kingdom; and I have been particularly careful not to direct any expense to be made, greater or sooner, than was of absolute necessity.

I have, likewise, ordered estimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the service of the year ensuing; and I hope the further provisions which the reasonable practices of our enemies have made necessary for our common safety, may be ordered with such frugality, as very little to exceed the supplies of the last year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I need not tell you of what infinite concern it is to the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, that this Parliament should, upon this occasion, exert themselves with a more than ordinary zeal and vigour: an entire union among all that sincerely wish well to the present establishment, is now become absolutely necessary; our enemies have too long taken advantage from your differences and dissensions. Let it be known that the spirit of popery, which breathes nothing but confusion to the civil and religious rights of a protestant church and kingdom, however abandoned some few may be, in despite of all obligations, divine and human, has not so far possessed my people, as to make them ripe for such a fatal change: let the world see that the general disposition of the nation is no invitation to foreign powers to invade us, nor encouragement to domestic enemies to kindle a civil war in the bowels of the kingdom: your own interest and welfare call upon you to defend yourselves. I shall wholly rely upon the Divine protection, the support of my Parliament, and the affections of my people; which I shall endeavour to preserve, by steadily adhering to the constitution, in church and state, and continuing to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all my actions.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, Oct. 16, 1722:

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects; the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled; beg leave to return our humble thanks to your Majesty, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

It is with hearts full of joy we approach your sacred person, to congratulate your Majesty, that, by the blessing of God, the designs of your enemies have hitherto been happily frustrated and disappointed.

We cannot sufficiently acknowledge your Majesty's care and vigilance, and the wise and prudent measures you have taken for our safety, in ordering the encampment of the troops, and sending for such others from Ireland, as were thought further necessary, for the peace and quiet of this kingdom: and it is the greatest satisfaction to us to see the readiness of your Majesty's good friends and allies, the States General, to assist you with a good body of forces, if there had been occasion.

But, among all the steps taken for the safety of your Majesty and the kingdom, none can possibly equal that of the speedy calling your loyal Commons together in Parliament, who are met, determined, with the utmost unanimity and zeal, to do every thing in their power for the preservation of your Majesty's most sacred person: nor can less be expected from the gratitude and affection of a free people, sensible that, through the whole course of your reign, no innovation has been attempted in our holy religion, nor the least encroachment made upon the liberty or property of any of your subjects; and that the full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them is entirely owing to your Majesty's government.

Though the enemies to our happy establishment should have malice and boldness enough still to be carrying on their traitorous designs, yet we are persuaded that all uneasiness and apprehensions will vanish, when your faithful Commons assure your Majesty that they will enable you effectually to suppress all remaining spirit of rebellion.

If neither the sacred obligation of the most solemn oaths, nor the certain misery they must bring upon their country, who would attempt to overturn this government, can deter them from such desperate undertakings; if there be any of your Majesty's subjects who are so abandoned as to be ready to exchange the protestant religion for popery, and liberty for slavery;

slavery; yet we hope the vigorous resolutions of a loyal and dutiful Parliament will convince them of the danger, as well as folly, of such an attempt, and shew the whole world that the generality and best part of your people are so far from giving any invitation to foreign powers to invade us, that they will, with their lives and fortunes, support your Majesty against all your enemies at home and abroad.

We cannot, therefore, express too great an abhorrence of such unnatural practices, nor too great an indignation against those who would have made the capital of this flourishing kingdom a scene of blood and desolation. Wicked men! whilst they have the malice to revile your government, and attempt to overturn it, at the same time, have the insolence to depend upon the clemency of it for their security; while they are endeavouring to destroy all liberty, they are clamouring, that a few of them are, for the public safety, confined; whilst they are attempting to destroy all property, they are murmuring at the necessary taxes given to your Majesty for the security of it; and whilst they act against all law themselves, they trust, and are confident, that, even in their own cases, the laws of the realm will be the rule and measure of your actions.

We beg leave to acknowledge, with great gratitude, your Majesty's goodness, in assuring us, that notwithstanding the traitorous practices of your enemies have made the increase of the annual expense necessary, yet care will be taken, that the supplies to be asked for the year ensuing shall very little exceed what was given for the service of the last:

And we assure your Majesty, that we will not only make good the extraordinary expenses that have been already incurred, but will, with all cheerfulness, grant whatever shall be necessary for the safety of the kingdom; being entirely convinced, that we can by no other means restore public credit, and enable ourselves to attempt the gradual reduction of the great national debt, with a strict regard to parliamentary faith, than by doing every thing in our power for the support of your Majesty's government and our happy establishment in your royal family.

And we do, with all humility, return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious declaration, on which we entirely rely, that your Majesty will steadily adhere to our constitution, in church and state; and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of your actions.

His Majesty's Answer, October 18, 1722.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and loyal address: the seasonable declarations of your zeal and affection to my person and government will, I doubt not, contribute very much to the tranquillity and safety of the kingdom; and as I shall always look upon my own and the interest of my people to be inseparable, you may be assured I shall make no use of any power or confidence that my faithful Commons shall place in me, but in support of the constitution, and in maintenance of the rights and liberties of my people.

Joint Address by both Houses of Parliament, November 17, 1722.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, being deeply affected with the sense of those many blessings which we have constantly enjoyed, and hope long to enjoy, under your Majesty's most just and gracious government; and being thoroughly convinced that our religious and civil rights, as well as the very being of the British name and constitution, do, under God, entirely depend upon the preservation of your Majesty's sacred person, and of the protestant succession, as settled by law, in your royal line, are filled with the utmost astonishment and indignation at the unexampled presumption and arrogance of the Pretender to your dominions, in daring to offer such an indignity to your Majesty and the British nation, as to declare to your subjects, and to all foreign princes and states, that he finds himself in a condition to offer terms to your Majesty; and even to capitulate with you for the absolute surrender of the religion and liberties of a free nation.

However great the infatuation of his advisers may be, we are sensible nothing could have raised his and their hopes to so extravagant a degree of presumption, but repeated encouragements and assurances from the conspirators at home, founded on the most injurious and gross misrepresentations of the inclinations and affections of your Majesty's subjects; and a rash conclusion, that because some, from whom it ought least to have been expected, had broke through the solemn restraint of reiterated oaths, in order to raise themselves on the ruins of
their

their country, therefore the whole body of the nation was ripe for the same fatal defection; and ready to exchange the mild and legal government of a most indulgent prince, for the boundless rage of an attainted fugitive, bred up in maxims of tyranny and superstition.

But we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, resolve, by a steady and constant adherence to your government, to wipe off this stain and imputation from the name of Britons, and to convince the world, that those wicked designs formed against your Majesty's sacred person and government, which the insolence of this declaration proves to be most real, while it affects to treat them as imaginary, are indeed impracticable against a Prince relying on, and supported by the vigour and duty of a British Parliament, and the affections of his people.

And we beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to assure your Majesty, that neither the impotent menace of foreign assistance, nor the utmost efforts of domestic traitors, shall ever deter us from standing by your Majesty with our lives and fortunes, and supporting your Majesty's most just title to the crown of these realms against the Pretender and all his open and secret abettors, both at home and abroad.

His Majesty's Answer, November 19, 1722.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I GIVE you many thanks for the just resentment you have expressed against the indignity offered to me and the British nation.

I shall continue to protect and support my good people in the full enjoyment of their religion, liberties, and property, against all that shall endeavour to subject them to tyranny and superstition.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, March 18, 1723.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do humbly beg leave to approach your royal person, with hearts full of concern and horror for the detestable conspiracy formed against your person and government.

We lament, with indignation, that any of our fellow subjects, who enjoy, in common with us, the many and signal

blessings of your Majesty's mild and just administration, should so far give themselves up to delusion as to conspire against public liberty, against their own security, and against the only bulwark of all that is dear and valuable, your Majesty's person, and the protestant succession in your royal family.

We see with astonishment, that persons of figure and distinction, who ought to have been the best judges, and most zealous defenders, of your beneficent and mild reign, by which alone their fortunes and dignities can be made secure, should be so far infatuated as to head and abet a monstrous conspiracy to destroy your Majesty, their country, and themselves; that honour, faith, and the most solemn ties of religion, should be violated in favour of a popish fugitive, known only for his blind bigotry and attachment to Rome.

As we have, with sensible sorrow and just resentment, discovered these vile practices, so will we take care that the wicked authors may not, by any contrivance or practice whatsoever, escape punishment, but that all conspirators may, by the justice of Parliament, be for ever hereafter deterred from engaging in such traitorous attempts.

We congratulate your Majesty, and all your good subjects, that you have escaped the black and unnatural designs of the worst of men, and that Almighty God has, by this happy discovery, given you, and your royal family, a fresh instance of his singular care and protection.

For us, your faithful Commons, who feel, with joy and gratitude, the inestimable blessings of your reign, who are sensible of the glorious advantages of liberty, and of the protestant religion, and have in abhorrence the miseries and slavery inseparable from popery and a popish government;

We will stand by your Majesty, and effectually support your government, at the hazard and expense of our lives and fortunes:

We will maintain and defend your Majesty's rightful and lawful title to the crown of these realms, and endeavour to transmit to latest posterity this happy, free, and ancient constitution.

His Majesty's Answer, March 22, 1723.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address: it is agreeable to the many instances of zeal and affection to me, which you have upon every occasion expressed: the just resentment and indignation you have shewn against this con-

conspiracy, will, I doubt not, give entire satisfaction to all that sincerely wish well to our present establishment, encourage the friends to my government, and deter the enemies of our common peace from renewing these rash and desperate attempts.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 9, 1724.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT open this session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year, for the safety, interest, and honour of the kingdom: the rise of public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people, are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions: it is to be hoped, that the few examples which were made of some notorious offenders, will be sufficient to deter the most dissipated from engaging in the like desperate and wicked practices: the augmentation you thought fit to make to our national forces, by sea and land, has not only secured the general quiet of the kingdom against any sudden attempts or insurrections, but has also given me such weight and credit in all foreign negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the preservation of the peace of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I will order the proper officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the current year: I desire such supplies only as you shall find absolutely necessary for preserving the peace of the kingdom, and for the security of my people; and those, I hope, may be raised, without laying any additional charge or burden on my subjects. •

I must, in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the kingdom, as the most national concern you can possibly take into your consideration: I am persuaded it must be a very great satisfaction to all my faithful subjects, to see the sinking fund improved and augmented, and the debt of the nation thereby put into a method of being so much the sooner gradually reduced, and paid off: it would be a work truly worthy of a British Parliament, to begin this commendable undertaking, and to make such a progress therein, as, with a strict regard to public faith, and private property, may pave the way to this great and desirable end. •

My Lords and Gentlemen, •

In the present happy situation of our affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make use of the

the opportunity which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in considering of such further laws as may be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for the exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the nation.

I am fully satisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy ; and that the grandeur of the crown consists in their prosperity : and I am as fully persuaded, that all who wish well to their country must agree with me, that it is the vainest of all delusions to imagine, that the religion, laws, and liberties, of this kingdom can ever be secured, but by supporting the present establishment, and maintaining the succession in the protestant line.

Let us therefore heartily join in every thing that may tend to promote our mutual happiness ; and to extinguish the hopes of those who long have been, and still are, restless in their endeavours to subject this nation to the whole train of miseries that are inseparable from popery, arbitrary power

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Jan. 10, 1724.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon your safe and happy return into these kingdoms ; and most humbly desire your Majesty to accept the unfeigned thanks of this House for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne. As your Majesty is pleased to found the grandeur of your crown in the security of the liberties of your people, and your glory in promoting their prosperity ; so they, in return, must be excited, by all the ties of duty and gratitude, to build their happiness upon the firm and unshaken principles of loyalty and affection to your Majesty's most sacred person and government.

It is the greatest satisfaction to your Majesty's faithful Commons, to find that the loyalty of their resolutions, and the justice of their proceedings, in the last session of parliament, have been attended with all the happy consequences they expected from them, and now have been rewarded with your Majesty's royal approbation.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall readily and cheerfully raise all such supplies as shall be necessary to support the honour of your Majesty's government, and secure the tranquillity of these kingdoms.

We

We are highly sensible of your Majesty's goodness to all your people, in recommending, particularly at this time, to our consideration the public debts of the kingdom; which are so heavy a load, and so much a national concern, that we should be wanting to ourselves, if we did not assure your Majesty, that we will use our utmost endeavours to improve and augment the sinking fund, and thereby put the national debt into a method of being gradually reduced and paid without any violation of public faith, or infringement of private property; and, as your Majesty is pleased to encourage our attempting so great and noble a design, so we are fully persuaded that the wisdom and steadiness of your Majesty's government will enable us to perfect this great undertaking.

We assure your Majesty, that we know of no other safety, under God, for our trade and wealth, liberty and property, religious and civil rights, but the security of your Majesty's most sacred person and government, and the succession in your royal house; which we will always support and maintain against any traitorous attempt whatsoever; being truly sensible of the blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's most gracious and happy government, which has hitherto preserved us from all those miseries experience has taught us are inseparable from popery and arbitrary power.

His Majesty's Answer, January 13, 1724.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and loyal address: the wisdom and resolution of this Parliament have principally contributed to our present happy situation; and the perseverance of my faithful Commons, with the same zeal and unanimity, in the dispatch of the public business, will be the surest means of improving this favourable opportunity to the best advantage, for the honor and interest of the kingdom.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 12, 1724.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM persuaded you share with me in the satisfaction I feel at the prosperous situation of affairs: peace with all powers abroad, at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights, are most distinguishing marks of the favour and protection of the divine Providence: and these, with all their happy consequences, will,

I doubt not, by the blessing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

The same provision by sea and land, for the defence and safety of the nation, will continue to make us respected abroad, and, consequently, secure at home: the same attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, will establish credit upon the strongest basis; and raise such a spirit of industry, as will not only enable us gradually to discharge the national debt, but will likewise greatly increase the wealth, power, and influence of this kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to prepare, and lay before you, estimates of the expenses for the service of the ensuing year: and as they do not exceed what has been found, by experience, to be absolutely necessary for the security of the kingdom, I make no question but I shall have your ready concurrence in raising the supplies, in such manner as shall be most easy to my people.

There is one thing that I cannot but mention to you, as deserving your particular consideration: it is too manifest, that the funds established for the finishing the works at Greenwich hospital, and providing for a competent number of seamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be sufficient to answer the expenses of this great and necessary work: it is therefore very much to be wished, that some method could be found out to make a further provision for a comfortable support to our seamen, worn out in the service of their country, and labouring under old age and infirmities.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You must all be sensible how much our present happiness is owing to your union and steady conduct: it is therefore wholly unnecessary to recommend to you unanimity and dispatch in all your deliberations: the zeal and abilities you have on all occasions shewn, in supporting the interest of your country, even under the greatest difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my having your entire and effectual concurrence in every thing that can tend to the service of the public, and to the good of my people.

Address

Address by the House of Commons to the King, Nov. 13, 1724.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty the thanks of this House for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne: and, as your Majesty's fatherly tenderness for your people, and the unspeakable comforts of an easy government, demand the sincerest tribute of duty, your Majesty's faithful Commons do now offer to your Majesty the most unfeigned assurances of gratitude and loyalty, with that becoming zeal and affection that is particularly requisite at this time.

We beg leave to congratulate with your Majesty on the prosperous situation of affairs at home and abroad; a subject not only of content, but of joy: and we should be wanting to ourselves, and insensible of our own necessity, if we did not feel the same satisfaction in reaping the fruits of your Majesty's great wisdom, that your Majesty hath in employing it to direct and guide us to our own happiness.

Peace with all powers abroad, plenty and tranquillity at home, with a full and quiet enjoyment of every thing that is dear and valuable to us, are peculiar marks of your Majesty's government; which, that they may be for ever remembered, this House will use their utmost endeavours, by the Divine assistance, to transmit the happy consequences of these blessings to the latest posterity, as monuments to futurity of the glories of your Majesty's reign.

To support the interest and credit of our country, is to pay the most acceptable obedience to your Majesty: and therefore this House will proceed, with all cheerfulness and dispatch, in raising such supplies as shall be necessary for the honour and safety of the nation: we will labour to discharge gradually the national debt by the improvement of the public revenues; to increase our wealth by the advancement of our trade; and to establish our strength by the encouragement of our navigation; and are ready heartily to assist your Majesty in every thing that shall tend to the security and grandeur of your Majesty, and your kingdoms.

His Majesty's Answer, November 16, 1724.

Gentlemen, \

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address: and I never made any doubt, but that, whenever the honour and interest of the kingdom called upon you, I should meet with the same returns of duty and fidelity, and the same proofs of your affection and zeal for my service, as I have hitherto experienced upon all occasions. . .

Message from his Majesty, February 9, 1725.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having reason to apprehend, that the suitors of the Court of Chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged, in justice and compassion to the said suitors, to take the most speedy and proper methods the law would allow, for inquiring into the state of the master's accounts, and securing their effects, for the benefit of the suitors: and his Majesty having had several reports laid before him, in pursuance of the directions he had given, has ordered the said reports to be communicated to this House, that this House may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings would admit of.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, Feb. 10, 1725.

GEORGE REX.

THE commissioners for building fifty new churches in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, having represented to his Majesty, that, in pursuance of several acts of Parliament already made for that purpose, one church hath been for some time finished and consecrated; and three chapels have been converted into parish churches, and also consecrated; and that seven other churches are built, or building, and nearly finished; for which eleven churches, convenient districts have been also laid out, and appointed to be the parishes respectively belonging to the same; and his Majesty, being truly sensible of the great necessity there
is

is of new churches, and of new divisions of parishes, in and about the said cities and suburbs, and very desirous to provide for the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of all his subjects; and being also firmly persuaded, that nothing will more effectually engage Almighty God to send down his blessing upon his crown and people, than a due zeal for the honour and service of religion; has thought fit to recommend to the House of Commons, in an especial manner, the providing a suitable maintenance for the ministers who shall be appointed to perform divine service in the eleven churches aforesaid, by such ways as may effectually answer the ends aforesaid, according to his Majesty's royal purpose and desire.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
April 8, 1729*

GEORGE REX.

THE necessities of his Majesty's government having rendered it impracticable for his Majesty to make any considerable retrenchments in the expenses of his civil list; and having engaged his Majesty in some extraordinary expenses, which, he is persuaded, his loyal Commons will believe, have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the crown, but for the interest and prosperity of his people; his Majesty hopes, from the known zeal and affection of this Parliament to his person and government, that he may be enabled to make use of the funds lately settled for the payment of the civil list annuities; and for replacing the same to his Majesty in the most advantageous manner; and, upon the credit thereof, to raise a sum of money sufficient to redeem those annuities, and to discharge the present debts contracted in his civil government.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 20, 1726.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE had such frequent experience of the wisdom and zeal of this Parliament, on many important occasions, that it is with pleasure I now meet you again; and I make no doubt but that your endeavours for the good and service of your country will be as successful as they have hitherto been.

The distressed condition of some of our protestant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements entered into by some foreign powers, which seem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten my subjects

subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, obliged me, without any loss of time, to concert with other powers, such measures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who are endeavouring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop to the farther progress of such dangerous designs: for these ends, I have entered into a defensive alliance with the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia, to which several other powers, and particularly the States General, have been invited to accede; and I have not the least reason to doubt of their concurrence; this treaty shall, in a short time, be laid before you.

By these means, and by your support and assistance, I trust in God I shall be able not only to secure to my own subjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges, long since acquired for them by the most solemn treaties, but effectually to preserve the peace and balance of Europe; the only view and end of all my endeavours.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the service of this year to be prepared and laid before you; which, from an unwillingness I always have to put my subjects to an extraordinary expense, by any unnecessary precautions, are formed upon the foot of employing no greater number of forces than was thought necessary the last year: for which, if the supplies you give shall be fully and effectually raised, I shall be enabled to have a strong fleet at sea, early in the spring, if the posture of affairs shall at any time make it necessary to augment our maritime force: I confide so entirely in the zeal and affection of my Parliament, that I assure myself you will enable me to make such an addition to the number of seamen as shall be found requisite.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is not to be doubted but the enemies to my government will conceive hopes, that some favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts may offer, from the prospect of new troubles and commotions: they are already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries, in those courts whose measures seem most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the Pretender: but I persuade myself, notwithstanding the countenance and encouragement they may have received, or flatter themselves with, the provision you shall make for the safety and defence of the kingdom, will effectually secure us from any attempts from abroad, and render all such projects vain and abortive,

When

When the world shall see, that you will not suffer the British crown and nation to be menaced and insulted, those who most envy the present happiness and tranquillity of this kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us subservient to their ambition, will consider their own interest and circumstances before they make any attempt upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by prudent and powerful alliances; and, though desirous to preserve the peace, able and ready to defend themselves against the efforts of all aggressors. Such resolutions, and such measures, timely taken, I am satisfied, are the most effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us the blessings of peace and prosperity.

Address by the House of Commons January 21, 1726.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave most unfeignedly to congratulate your Majesty's safe and happy arrival in these kingdoms: nothing can equal the dread and anxiety which filled the breast of your good people, whilst your Majesty's sacred person was exposed to the perils of ~~respectable~~ seas, but the universal joy that was instantly diffused throughout the kingdom, upon the welcome news of your Majesty's being safely landed on the British shore.

We return your Majesty our humblest thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and cannot sufficiently acknowledge your Majesty's great attention and care for the preservation of the peace and prosperity of this nation, and the general tranquillity of Europe.

The tender regard and compassion, which your Majesty has expressed for the distressed protestants abroad, will give great satisfaction to all, whose profession of the same religion must inspire them with a just resentment of the injuries and persecutions which they suffer for the sake of it.

Your Majesty's vigilance in watching over, and disconcerting, the ambitious views and designs of those that are endeavouring to render themselves formidable; your wisdom in early forming, and entering into alliances with powers best able to withstand the common danger, and to put a stop to the further progress of the negotiations carrying on by other powers; and your particular concern for the trade and commerce of these nations; call upon us for all possible returns of duty and gratitude:

And

And that your Majesty's unwearied endeavours for the particular interests of your own subjects of these kingdoms, and for preventing a war, may have their desired effect, we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Commons, promise and assure your Majesty, that we will, with the greatest cheerfulness, unanimity, and dispatch, so effectually raise the supplies for this year, that your Majesty may be enabled to have a strong fleet at sea, early in the spring, sufficient to protect and defend the kingdom; to disappoint the hopes of the enemies to your Majesty's government; and resent any insults and attempts that may be vainly projected and undertaken.

It is not to be wondered at, that, in the low state to which the affairs of the Pretender are reduced, his emissaries and instruments should be waiting for every opportunity that has the appearance of being favourable to their languishing cause; and, as they have been very busy in foreign courts, the disaffected and discontented here have not been less industrious, by false rumours and suggestions, to fill the minds of the people with groundless fears and alarms, in order to affect the public credit; and, by distressing the government, give encouragement to the enemies of our peace:

But we promise ourselves, that the prudence, temper, and resolution, of those that truly consult their own interest, and wish well to their country, will, on the one hand, prevent and obviate the mischiefs, that, by too great credulity, and vain fears, they may bring upon themselves: and, on the other hand, we are determined to convince the world, that if those, who most envy our present happiness and tranquillity, shall so far presume upon the just sense and value we have for these inestimable blessings, as still to pursue their desperate measures; how desirous soever we may be of peace, we will not suffer your Majesty, and the British nation, to be insulted; but that we will, to the utmost of our power, as the exigency and necessity of affairs shall require, stand by and support your Majesty against all attempts to disturb the public repose.

His Majesty's Answer, January 24, 1726.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address: I make no doubt but you will soon be sensible of the good effects of this seasonable vigour and resolution: you may be assured, that I will make no use of the confidence you repose in me, but for preserving to us the blessings of peace; and for promoting the honour and interest of this nation.

Address

Address by the House of Commons, February 18, 1726.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your great goodness in communicating to us the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of Spain; and the defensive alliance between your Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia.

The engagements which your Majesty has entered into, by the said defensive alliance with the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain, and to preserve the many valuable rights and privileges of this nation against the fatal tendency of the said treaty of commerce, calculated for the entire destruction of the chief branches of the British trade, and in breach of the several solemn treaties now in force, call upon us to express our most unfeigned and grateful sense of your Majesty's concern for the preservation of the balance and peace of Europe, the protestant religion, and the particular interest of your Majesty's subjects.

And when we reflect upon your Majesty's prudence and resolution, in not letting any attempts or insinuations whatsoever divert you from consulting, and steadily pursuing the good and welfare of these your kingdoms, we think ourselves obliged, by the strongest ties of duty and affection, to assure your Majesty, that we will, in justice, and vindication of the honour and dignity of the British crown, stand by and support your Majesty, against all insults and attacks that any prince or power, in resentment of the just measures which your Majesty has so wisely taken, shall make upon any of your Majesty's territories or dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain.

His Majesty's Answer, February 21, 1726.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me: your assurances not to suffer my foreign dominions to be exposed or insulted, on account of the measures I have taken for the interest of these kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe: I have no views of ambition to gratify:

I have no thoughts of aggrandizing myself, or extending any parts of my dominions at the hazard and expense of the other: and, as my honour is the common cause and concern of my subjects, their particular interests shall, upon all occasions, be my constant care.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, March 24, 1726.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty, having nothing more at heart than an earnest desire to secure to his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation; and, in the best manner, to prevent and frustrate such designs as have been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe; has found it necessary, not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert such other measures as may most effectually conduce to these desirable ends: and, as these services will require ~~an~~ extraordinary expense, his Majesty hopes he shall be enabled, by the assistance of Parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year; and to enter into, and make good such engagements, as the circumstances and exigency of affairs may require.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 24, 1726.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE ordered my Lord Chancellor to declare to you, in my name and words, the reasons of my coming this day to Parliament.

And the Lord Chancellor acquainted both Houses, that he had received from his Majesty's hands, from the throne, his Majesty's speech to both Houses of Parliament; which the Lord Chancellor read; and is as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT, in justice to you, put an end to this session without returning you my hearty thanks for the many instances you have given me of your duty and affection to my person and government: and of your zeal to maintain the honour and true interest of this kingdom.

The spirit and resolution you have shewn on this important occasion, when our most valuable rights and privileges have
been

been struck at, are highly becoming the weight and authority of a British Parliament; and the steps which have been taken abroad, in support of the measures entered into against this nation, must convince every body of your wisdom and prudence, in endeavouring to put an early stop to the further progress of them: I hope the precautions you have enabled me to take, will be sufficient, in conjunction with my allies, to defeat the designs which have been formed against us; and that the promoters of them, when they have fully weighed their own circumstances, and better considered those of the several powers united in defence of the tranquillity and liberties of Europe, will find it their own interest to preserve the peace, and think it most safe and prudent to desist from their dangerous schemes.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the supplies which you have so cheerfully and effectually raised; and you may be assured, that they shall be faithfully applied to the uses for which you intended them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The constant employment of my thoughts, and the most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the securing to my subjects their just rights and advantages; and to the preserving to them, and to all Europe, the enjoyment of a safe and honourable peace: and I must not conclude without giving you the strongest assurances, that the particular confidence you have placed in me, shall be made use of in such manner only, as may most effectually conduce to the attaining those good and great purposes.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 17, 1727.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I ACQUAINTED you, last year, with the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of Spain. As that sudden and unaccountable conjunction gave, at the first appearance, just grounds of jealousy and apprehension to the neighbouring powers of Europe; the subsequent proceedings and transactions in those two courts, and the secret and offensive alliances concluded between them about the same time, have laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power; and are so directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of this nation, that we must determine, either tamely to submit to the peremptory and unjust demands of the King of Spain, in giving up Gibraltar,

braltar, and patiently to acquiesce in the Emperor's usurped and extended exercise of trade and commerce; or must resolve to be in a condition to do ourselves justice, and to defend our undoubted rights, against these reciprocal engagements entered into in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties.

I have likewise received informations from different parts, on which I can entirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom is one of the articles of the secret engagements: and if time shall evince, that the giving up the trade of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Portmahon to another, is made the price and reward of imposing upon this kingdom a popish Pretender; what an indignation must this raise in the breast of every protestant Briton!

Nor were these fatal combinations confined to those parts of the world alone; but they extended themselves into Russia: and had not the designs of that court against some of their neighbours been prevented by the seasonable arrival of our fleet in those seas, a way had been opened for invading these kingdoms, and giving a powerful assistance to any attempt to be made from other quarters.

Such circumstances would not suffer me, and my allies, among whom there has been, and is, the most perfect harmony, union, and concert, to be idle spectators, and regardless of our own safety, and the common cause of Europe: for which purpose, his most Christian Majesty has been at a great expense this last year, in augmenting his forces; and the States General, sensible of the imminent danger, have not only acceded to the defensive alliance concluded at Hanover, but have come to strong and seasonable resolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces, both by sea and land: the accession of the crown of Sweden is in such a forwardness, and the negotiations with the crown of Denmark are so far advanced, that we may reasonably depend upon the success and good effect of them.

This short view of the present posture of affairs will, I am confident, not only secure to me the support and assistance of my Parliament in carrying on this great and necessary work, in conjunction with my allies, but justify the measures hitherto taken, and the expenses already made.

The confidence you reposed in me last year, has been made use of for the benefit of the public: and, as the chief article of exceedings has, by my equipping, and sending to sea, three considerable squadrons, fallen upon the head of the navy, I am persuaded the necessity of the services, and the security, advantage, and glory, that has accrued to this nation from those squadrons,

squadrons, will sufficiently speak for themselves, as long as both friends and foes, with joy or concern, confess they have seen and felt the effects of the naval power of Great Britain.

It is not to be wondered at, that the Princes engaged in these enterprizes are very much disturbed to see their projects rendered abortive: the King of Spain, impatient of the disappointments he has met with, can no longer disguise that enmity to us, which for some time he has only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare: he has now ordered his minister residing here to depart immediately from this country, leaving a memorial that is little short of a declaration of war; wherein he again demands and insists upon the restitution of Gibraltar: he does not himself deny the offensive alliance, nor his engagements to support the Ostend company: he makes my recalling those squadrons, which his conduct had put me under a necessity of sending to the West Indies, and the coast of Spain, the condition of any further correspondence between the two crowns; and supposing the continuance of my abode abroad to be actual hostilities, threatens to repel them with force, to the utmost of his power:

But, not content with these menaces, insults, and infractions of treaties, his Catholic Majesty is now making preparations to actually besiege Gibraltar: and, in order to carry on that service, or to cover another design, has assembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood: but as the present state and condition of that garrison, with the reinforcements I have ordered thither, give me little cause to apprehend, or my enemies to hope for, success in that undertaking; the certain and undoubted intelligence I have, that it is now resolved to attempt an invasion upon these kingdoms, in favour of the Pretender, by an embarkation from the coasts of Spain, gives me reason to believe, that, though the siege of Gibraltar may probably be undertaken, the public, avowed, and immense preparations made for that purpose are chiefly calculated to amuse the world, and to disguise the intended invasion; which I am finely informed, has been for some time agreed to be the first step and beginning of the long-premeditated rupture.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

These considerations must awaken in you all such a sense of our common and immediate danger, as, I doubt not, inspire you with a zeal and cheerfulness in raising the supplies necessary for the defence of your country, and for making good our engagements with our allies.

I received too much satisfaction from the happiness of my people in their full enjoyment and future prospect of peace, ease, and prosperity, not to be sensibly affected with these new convulsions; and the unavoidable necessity I am under of asking larger supplies of my people, and of desiring to be enabled to make such an augmentation of my forces, by sea and land, as the present exigency of affairs requires.

I will order the proper estimates to be laid before you, and such treaties as I have made with foreign princes for the hire of foreign troops: and as the expense I was last year, in a particular manner, entrusted to make, has amounted to no considerable sum, and the public utility may again require the like services to be performed, I hope you will again repose the same trust and confidence in me.

It is with great pleasure that I see the time so near approaching, when such a considerable addition will be made to the sinking fund: let all that wish well to the peace and quiet of my government, have the satisfaction to see, that our present necessities shall make no interruption in the progress of that desirable work of gradually discharging the national debt: I hope therefore you will make a provision for the immediate application of the produce of the sinking fund to the uses for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it now stands appropriated.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have had no thoughts of making any acquisitions to any parts of my dominions: my whole care and concern has been, to preserve and maintain the undoubted rights and privileges of my people: and therefore all my measures have been preventive and defensive: but, such endeavours being now rendered impracticable, vigorous resolutions, and a speedy execution of them, can alone put an effectual end to the dangers that surround us: however hazardous and desperate the enterprizes formed against us may appear to be; your being assured, that they are resolved upon, will, I am persuaded, be sufficient to prevail upon you to put yourselves in a condition to resist and defeat them.

If preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the possessions of the crown of Great Britain, of infinite advantage and security to our trade and commerce; if supporting that trade and commerce against dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if, the present establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people; are any longer considerations worthy of the care and attention of a British Parliament; I need say no more to incite my loyal and faithful Houses

Houses of Parliament to exert themselves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them.

Address to his Majesty by the Commons, January 18, 1727.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humblest thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The communication which your Majesty has been pleased to make of the proceedings and transactions in Europe for some time past, and of the engagements entered into between the Emperor and the King of Spain, is an instance of your Majesty's singular goodness, in being as desirous to give your people all reasonable satisfaction, as you have ever been solicitous for their good and welfare.

We are very sensible of the fatal tendency of the sudden and unaccountable conjunction between those two crowns: and as this nation has always looked with jealous eyes upon the very beginning of every attempt made by their neighbours to establish a commerce, at the hazard and to the prejudice of our own rights and privileges; we cannot but be greatly alarmed to see those encroachments upon our trade, and notorious infractions of treaties, accompanied with a scheme of greatness that lays the foundation of a most exorbitant power; which, if not timely opposed, and withstood with vigour and resolution, may become formidable to all Europe, and enable the aggressors, without controul, to maintain their unwarrantable attempts:

Nor can we at all doubt of the spirit and design of this new friendship and alliance, when we see it cemented, by mutual obligations, for supporting one of the contracting powers in the unjustifiable and usurped exercise of the Ostend trade, at the same time, that a peremptory demand is made and insisted upon, by the other, for the restitution of Gibraltar; a place of such importance to the trade of this kingdom:

But the consideration that creates the highest resentment in your faithful Commons, is, to see that, whosoever the ambition of foreign princes leads them to aspire and grasp at exorbitant power, or to acquire, and possess themselves of, any valuable rights and privileges belonging to the subjects of your Majesty, and your allies; all guarantees, and the most solemn engagements of faith and gratitude to your Majesty, purchased by the blood and treasure of this nation, are cancelled, and forgot;

and it is vainly imagined, that your Majesty must either tamely submit, and patiently acquiesce under the greatest indignities and injuries to your crown and people, or be insulted with menaces and projects in favour of a popish Pretender:

But your Majesty's loyal, faithful, and affectionate subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, sensible of the inestimable blessings they enjoy under your Majesty's most gracious and happy government, have too great a regard to the honour and dignity of your crown, and too much abhorrence and detestation of the abjured Pretender, to suffer these vain threats and terrors to have any ill effect upon their minds or deliberations.

It is with indignation that we see this injurious treatment, and these provoking insults; and it is with an unshaken fidelity and resolution that we are determined, with our lives and fortunes, to stand by and support your Majesty against all your enemies.

We must, at the same time, with all gratitude, acknowledge your Majesty's wisdom and vigilance, in strengthening yourself with the alliance of powers united in interest, and best able to withstand the impending danger, and to support the common cause of Europe: we see, with the greatest satisfaction, the naval power of Great Britain appearing, in distant regions, in its proper lustre, so usefully and wisely employed in early safety and protection to your own subjects, and to your allies; and to curb and restrain the boasted projects of the disturbers of the peace of Europe:

And, as we cannot but look upon the measures and resolutions concerted and taken in opposition to, and in defiance of, the most solemn treaties, as tending to an immediate rupture, we humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased forthwith to give the necessary orders for putting this kingdom into a posture of defence; and we assure your Majesty, that we will not only cheerfully and effectually raise the supplies necessary for the present exigency of affairs, but will support your Majesty in making good your engagements with your allies; in preserving the balance of power in Europe; in defending the present possessions of the crown of Great Britain; in supporting the trade of this nation against all unjustifiable and pernicious encroachments; and in defeating and confounding all attempts that shall be made in favour of the Pretender, and for the destruction of our religion, liberties, and properties:

And that all who wish well to the peace and quiet of your Majesty's government, may have the satisfaction to see, that our present necessities shall make no interruption in the progress of that desirable work of gradually discharging the national
 debt,

debt, we will consider of the most proper methods for immediately applying the produce of the sinking fund to the uses for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it stands now appropriated; and will repose such a trust and confidence in your Majesty as the public utility shall require, and as your Majesty shall find reasonable and necessary for carrying on the great work in which your Majesty is engaged, for the interest and security of your people, and the common cause of Europe.

His Majesty's Answer, January 20, 1727.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this very dutiful and loyal address. The just sense you have expressed of the present posture of affairs in Europe, and the hearty assurances you have given me of your support, in defending my possessions, and the rights and privileges of my people, as they are evidences of your known zeal and affection to my person and government, I am persuaded they will confirm the spirit and vigour of my allies; and convince my enemies how vain and ill-grounded all their expectations are of being able to succeed in any attempts to disturb the peace of Europe, and in offering injuries and insults to this nation.

Address by both Houses to his Majesty, March 14, 1727.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WHE, your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, think it our indispensable duty to express the highest resentment at the affront and indignity offered to your most sacred Majesty, by the memorial delivered by Mons. de Palm, the Emperor's resident; and at his insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom.

This audacious manner of appealing to the people against your Majesty, under the pretext of applying to you for redress and reparation of supposed injuries; and turning a memorial presented to your Majesty, into a seditious libel, is a proceeding that creates in us the utmost abhorrence and detestation.

The endeavouring to instil into the minds of any of your faithful subjects the least distrust, or dissidence, in your Majesty's most sacred royal word, or to make a distinction between your Majesty and your people, is an attempt as vain as

presumptuous; for, by your goodness, the interest of your Majesty and your people is but one; and as inseparable as their duty, affection, and confidence in your Majesty, are most justly and deservedly unalterable; and, if time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important succours, confessed to have been received from Great Britain, gratitude, affection, and esteem for this nation, will be best manifested by doing honour to the King, whom the people honour; and justice to the people, whose rights and privileges the best of Kings is now defending against the invasions and encroachments made upon them.

We return your Majesty our sincerest thanks for your care and vigilance in discovering the secret and pernicious designs of your and our enemies; and for your goodness in communicating to your Parliament the dangers that threatened this kingdom:

And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that no amusements, by artful or evasive denials, shall lead us into a false security; or divert us from exerting ourselves in vindication of your Majesty's honour, and in defending and supporting your Majesty against all your open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad:

And if any, among your own subjects, have been so wicked as to countenance, encourage, or abet the disturbers of the public tranquillity, in this extravagant insult upon your Majesty; or flattered them with hopes, that an obstinate perseverance in their destructive measures could stagger the firmness of the British nation; we are resolved effectually to defeat all such groundless expectations; and to convince the world, that the intrigues of a few cannot, in any degree, abate or slacken that vigour and resolution with which a true love and concern for our country, a just sense of its interests, and an unshaken loyalty to your Majesty, have inspired us.

His Majesty's Answer, March 17, 1727.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOUR unanimous concurrence in this dutiful and affectionate address gives me the greatest satisfaction: the just concern you express for my honour, and the dignity of the crown, is very becoming a British Parliament; and this fresh proof of your confidence in me will convince the world, that all attempts to divide our hearts and interests will be vain and ineffectual.

His

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 15, 1727.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE ordered my Lord Chancellor to declare to you, in my name and words, the reasons of my coming this day to Parliament.

And thereupon his Lordship received from his Majesty's hands, from the throne, his Majesty's speech to both Houses of Parliament; which he read; and is as followeth; *viz.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I ACQUAINTED you, at the opening of this session, with the dangers which threatened this kingdom, and the peace and liberties of Europe: I am now to return you my thanks for the zeal and dispatch with which you have proceeded upon the several points I then recommended to your care; for the confidence you have reposed in me; and for the assurances you have given me of your support and assistance in vindication of my honour, and in the maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation, so openly and notoriously invaded and attacked.

The siege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all dispute, the end and design of the engagements entered into by the Emperor, and the King of Spain; but the preparations I had made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the rashness and folly of that undertaking: however, the love of peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation, to suspend, in some measure, my resentments; and, instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding of my allies that assistance which they are engaged, and ready to give me, I have concurred with the most Christian King, and the States General, in making such overtures of accommodation, as must convince all the world of the uprightness of our intentions, and of our sincere disposition to peace, and demonstrate to whole ambition, and thirst of power, the calamities of a war are to be imputed; in the mean time, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover; and that the convention between me, his most Christian Majesty, and the King of Denmark, is actually signed.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The vigour and cheerfulness you have shewn in raising so effectually, and upon such easy terms, the necessary supplies for

the service of the current year, are not only instances of your zeal and affection to me, but demonstrate the established credit, power, and strength of this kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It would have been a great satisfaction to me, if, before your separation, I had been able to speak to you more positively, and with greater certainty, upon the present posture and state of affairs: but as you have now dispatched the public business, and as the season of the year requires your going into your respective countries, I chuse rather to put an end to this session, than to keep you any longer together unnecessarily: the provisions you have made, and the perfect union and harmony between me and my allies, will, I hope, enable me, by the Divine assistance, either to withstand and defeat the designs of our enemies, if their conduct should bring upon us the necessity of a war: or to improve the blessings of peace, if peace can, with justice, honour, and security be obtained.

His Majesty GEORGE the SECOND's first Speech, June 28, 1727.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM persuaded, that you all share with me in my grief and affliction for the death of my late royal father: which, as it brings upon me the immediate care and weight of the government, adds very much to my concern, lest I should not be as successful in my endeavours, as I am above all things desirous, to make you a great and happy people.

I heartily wish, that this first solemn declaration of my mind in Parliament could sufficiently express the sentiments of my heart, and give you a perfect and just sense of my fixed resolution, by all possible means, to merit the love and affection of my people, which I shall always look upon as the best support and security of my crown.

And, as the religion, liberty, property, and a due execution of the laws, are the most valuable blessings of a free people, and the peculiar privileges of this nation, it shall be my constant care to preserve the constitution of this kingdom, as it is now happily established, in church and state, inviolable in all its parts, and to secure to all my subjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights.

I see, with great pleasure, the happy effects of that vigour and resolution which was exerted, in the last session of Parliament, for the defence of the rights and possessions of this nation, and for maintaining the tranquillity and balance of power

in Europe. The strict union and harmony, which has hitherto subsisted among the allies of the treaty of Hanover, has chiefly contributed to the near prospect of a general peace. I have, therefore, given all my allies the strongest assurances of pursuing the same measures, and of making good the engagements entered into by the crown of Great Britain.

The cheerfulness with which the supplies necessary for carrying on this great work were raised, making it but just that the public expense should be lessened, as soon as the circumstances of affairs will permit, I have already given orders for sending back some of the regiments brought from Ireland, and will proceed to reduce my forces, both by sea and land, as soon as it can be done without prejudice to the common cause, and consistent with the interest of my kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

You know very well, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil list revenues is now determined, and that it is necessary for you to make a new provision for the support of me and my family. I am confident it is needless for me in any particular manner to recommend to your care the consideration of what so nearly and personally concerns me; and I am persuaded, that the experience of past times, and a due regard to the honour and dignity of the crown, will prevail upon you to give me this first proof of your zeal and affection in a manner answerable to the necessities of my government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I recommend it to you to give all possible dispatch to such business as shall necessarily be brought before you; the season of the year, and the circumstances of time, requiring your presence in the country, and making it improper to carry this session into any great length.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, June 29, 1727.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, from a grateful sense and remembrance of the many blessings we enjoyed under the government of our late most gracious Sovereign, beg leave, in the most dutiful manner, to condole with your Majesty upon the death of your late royal father; a loss to this nation which your Majesty alone could possibly repair.

Your

Your immediate succession banished all our grief; and the uninterrupted continuance of the blessings we had long enjoyed, obliges us, with duty and gratitude, to acknowledge the just sense we have of our present and future happiness, and to beseech your Majesty to accept the sincere congratulations of your faithful Commons, upon your Majesty's happy accession to the throne of your royal ancestors.

Your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne requires a more than ordinary return of duty and thankfulness for that tender and paternal care, which you have been pleased to express of our religion, laws, and liberties, and for those ample assurances your Majesty has given us, inviolably to preserve the constitution of these kingdoms, as it is now happily established, in church and state, and to secure to all your subjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights; and, as these blessings are the most valuable and dear to a free people, and the peculiar privileges of this nation, we cannot enough admire your Majesty's goodness, and express our satisfaction, in this solemn declaration of your Majesty's resolution to make the good of your people your chief and constant care.

We congratulate your Majesty upon the preliminary articles being signed; and we see, with great pleasure, the beginning of your Majesty's reign attended with the happy prefaces of a general peace. The early assurances given by your Majesty to your allies, of pursuing the same measures as your late royal father had taken, and of making good the several engagements entered into by the crown of Great Britain, as they strengthen and cement that strict union and harmony which has hitherto subsisted among the allies of the treaty of Hanover, they confirm to us the hopes and near prospect of a general tranquillity upon terms honourable, safe, and advantageous to your Majesty, and all your allies.

The regard and concern which we had, and always shall have, for the defence of the rights and possessions of this nation, for vindicating the honour of our Sovereign, and for maintaining the due balance of power in Europe, engaged us, with cheerfulness, during the last session of Parliament, to grant the supplies necessary for the carrying on this great work; and no greater encouragement can possibly be given to us, than to see your Majesty so early beginning to lessen the public expenses, and resolving to reduce your forces, both by sea and land, as soon as it can be done without prejudice to the common cause, and consistent with the interest and safety of this nation.

These many and great instances of your Majesty's goodness, and concern for the happiness and welfare of your people, call
upon

upon us for the highest returns of duty, zeal, and affection to your Majesty's person and government; and, as we are fully convinced, that our * own interest and preservation are inseparable from your Majesty's, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, with our lives and fortunes, maintain and support your Majesty's undoubted right and title to the imperial crown of this realm, and all other your Majesty's dominions, against all attempts whatsoever.

And when we reflect on your Majesty's royal virtues, which promise us all the blessings that can flow from a mind truly great; when we consider the distinguished character of the Queen, your royal consort, and the additional happiness that descends to your people from her many princely qualities; and remember your numerous and hopeful issue, the lasting pledge and security of our happy establishment; that your Majesty's crown may sit with ease and glory on your head, we think ourselves indispensably obliged to assure your Majesty, that we will provide such a revenue for the occasions of your Majesty's civil government, as may be sufficient to support the honour and dignity of the crown in its proper and full lustre.

His Majesty's Answer, July 1, 1727.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. The resolutions of the Commons of Great Britain are every where so highly regarded, that I cannot but receive, with the greatest satisfaction, this unanimous declaration of your fidelity, zeal, and affection; and I will endeavour, by a steady care and concern for the interest and welfare of my people, to answer the expectations you have conceived of my government.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, July 6, 1727.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty, considering that the provision made for the Queen, his consort, in case she should survive his Majesty, is very insufficient to support her royal dignity, and that his Majesty is restrained, by the laws now in being, from increasing the same, thinks it necessary to recommend the making a further provision for the Queen to your consideration.

* *Sic. Orig.* "your," Journal.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, July 8, 1727.

GEORGE REX.

THE South Sea Company having address'd his Majesty in a dutiful manner, that he would be graciously pleas'd to condescend to be governor of the said Company, and his Majesty having been graciously pleas'd to accept the same; his Majesty recommends it to this House, to consider of proper methods to render the same effectual.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, July 17, 1727.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT but express the greatest satisfaction in the convincing proofs you have given me, in this session, of your duty and affection to my person, and zeal for my government.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must particularly thank you for your unanimity and dispatch in granting me the revenues necessary for the support of my family, and the occasions of my civil government; which you have done in a manner so very agreeable, and with such a due regard to the honour and dignity of the crown, that, if any thing could add to my own inclinations of making the happiness of my subjects my principal care and study, this instance of your particular confidence in me would engage me more strongly to make use of the power you have given me of doing good, in promoting the honour and interest of my people.

The ample provision you have made for the Queen, is another instance of your regard for me; which, I am confident, she will very well deserve, and I shall always acknowledge.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is a great happiness to me to see the nation in so prosperous and flourishing a condition, at the highest pitch of glory and reputation, of great weight in holding the balance of Europe, defending themselves in their just privileges and possessions, and vindicating the honour of the crown of Great Britain.

At home, I find among my protestant subjects such mutual charity and forbearance, diffused throughout the kingdom, that the national church repines not at the indulgence given to scrupulous consciences; and those that receive the benefits of the toleration, envy not the established church the rights and privileges which they by law enjoy.

From

From these happy causes, and favourable conjectures, has flowed that general tranquillity, that rise of public credit, and that improvement of trade and commerce which have greatly increased our wealth and power, and given us that respect and influence abroad which has so much advanced the glory and happiness of this nation.

But all these blessings, great and valuable as they are, had not been secured and transmitted to us, without your having carefully avoided all occasions of strife and division, without a strict regard to public faith, a constant care and attention towards discharging the national debt, and without that singular steadiness and resolution which this Parliament has shewed upon all proper and necessary occasions.

I can therefore make no doubt, but that your behaviour, and the temper you have shewn, will sufficiently recommend this Parliament to the esteem and good opinion of their country; who, from the same conduct, and by pursuing the same measures, may promise themselves all future prosperity.

The expiration of this Parliament now drawing near, I will give orders for issuing the writs, for calling and electing a new Parliament, as soon as it can conveniently be done; and I am persuaded, that, the general contest and emulation in expressions of duty and affection to me, which, to my great satisfaction, I have universally met with, will be further demonstrated by the choice of a Parliament, zealously affected to our present happy establishment in the protestant succession; and, in return, nothing shall be wanting on my part, that can contribute towards improving a good correspondence and harmony between me and my people, and that can tend to perfect, and perpetuate the happiness of Great Britain.

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, January 23, 1728.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that he will defer declaring the causes of his calling this Parliament, till the House of Commons have first of all a Speaker; and that therefore it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, repair to the place where you are to sit, and there proceed to the choice of a proper person to be your Speaker; and that you, present such person, whom you shall so chuse, here on Saturday next, at one o'clock, for his Majesty's royal approbation,

Speech

*Speech by Mr. Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons,
January 27, 1728.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having received your Majesty's commands to make choice of one of their members, to be presented to your Majesty, for their Speaker, have, in pursuance thereof, and according to their ancient right, proceeded to an election, and their choice, Sir, is fallen on me for that important trust ; but how proper a choice, is now with your Majesty to judge ; and happy, Sir, is it for your Commons, that your Majesty's disapprobation will give them an opportunity to re-consider what they have done, and to make another election, more worthy of them, and of your Majesty's approval. And, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to shew this indulgence to your faithful Commons, am I, Sir, an humble suitor to you, for their sakes, and my own ; that their debates, the order, the decorum, and the dignity of their assembly, and thereby the great affairs of the kingdom may not suffer through my inabilities, nor I sink under the weight of so unequal a burden, but be left to perform my duty to your Majesty, and the public, in a way more suited to my capacity. But what, Sir, above all, renders me most improper for this high station, and creates the greatest dread on my mind, is, my unfitness to approach your sacred person, and to represent your Commons, as they ought ever to appear before the Majesty of their Sovereign.

It is, Sir, for these reasons, that I once more crave leave to implore your Majesty's goodness, to command your Commons to do, what they can very easily perform, to make choice of another person more proper for them to present to your Majesty on this great occasion.

Then the Lord Chancellor, receiving directions from his Majesty, said :

Mr. Onslow,

I AM commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that he well approves of the decent and modest manner of excusing yourself, but doth not admit the excuse : for, being perfectly satisfied with the choice the House of Commons have made, his Majesty doth allow and confirm you to be their Speaker,

Then

Then Mr. Speaker said :

YOUR Majesty having been pleased to approve the choice your Commons have made, is a command upon me, and makes it my duty to submit. I do therefore, Sir, with all thankfulness, acknowledge your Majesty's grace in conferring this undeserved honour upon me, and do here beg leave to assure your Majesty of my best endeavours to discharge, if I cannot with ability, yet with impartiality, and uprightness of heart, this great trust which the Commons have committed to me, and which has now received your royal confirmation. And, for my encouragement, permit me, great Sir, to beseech your Majesty's pardon on my failings and infirmities, at least, that your Majesty will not impute them in anywise to your faithful Commons. And, that they may be the better enabled to do their duty to your Majesty, and their country, I do, in their name, and on their behalf, by humble petition to your Majesty, lay claim to all their ancient rights and privileges; particularly that their persons, their servants, and their estates, may be free from arrests, and all molestations; that they may enjoy freedom of speech, for the better management of their debates; and have liberty of access to your royal person, when occasion shall require it; and that all their proceedings may receive from your Majesty the most favourable construction.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's further commands, said :

Mr. Speaker,

HIS Majesty is graciously pleased to grant to the House of Commons all the privileges you have asked in their name, in the most full, ample, and beneficial manner they have been at any time granted or allowed by any of his royal predecessors: and, as to yourself, his Majesty is so entirely satisfied of your dutiful affection to his service, that he will, on all occasions, make the best and most favourable construction of all your words and actions in the execution and performance of this great trust, as Speaker of the House of Commons.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 31, 1728.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me, that at the meeting the first Parliament, summoned and convened by my authority, I am able to give you hopes of seeing the public peace and tranquillity

quillity very soon restored. I very much wished, that the first period of my reign might have been distinguished by putting an immediate end to the troubles and disorders of Europe, by a reduction of some part of my forces, a diminution of taxes, and all the happy consequences of an honourable and lasting peace, to which my endeavours have in no manner been wanting, as far as was consistent with maintaining the possessions, rights, and privileges of my kingdom, and I promise myself, not without great probability of success.

I am very sensible of the disagreeable and uneasy situation in which our affairs have been for some time ; and have been extremely concerned to see many of the inconveniencies of a war attending us, without any opportunity of resenting the injuries we sustained, or gaining any of those advantages in return, which the vigorous prosecution of so just a cause, and the success of our arms, might probably have secured to us.

But you are sufficiently apprised, that preliminary articles for a general pacification were some time ago signed, and accepted by the contracting parties on both sides ; and although the ratification of them had been exchanged by me, and my allies, with his Imperial Majesty, the good effects expected from them were retarded, by the refusal, on the part of Spain, to execute some of the most material points contained in them, and by endeavours to alter and explain some articles, in such a manner as immediately affected the possessions, and the just rights of my kingdom : I therefore, jointly with my allies, declined exchanging the ratifications of the preliminaries with the court of Spain, and rejected all such propositions as were detrimental and injurious to my honour, and the interest of my people.

By these means, the negotiations were unavoidably carried into a tedious length, which I endured with the greater patience, from an earnest desire to procure to my subjects a safe and honourable peace, and to see the tranquillity of Europe preserved and settled upon a solid and lasting foundation ; during which time I received from the Most Christian King and the States General, the greatest proofs of their sincerity, and a renewal of the strongest assurances imaginable, that they would effectually make good all their engagements in support of the common cause, and of our mutual interests ; and I am very glad that I can acquaint you, that our joint endeavours have had so good an effect, that by the last advices from abroad, I have great reason to hope that the difficulties which have hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congress, will soon be entirely removed.

However, it will in the mean time be absolutely necessary to continue, as our allies have already resolved to do, the preparations

rations which have hitherto been our security, and prevented an open rupture in Europe, that we may not at once lose all the advantages which our former expenses and vigour have so nearly procured, by not being in a condition, if that necessity should unexpectedly be brought upon us, to vindicate our honour, and assert our rights; and you may depend upon it, that my first care shall be to reduce, from time to time, the expence of the public, as often and as soon as the interest and safety of my people will permit it.

The preliminary articles, and such other treaties and conventions, as have not yet been communicated to Parliament, and which may, without manifest prejudice, be exposed to public view, shall be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have given orders to the proper officers to prepare and lay before you estimates of the expenses for the service of the current year; and you may be assured, that the supplies which I find myself obliged to demand of you, shall, as certainly as they do exceed my wishes and inclinations, be employed solely for the interest and security of the nation; and I make no doubt but that if any method can be found out for raising the necessary supplies, less grievous to my people than another, that will have the preference in all your deliberations.

I think myself obliged to lay before you a consideration of the greatest importance, and I should look upon it as a great happiness, if at the beginning of my reign, I could see the foundation laid of so great and necessary a work, as the increase and encouragement of our seamen in general, that they may be invited, rather than compelled by force and violence, to enter into the service of their country, as often as occasion shall require it: a consideration worthy of the representatives of a people great and flourishing in trade and navigation.

This leads me to mention to you the case of Greenwich Hospital, that care may be taken, by some addition to that fund, to render comfortable and effectual that charitable provision for the support and maintenance of our seamen, worn out and become decrepid by age and infirmities in the service of their country.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As I have great hopes that a general pacification will be now obtained, by a speedy execution of the preliminaries, I am satisfied that nothing will more effectually contribute to, and secure this desirable end, than such an unanimity, zeal, and dispatch of the public business, in this Parliament, as may convince the

world, that none among you are capable, out of any views or consideration whatsoever, to wish the distress of their country, or to give an occasion, from the prospect of difficulties that may arise, and be fomented here at home, to interrupt or disappoint our present promising expectations. This it is in your power to defeat; and this I depend upon, from your known zeal and affection to my person and government, and your hearty concern for the interest and welfare of my people.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Feb. 1, 1728.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our humblest thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne; and to acknowledge, in the most dutiful and grateful manner, the tender and affectionate concern your Majesty has been pleased to express, for the many inconveniencies that have arisen from the late disagreeable and unsettled state of the affairs of Europe.

We are sensible of the unwearied and uninterrupted care with which your Majesty, ever since we have enjoyed the blessings of your reign, has laboured to put an end to the disputes, and restore the tranquillity of Europe; the desire you have had to free your people from all the burdens occasioned by impending war, and to procure to them all the happy consequences of a safe, honourable, and established peace; and we think it as impossible that any difficulties should arise, to prevent us feeling the good effects to be expected from your prudence, as it is for any event to make us forget the marks we have already received of your affection.

The firmness your Majesty has shewn, in absolutely refusing to admit of any explanations of the preliminaries, derogatory to the honour, or prejudicial to the interest of this nation, we feel more sensibly, as we think 'tis equally for your Majesty's glory and our happiness, to have it appear to the whole world, that the care of your people is a consideration so much superior to every other, in fixing your Majesty's resolutions, that not even one so important as the peace of all Europe, could induce you to submit to the demands of others, or recede from your own in any point, where our possessions were invaded, our interest struck at, or our privileges disputed.

And since this stand, which your Majesty, in justice to yourself, and regard to your people, thought fit to make, has not broke off the accommodation, but only retarded it for our ad-

vantage, we beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the near prospect of that success in your negotiations, which cannot more effectually fulfil our wishes, as the earnest of our prosperity, than it answers our expectations in demonstrating your wisdom.

But in case your Majesty's expectations of seeing the public peace and tranquillity soon restored, should still be disappointed, that your people may no longer continue in that uncertainty in which the policy of others may endeavour to keep us, and that we may be in a condition to do ourselves justice, should that necessity unexpectedly be brought upon us, we are determined, out of regard to our own interest, as well as that we shall ever pay to your Majesty's honour, most effectually to enable you to do yourself right, and to assert and to maintain all the possessions, advantages, and privileges of your people.

Whatever supplies, therefore, may be wanted for the service of the current year, your Commons will, with the utmost cheerfulness and unanimity, grant; being assured no aid will ever be demanded by your Majesty of your subjects, but what you shall judge absolutely necessary for their own interest and security: and as we are determined, in whatever supplies we raise, to have regard to such methods as shall be least grievous to your people, so we have the greatest satisfaction in thinking we may entirely depend on your Majesty's justice and wisdom, that whatever we do grant, will be constantly applied in the manner that will be most beneficial to them; neither had we the least doubt, before we received your Majesty's most gracious promise, but that your Majesty, from your paternal goodness to your people, would, from time to time, take every opportunity to make all such reductions of the public expenses as shall be for our present ease, without endangering our future safety.

The assurances your Majesty hath given us of the sincerity and steadiness with which, you are satisfied, all our allies are determined, in all events, to adhere to their engagements, and espouse the common cause, gave us the greatest satisfaction; and let the future dangers and difficulties that may yet arise, impossible to be foreseen, be ever so formidable, or ever so numerous, we do not imagine that there can be any which your Majesty's prudence, caution, abilities, and experience, joined to the assistance of your Parliament, the firmness of your allies, and the bravery of your people, will not easily dispel.

It is the indispensable duty of those who have a just sense of the great importance of the trade and navigation of this kingdom, to provide proper encouragements for our seamen; and common justice requires that we should take a compassionate

care of those, who, by misfortunes in their brave and faithful services to their country, are become equally incapable of continuing those services, or providing for themselves: we beg leave, therefore, to assure your Majesty, that we will take this matter into our consideration, and on this, as well as every other occasion, pay the deference and regard due to your Majesty's most gracious recommendation.

If there are any so ill informed of the steady affections of your Commons, as vainly to place their hopes on any disputes or differences that might arise amongst us, we are determined, by a hearty, zealous, and general concurrence in all our deliberations for your Majesty's interest and the public welfare, effectually to disappoint such ill-grounded expectations; and we are satisfied, we cannot give better evidence of our love to our country, than by constant demonstrations of our duty to the best of Kings: and, as your Majesty's endeavours have been, and, we are persuaded, ever will be, to preserve us a free, and establish us a happy people; so we should think ourselves undeserving all the benefits and blessings of your reign, were it possible we could ever be wanting in the least point, on our part, to make it as great, happy, and glorious, as that of any of your royal predecessors.

His Majesty's Answer, February 3, 1728.

Gentlemen,

I GIVE you my thanks for this very loyal and affectionate address. Such returns of duty and gratitude from my faithful Commons would add, if any thing possibly could, to my resolutions of promoting and consulting, upon all occasions, the welfare and prosperity of my people. The entire confidence you place in me, will engage me most strictly to make use of the power and trust you shall repose in me, for your interest, and to your satisfaction; and you shall always find my readiness to ease, and reduce the expense of the public answerable to your expectations.

*Representation to his Majesty, by the House of Commons,
April 8, 1728.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having, in duty to your Majesty, for the sake of truth, and for the better

better information and satisfaction of all your good people, taken into their consideration the state of the national debt, in regard to what debts have been discharged and paid off, since the establishment of the sinking fund for that purpose, and what new debts have, within the said time, been contracted and incurred, beg leave, with all duty and submission, to lay the same before your Majesty in this our most humble representation.

The national debt of this kingdom, contracted in carrying on two long and expensive wars, before the happy accession of your Majesty's late royal father to the crown of these realms, as it was a matter of the last consequence to the nation, was become the care and concern of all who wished well to our present and future prosperity. This produced several considerations in Parliament, to find out and settle some means of putting this great debt into a method of being gradually reduced and diminished; and the sinking fund was at last happily established, to general satisfaction. This fund became immediately the favourite article in all parliamentary considerations relating to the public revenues, and was considered as a national interest, worthy of the highest regard and attention; which was by all possible means, to be cherished and improved, and the produce of it set apart, and kept distinct from all other services and purposes, and was appropriated by Parliament to pay off and discharge national debts incurred before the 25th day of December, 1716.

There arose that distinction in the public revenues which has ever since been so far continued and kept up, that the nation has seemed to have two different interests; one in the produce of the sinking fund for the discharge of the national debt; another in the annual supplies granted to the crown, for carrying on the current service of the year.

But several controversies having of late years been started, concerning what real benefit had accrued to the nation, from the produce and application of the sinking fund, if considered and compared with new debts, supposed to have been incurred within the same time; the Commons of Great Britain, truly sensible of the weight of this national debt, a burden of itself sufficient to create some uneasiness in the minds of the people, without the help of any aggravations or misrepresentations, thought it a duty incumbent upon them, so far to enter into the consideration of this important affair, as to examine and state how much of the national debt, incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, had been actually paid off, or discharged, and what new debts had been really contracted and incurred in support of the public, and in carrying on the current service of the several years since that time.

It is well known with what content and cheerfulness your Majesty's subjects have all along paid and contributed towards the annual interest of this national debt, contracted and incurred in securing to them the inestimable blessings of your Majesty's most auspicious reign, and the protestant succession in your illustrious family, and in defence of their religion, liberties, and properties, which, they always thought, could not be purchased and preserved at too dear a rate; and from the time they had the comfort of having a sinking fund settled and established, that gave them the prospect and hopes of seeing this great debt gradually reduced and discharged, it was a satisfaction that rendered the burden easy and light; and your people seemed even to forget the great expense they had been at, happy in the free and full enjoyment of all that was dear and valuable to them, the fruit and return of so much treasure, necessarily and usefully employed.

Notwithstanding this flourishing state of the public credit, and the good effects of this happy situation, there were not wanting those who attempted to disturb the quiet and satisfaction that almost universally prevailed in the minds of your people, by publishing and promoting with the greatest industry, most notorious misrepresentations of the true state of our debts, and of the provisions made for the discharge of them; and by infusing groundless jealousies and insinuations, as if the produce of the sinking fund had been but little and inconsiderable, or that, by wrong and imprudent measures, bad œconomy, neglect, or mismanagement, unnecessary expenses had been made, and new debts contracted, that not only equalled, but exceeded by several millions the amount of the old debts that had been discharged.

The artful insinuations and misrepresentations served to a double purpose, to make our fellow subjects restless and uneasy under their present difficulties, by persuading them they were endless and inextricable; and at the same time so apprehensive of new engagements, that they might be prepared rather to suffer all sorts of insults and injuries, than, by endeavouring to do themselves justice, to enter into new expenses, every where represented as destructive and intolerable.

This prevailing mischief called for an immediate remedy, and made it necessary to enter into a strict disquisition of the truth and certainty of these affairs, that your Majesty might be truly informed, and your faithful and well-affected subjects have the satisfaction to see, how grossly the world had been imposed upon by these groundless misrepresentations; and that your enemies might be convinced that the wealth and power of Great Britain is not so exhausted,

as

as to render this nation, under your Majesty's happy government, less considerable and formidable than in the time of any of your royal predecessors.

We observed that what gave any foundation for the belief of these notorious falsehoods, was the liberty which some misinformed or ill-designing persons had taken from the several alterations which had been made of late years in the shape or denomination of our public debts, to make and publish imaginary states of the whole of those debts, by putting fictitious values upon them, at their own will and pleasure, and from thence making balances that might serve their purpose, but were not really true.

But the difficulties of making up this account in that manner with any certainty, made us carefully avoid going into a method which might be afterwards liable to cavil and disputes, according to the humour, caprice, or private opinion of every man.

That we might therefore avoid as much as possible, any doubt or perplexity, we proceeded to state the truth of this fact, in a method that was plain, obvious, and intelligible to the meanest capacity; and took an account of the several national debts incurred before the 25th day of December, 1716, which since that time had been actually paid off, or discharged, and also an account of the several national debts, that, since that time, had been contracted or incurred, and were still subsisting: upon comparing of which together, it will appear whether the national debt is, since the establishment of the sinking fund, increased or decreased, and to what amount.

Having now gone through this inquiry with as much care and exactness as was possible, we beg leave, in the most dutiful manner, to lay before your Majesty two accounts: the first, containing the several particular articles of national debts incurred before the 25th day of December, 1716, and since discharged; which is as followeth:

An Account of such National Debts incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, as have been since discharged; viz.

				Debs. discharged.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
THE capital sum of the lottery annuities, established by the act 3 Geo. I. which creates the general fund, and also the sinking fund, was	-	-	-	9,534,357	13	11½
Of which there was subscribed into South Sea stock	-	-	-	8,329,578	10	7
The remainder, paid off, is	-	-	-	1,204,786	3	4½
Annuities, at 5l. per cent. redeemable by Parliament, and transferable at the Bank of England, were granted by an act 1 Geo. I. for	-	-	-	910,000	0	0

Debts discharged.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Of which there was subscribed into						
South Sea stock - - -	706,175	15	0			
The remainder, paid off, is - -				203,824	5	0
Other annuities, of the same kind, were granted same year for - - -	169,000	0	0			
Of which there was subscribed into South Sea stock, - - -	137,516	6				
The remainder, paid off, is - -				37,473	13	4
Annuities, at 4 <i>l.</i> <i>per cent.</i> redeemable by Parliament, and transferable at the Bank of England, were created for tallies of 5 <i>l.</i> , act 3 Geo. I. for - - -	947,514	7				
Of which there was subscribed into South Sea stock - - -	748,555	19				
The remainder paid off, is - -				198,958	8	3
The like annuities were granted by fundry act, for army debentures, certified before the 21st of March, 1719, for - -	1,623,987	8	1½			
Of which there was subscribed into South Sea stock - - -	1,113,321	13	8			
The remainder, paid off, is - -				393,194	14	5½
The principal sum standing out in exchequer bills, on 25th December, 1716, was -	599,210	0	0			
Of which there was subscribed into South Sea stock - - -	464,900	0	0			
The remainder, paid off, is - -				134,220	0	0
The like on lottery, anno 1714 - -	1,812,100	0				
Of which there was subscribed into South Sea stock - - -	1,403,970	0				
The remainder, paid off, is - -				408,130	0	0
The exchequer orders, for army debentures, certified since the 21st of March, 1719, are all paid off, being - - -				548,939	12	6½
The deficiency of the duty on hops, anno 1711, which was directed by act of Parliament to be paid off, was - - -				12,480	9	1
The like of the East India Company's fund stated to Christmas, 1716, and paid out of sinking fund, was - - -				79,339	17	5
The 3 <i>per cent.</i> annuities in the million lottery, which were returned as cash into the exchequer, and which were by an act 13 Geo. I. applied to discharge Nevis debentures, were - - -				103,272	10	0
The principal sum standing out in exchequer bills, on 25th December, 1716, was -	4,561,025	0				
Interest and premium due thereon - -	35,159	15	7½			
Total debt in exchequer bills - -	4,596,184	15	7½			
Of which two millions were converted into a Bank annuity at 5 <i>l.</i> <i>per cent.</i> by the act 3 Geo. I.; so deduct that - - -	2,000,000	0	0			
And towards discharging the rest of these bills 500,000 <i>l.</i> was raised by a lottery anno 1719, and charged on the						

		Debts discharged.	
		£.	s. d.
aggregate fund, of 441,700 <i>l.</i> which was afterwards subscribed into, and still remains part of the South Sea stock, and the remaining 58,300 <i>l.</i> has been paid off; so deduct only	441,700 0 0		
Total of these deductions	2,441,700 0 0		
The remainder is the net debt on this head, that is paid off		2,154,484	15 7½
The duty on coal, for building of churches, &c. was granted before 1711, for several terms of years, to expire at Michaelmas 1725, and the whole produce of that duty was appropriated for those services, which may be estimated as a debt at 1716, of	540,000 0 0		
<i>Anno</i> 1716, 360,000 <i>l.</i> was granted for these services, to be rated on a fund of 21,000 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> , for 32 years, in lieu of the provision by the former terms, and of that 360,000 <i>l.</i> there remains undischarged but	193,140 0 0		
The remainder may be estimated so much debt discharged		346,860	0 0
The debt of the navy, as it stood on the 31st or December, 1716, deducting the effects in the creature's hands, was	1,043,336	15 9½	
Deduct thereout the sum then issued off this head of the supplies <i>anno</i> 1716, afterwards provided for the 4 <i>l.</i> <i>per cent.</i> annuities, part of the tickets of 5 <i>l.</i> subscribed into, and still remaining in South Sea stock	334,239	16 1½	
The remainder is the net debt of the navy at 1716		709,096	19 8½
29,925 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per annum</i> of the short annuities remaining unsubscribed into South Sea stock, which being valued at 14 years purchase, the rate at which they were subscribed into South Sea stock, <i>anno</i> 1720, makes a debt at 1716, of	418,952	17 2	
Deduct the present value of these annuities, in which there were but 14 years 3 quarters to come at Christmas 1727, at 10 years purchase	299,252	0 10	
The remainder is so much debt discharged		119,700	16 4
Total debts discharged		6,648,762	5 1½ /

In stating of which account, we beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that the articles stated therein by way of estimate, are the interest and premium said to be due on the exchange bills, the debt for the building of churches, and the value

value of the difference^a in the terms for the short annuities ; which articles are so small in respect of the whole, that any alteration in those estimated values would make no material difference in the real increase or decrease of the whole debt.

We beg leave further humbly to represent to your Majesty, that all the articles in this account are stated as the debts stood on the 25th of December, 1716, except the first article of the lottery annuities, which is stated at the sum that was made principal at Michaelmas, 1717, by the act that established the general fund, and also the sinking fund, from which time only the sinking fund commenced : for which reason no credit is taken in this account for any principal money paid off in part of the four lotteries, comprehended in that sum, between Christmas 1716, and Michaelmas 1717 ; nor is any thing charged therein for the deficiencies of funds standing out at Christmas 1716, and unprovided for, although the deficiencies of three of those lottery funds only amounted at Lady-day 1717, to above two hundred and seventy thousand pounds ; so that, notwithstanding upon the subscription of those lotteries into redeemable annuities, one quarter's interest, due thereof between Midsummer and Michaelmas 1717, was made principal, amounting to 140,884*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* or thereabouts, yet the same was much short of the deficiencies then incurred on those funds, and therefore properly charged amongst the debts incurred before the 25th of December, 1716.

And we think it proper further to observe upon the article of the short annuities remaining unsubscribed, which are stated at 29,925*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* *per annum*, that it appears the real sum did amount to but 24,335*l.* 17*s.* *per annum* ; which mistake did arise by a mis-recital in the act of the sixth year of your Majesty's late royal father ; which difference, being valued at the same rate that the whole annuities are herein valued at, makes a difference of 22,357*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* to be deducted out of the total sum of the debts discharged.

The next account, which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty's consideration, contains the several particular articles of debts contracted and incurred since the 25th of December 1716, and now subsisting, which is as followeth :

An Account of National Debts contracted and incurred since the 25th of December, 1716, and now subsisting.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
B^y South Sea Stock, for so much of the money agreed to be advanced by the South Sea Company on the subscription of the lottery, 1710, as was recounted or						

deducted

deducted by them, pursuant to the act
5 Geo. I. for making good the deficiency
of their original and additional funds;
viz.

For the deficiency of their original fund for two quarters, ending at Midsummer, 1719	141,547 19 1½
For ditto for one quarter, at Christmas 1719	14,846 18 8
For the deficiency of their additional fund for two quarters, ending at Midsummer, 1719	25,831 4 10
	<hr/> 182,226 2 7½

By so much of the *5l. per cent.* annuities
(created by virtue of a clause in the land-
tax act, 5 Geo. I. for repaying to the
treasurer of the navy the sum he had issued
to the South Sea Company, for making
good the deficiency of their original fund
at Midsummer 1718) as was subscribed
into South Sea stock, the remainder being
paid off

107,802 17 4½

Total debts contracted, for making good
the deficiencies of the South Sea
Company's funds

290,029 0 0

By South Sea stock, for so much of the
money agreed to be advanced by the South
Sea Company, on the subscription of lot-
tery 1711, pursuant to the act 5 Geo. I.
as was paid by them into the exchequer,
and applied to the sinking fund

328,673 4 10½

By annuities at *4l. per cent.* redeemable by
Parliament, charged on the duty on wrough-
plate, by the act 6 Geo. I.

312,000 0 0

By the benefit tickets in lottery 1719,
charged on the duty on coals, 5 Geo. I.
for

500,000 0 0

Of which there has been paid off
The remainder was subscribed into
South Sea stock

65,395 0 0

434,605 0 0

By exchequer bills standing out, and charged
on the duty on victuallers by the act
12 Geo. I.

486,600 0 0

By the like exchequer bills, charged on sur-
plus of coals, 13 Geo. I.

338,800 0 0

By the debt of the navy, as it stood on the
31st December, 1727, deducting the ef-
fects then stated to be in the hands of the
treasurers

1,937,023 4 9½

Deduct the sum then issued to the trea-
surer of the navy, of the supplies *anno*
1727, which has been since issued to him

199,742 2 6

The remainder is the net debt on this
head

1,737,281 2 3½

Total of these debts

3,927,788 7 1½

From these two accounts, we presume most humbly to repre-
sent to your Majesty, that the several national debts incurred
before the 25th day of December, 1716, which have been
since

since discharged, after deducting the beforementioned sum 22,357*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* do amount in the whole to the sum of 6,626,404*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* and that the several national debts incurred since the said 25th day of December, 1716, and now subsisting, amount together to the sum of 3,927,988*l.* 7*s.* 1*½d.*

Which being deducted out of the amount of the debts discharged, the difference is so much real decrease of the national debt since the 25th day of December, 1716, being 2,698,416*l.* 9*s.* 7*½d.*

And that the state of the new-contracted debts may appear in a true light, we think it necessary, for the better information of your Majesty, to distinguish them under the proper heads of service for which they are contracted, and, by way of explanation, to observe, that a considerable part of the new-contracted debt, amounting to the sum of 703,740*l.* 6*s.* 2*½d.* was occasioned by the annual provisions made by Parliament for making good the yearly deficiencies of the general fund to and for the year ending at Michaelmas 1726, pursuant to the directions of the act establishing the general fund, the surplus whereof compensates part of the sinking fund; and by these means, the sinking fund has received annually some proportion out of the supplies of the year:

And, that the further sum of 290,029*l.* has been raised by new-contracted debts, and is included therin, for making good at several times the deficiencies of the original and additional funds of the South Sea company; which two sums, amounting together to the sum of 993,769*l.* 6*s.* 2*½d.* having been applied towards making good deficiencies of the general fund, and other funds, established before the 25th day of December, 1716, ought to be distinguished from the national debt incurred since that time:

As likewise the sum of 328,673*l.* 4*s.* 1*½d.* another part of the said new-contracted debts, which was occasioned by stock created for so much of the money to be advanced by the South Sea Company, upon the enlargement of their capital stock by the subscription of the tickets in the lottery *anno* 1710, pursuant to an act of the sixth year of the reign of your Majesty's late royal father, as was paid into the exchequer, and, as the same was applied to the uses of the sinking fund, and no part of it to any other public services, this sum ought also to be distinguished from the rest of the debts contracted since the establishment of the sinking fund: which three sums, making together the sum of 1,322,442*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* and being deducted out of the said sum of 3,927,988*l.* 7*s.* 1*½d.* the remaining sum of 2,605,545*l.* 16*s.* 0*¾d.* is the whole national debt, that has been contracted or incurred, for answering or defraying the annual charges and expenses of the public for the current service of the

several years since the 25th day of December, 1716, including therein the whole debt of the navy, as it stood on the 31st day of December, 1727.

And further, to obviate any objections that may be made to the stating of the account of national debts contracted and incurred since the 25th of December, 1716, and still subsisting, it is proper to observe, that no notice is taken therein of the debts, by loans, or exchequer bills, on the annual land taxes, or malt duties; because, as those loans, or bills, are weekly discharged out of the produce of those taxes, and as often as any deficiencies happen thereon, they as well as the deficiencies of grants, are not suffered to remain as debts, but are constantly, from year to year, discharged, by being made part of the supplies granted for the current service of the subsequent years; and accordingly, provision has been already made for such of them as can be anyways ascertained, out of the supplies for the service of the year 1728; therefore they were not proper to be brought into this account.

Having thus humbly represented to your Majesty the true state of the decrease of the national debts since the 25th day of December, 1716, and the establishment of the sinking fund, with the occasions and services for which the several new debts have been incurred, we beg leave, by this our humble representation, to lay before your Majesty the circumstances this nation is in, with regard to the national debt, before the establishment of the sinking fund, and what happy consequences have arisen from the establishment thereof.

At the accession of your Majesty's late royal father to the throne of these realms, a great part of the public debts consisted of absolute annuities, granted for very long terms of years, which were only to be discharged by the wearing out of those terms; other great parts thereof were the capital stocks of the Bank, the South Sea and India companies, at very high interest; other debts were charged upon particular funds, appropriated to pay off and discharge the principal monies, with interest, at very high rates, in course, to multitudes of people both at home and abroad; other great parts thereof were in exchequer bills, circulated and exchanged at very high rates for interest, premium, and charges; and the debts of the army, which were very considerable, were not then liquidated, nor had any provision at all then been made for the discharge of them: besides this, the funds themselves, appropriated for these debts, were most of them deficient; so that, if these debts had been suffered to continue in this state, so far would they have been from being lessened to any degree, that new burthens must have been laid on the nation, for securing the debts unprovided for.)

Soon after his late Majesty's accession, an unnatural rebellion broke out, during which, not only all thoughts for any method for the more speedy payment of our debts were of necessity suspended, but new and heavy debts were contracted; and, in the year 1715, annuities, at five pounds *per cent.* redeemable by Parliament, were sold for 1,075,000*l.* besides a considerable addition to the capital stock of the South Sea company.

But no sooner was that rebellion defeated, and the fears of the people removed, but the Parliament immediately began to set about the great work of putting the national debt in a method of being sooner discharged with honour and justice; and, in the year 1717, the foundation was laid, by establishing the sinking fund; the consequences and advantages whereof will best appear, by considering what it is, and by what means it was perfected.

The only methods that could be thought of for paying off the national debts, must be, either by improving and augmenting the produce of the funds, already settled for the payment of the principal and interest, or by granting new taxes and impositions upon the people, or by a reduction of the interest made payable on the several debts; and, as the first method would have been found not sufficient to answer this desirable end, and the second would have been very grievous and burthensome to the people, the principal method that was then thought expedient, and most free from objections, was to reduce the high interest, and other charges, payable on all the public debts: but as great part of those debts were not subject to any power of redemption, and as none of them were redeemable, but on payment of the principal money, it manifestly appeared, that such a reduction could never be made, without the voluntary consent of the proprietors of such as were irredeemable, or a legal tender to the others of their principal money; both which seemed at that time almost impracticable; but, by an extraordinary zeal and application to the publick service, this difficulty was surmounted, with respect to the whole of the debts that were then redeemable, by procuring, not only the voluntary consent of the South Sea company to the reduction of the interest on their whole capital stock, then consisting of ten millions, from 6*l.* to 5*l. per cent.* and of the Bank to a like reduction on an annuity, then payable to them in respect of a sum of upwards of 1,775,000*l.* and to a great abatement in their allowances for circulating exchequer bills, then amounting to more than 4,500,000*l.* at an annual charge of above 7*l. per cent.* but also by engaging those corporations to furnish sufficient sums for paying the principal money to such of the proprietors of other redeemable debts, amounting to more than 9,000,000 as would

not voluntarily chuse to accept an interest at *5l. per cent.* for the future.

This provision being made, the act passed in the third year of his late Majesty's reign, for establishing the general fund; whereby the proprietors of certain debts therein mentioned, all carrying an interest at *6l. per cent.* had their free election, either to accept an interest at *5l. per cent. per annum*, or to receive their principal money; and so general was the satisfaction of all the proprietors, that few and very inconsiderable sums were demanded to be paid off; but the principal sums, that were voluntarily reduced to *5l. per cent.* amounted to 9,392,311*l.* 4*s.* 2½*d.* or thereabouts; and, by this method, more than 25,000,000*l.* was at once voluntarily reduced from *6l. per cent.* or upwards, to *5l. per cent.* which was an annual saving of above 320,000*l.*

By the same act, not only the surplus of this general fund, but the surplusses of several other funds, were appropriated to the discharge of national debts contracted before the 25th of December, 1716: and this was the beginning and establishment of the sinking fund.

From this happy event arose such general satisfaction in all degrees of people, that, though the interest of the public debts was reduced, and the proprietors received a less income from them than before, yet their security for their capital being so much mended, the rate or price for the purchase of these debts soon advanced to a much higher value than they were at before the reduction, and it was easy to foresee, that, in process of time, a further reduction might have been made by the same just and honourable methods, without any extraordinary advantages to be granted for the effecting it.

Had this method (begun and executed so successfully, and with such satisfaction) been further pursued, and without interruption, the dangerous and mischievous part of the late South Sea scheme might have been avoided; and yet the further reduction of interest might have been obtained, and taken place, much sooner than it has done by the execution of that scheme.

But now, at length, not only the reduction from *5l.* to *4l. per cent.* settled by the South Sea act, has taken place, but a voluntary reduction hath also been made by the Bank of England, from *5l.* to *4l. per cent.* interest or annuities, for 1,250 principal sums belonging to them, amounting together to upwards of 3,775,000*l.*; and, by these several reductions, a further addition is made to the sinking fund, of more than 377,000*l. per annum*, from Midsummer last: by all these means; and by the savings of interest of the debts, that have

been already discharged, and by several wise provisions for the improvement of the funds themselves, this sinking fund is risen to, and may be reasonably estimated at 1,200,000*l. per annum*, or thereabouts; and will be every year increasing from the further savings of the interest of the remaining debts, from time to time, as they shall be paid off.

But, if any thing were further necessary to demonstrate the immediate and certain advantages that have accrued to the public from the methods used and established to discharge the national debts, it is sufficient only to reflect, that the interest of the greatest part of the debt being now actually reduced from 6*l.* to 4*l. per cent.* makes a saving of one third of the interest of such debt; which, being in the hands and possession of the government, and applicable, from time to time, to the discharge of the principal, makes a gain and profit to the public equal to the discharge of one third of such principal.

And, if the amount of the produce of the sinking fund did appear originally to be about 400,000*l. per annum* only, the produce of the said fund being now raised to about 1,200,000*l. per annum*, the addition of 800,000*l. per annum* to the sinking fund, which is just so much gained by the public, if valued at twenty-five years purchase, at which rate all annuities are now currently sold, makes a real profit to the public, amounting to twenty millions.

This is the happy state of the sinking fund, taken separately and by itself; but, if we cast our eyes upon the state of our public credit in general, it must be an additional satisfaction to us, that, by preserving the public faith inviolable, by the discharge of the old exchequer bills, and the reduction of the high interest on all our standing debts, the whole credit that is taken on the annual funds, for carrying on the current service of the year, is, and may be supplied for the future at 3*l. per cent.* or less, for interest, premium, and charges, by exchequer bills, created just as the occasions of the public require, without any loans, or being obliged to any persons for money to be advanced, or lent, on the credit of them; and so far is the public from being under the former necessities of allowing extravagant interest, premiums, or discounts, for any money they want, that the only contest now among the creditors of the public is, that every one of them desires to be the last in course of payment.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, to congratulate your Majesty on the comfortable prospect we have now before us if, notwithstanding the many difficulties this nation has laboured under since the happy accession of your Majesty's late royal father to the throne, notwithstanding the unnatural re-

bellion, which soon after broke out, and the many heinous plots and conspiracies which have since been formed and carried on, for overturning the religion and liberties of our country, and the protestant succession in your most illustrious family, the many disturbances which have arisen, and the uncertain and embroiled condition of the affairs of Europe, not a little fomented and encouraged by the false intelligence, and malicious insinuations, which have been industriously spread abroad by your Majesty's and our enemies, of the uneasy and perplexed state of our affairs at home, as if that had rendered it almost impossible for this nation effectually to exert themselves in defence of their own just rights and possessions, and for establishing, and securing the public peace and tranquillity; it, notwithstanding these and many other difficulties, which we labour under, and while the sinking fund was yet in its infancy, and so much less than it now is, we have been able to diminish the national debts so much already, what may we not hope for in regard to a more speedy and sensible discharge of them for the future, now the sinking fund is so greatly increased, and our public credit in so flourishing a condition?

The finishing and perfecting this great work seems to be a peculiar glory reserved for your Majesty's reign. From your known goodness and wisdom, the present age may promise themselves the certain and immediate benefit of your Majesty's particular regard to the public credit, and your universal care and concern for the ease and happiness of your people, which our latest posterity must remember and acknowledge with duty and gratitude.

His Majesty's Answer, April 11, 1728,

Gentlemen,

I CANNOT but be very well pleased with this representation, which must give general satisfaction to all my people, by removing those groundless jealousies and apprehensions, which have been propagated and dispersed throughout the kingdom.

The happy effects of the flourishing state of the public credit are too sensibly felt and seen, not to be confessed and acknowledged by every body:

And the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt, is now become so certain and considerable, that nothing, but some unforeseen event, can alter or diminish it: which gives us the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged, without any necessity of incurring new ones;

And you may be assured, that it shall be my particular care and study to maintain and preserve the public credit, to improve the sinking fund, and to avoid all occasions of laying any new burthens upon my people.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, May 6, 1728.

GEORGE REF.

HIS Majesty being under some engagements, entered to and concerted with the advice and concurrence of the last Parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe; and having been enabled to answer and defray the charge and expenses thereof, as far as they have hitherto become due and payable; and there being still wanting a sum, not very considerable, to perfect and fulfil these obligations; his Majesty, relying upon the duty and affection of his Commons, hopes they will enable him to discharge such engagements, as still remain unsatisfied upon this head of service.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 28, 1728.

My Lords and Gentlemen, ,

THE dispatch you have given to the public business, and the advanced season of the year, make it proper for me to put an end to this session of Parliament.

The zeal and unanimity which you have shewn in all your proceedings, with regard to the true interest of your country, and in support of the common cause, have fully answered my expectations, and will, I am persuaded, give general satisfaction here at home, and cannot fail of having their due weight and influence abroad.

I expect very soon to hear, that the congress is opened, the preliminary articles having laid so good a foundation for a general pacification. I hope all parties will bring with them such favourable dispositions for finishing and perfecting this desirable work, that we shall soon see a happy conclusion of this important transaction, with that satisfaction to me and my allies, which may reasonably be expected from the justice of our cause, and the mutual confidence which is established among us.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the effectual supplies you have raised for the service of the year. The prudent application you have made of the produce of the sinking fund, will contribute to the support of the public credit; and the power you have given me of borrowing five hundred thousand pounds, for the discharge of the seamen's wages, will meet with universal approbation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is unnecessary for me to recommend, in any particular manner, to your care, the preservation of the public peace in your several stations and countries. Your own inclinations will naturally lead you, by a due execution of the laws, and a faithful administration of justice, to promote upon all occasions the welfare and prosperity of my people.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the eighth day of August next, to be then here held; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the eighth day of August next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 21, 1729.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM sensible you are met together in expectation of being informed of the present situation of public affairs, and of receiving that satisfaction, which the expenses already made, and the apprehension of their being continued for some long time, make it just and reasonable for you to desire.

The execution of the preliminary articles, and the opening the congress at Soissons, laid a foundation for you to entertain hopes of seeing very soon the happy fruits and effects of a general pacification.

But the various and extensive views which fall under consideration, in settling and reconciling the different interests and pretensions of so many different powers, appeared to be a work of so much time and difficulty, that the project of a provisional treaty was thought of, as a proper expedient; which being

concerted and negotiated among the ministers of the principal powers, parties to the treaties of Hanover and Vienna, was approved of by me and my allies, not without reasonable hopes of the concurrence of the Imperial court, and the court of Madrid.

But no definitive answer being yet returned by either of them, nor the project of the provisional treaty either accepted or rejected, the fate of Europe is still held in suspense, labouring under difficulties that unavoidably attend such a doubtful and undetermined condition.

It is with no small concern, that I am again obliged to speak to my Parliament in this state of uncertainty; nor am I insensible of the burdens which my subjects bear, and that, in our present circumstances, some may be induced to think, that an actual war is preferable to such a doubtful and imperfect peace; but, as the exchange is easy to be made at any time, and as I am confident I shall not be thought backward in doing myself and the nation justice, when a proper occasion calls upon me for it, I hope you will believe, that a just regard for the ease and interest of my people alone prevailed upon me, rather to suffer some temporary inconveniences, with the daily prospect of obtaining a safe and honourable peace, than too precipitately to kindle a war in Europe, and to plunge the nation into still greater and unknown expenses. But, how disagreeable soever these delays may be, nothing is more unjust, than to impute them to my conduct, or to that of my allies. No endeavours indeed have been wanting, to separate and dissolve the happy union that is established among us; but long experience, and repeated proofs of mutual fidelity, have so strengthened and cemented this alliance, founded upon and united by common interest that all attempts to weaken it, or to create jealousies and diffidence among us, have proved as vain and fruitless, as the insinuations to the contrary are false and groundless.

It will, nevertheless, be incumbent upon us to bring this important transaction to a speedy and certain decision, that, if a conclusion can be put to it, consistent with the security and preservation of the rights, privileges, and possessions of Great Britain and my allies, the blessings of peace may be diffused throughout Europe, and my kingdoms again enjoy the happy effects of a settled tranquillity; or, if this cannot be had, that the allies may unite with vigour and resolution, and exert themselves in procuring that justice and satisfaction, which has been so long delayed. If this should unavoidably be the case, I depend upon the zeal and affection of this Parliament, that they will cheerfully and effectually support me in carrying on a just and necessary war.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I wished and truly hoped to have seen the public expenses very much reduced and lessened before this time; but the present circumstances of affairs oblige me to ask of you such supplies as shall be necessary for answering and defraying the charge and services of the ensuing year, and for enabling me, as events may require, to act with vigour, and in concert with my allies, who have resolved to make the same preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces. I will order the proper estimates to be immediately prepared and laid before you, and, as the produce of the sinking fund has exceeded our expectations, I must recommend it to your care, to make a further application of it to its proper uses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It cannot be expected that I should enter into the several causes and motives, which may have occasioned the present delays in the courts of Vienna and Madrid; but if, among other reasons, hopes, given from hence, of creating discontents and divisions among my subjects, and a prospect of seeing difficulties arise at home, have greatly encouraged them in their dilatory proceedings, I am persuaded that your known affection to me, and a just regard for your own honour, and the interest and security of the nation, will determine you effectually to discourage the unnatural and injurious practices of some few, who suggest the means of distressing their country, and afterwards clamour at the inconveniencies which they themselves have occasioned. It is more than probable, that foreign courts wait now for the result of your deliberations; and, as you may depend upon my constancy and steadiness, that no wicked and groundless suggestions or insinuations shall make me depart from my present purposes, so I entirely rely upon your wisdom and unanimity, to convince the world, that such pernicious designs and intrigues shall not alter that affection, harmony, and good understanding, which has hitherto subsisted, and I hope will always subsist, between me and my Parliament.

Address by the House of Commons, January 22, 1729.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave humbly to return our sincere and unfeigned thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne. **I**

We congratulate your Majesty upon the late arrival of his royal highness the Prince of Wales, so much to the joy and satisfaction of your Majesty, and all your people.

We are not insensible of the various and extensive views, which must naturally arise in settling and reconciling the different interests and pretensions of so many different powers, parties to the treaties of Hanover and Vienna; and we acknowledge, with the utmost gratitude, your Majesty's great wisdom and prudence, in avoiding, as far as was possible, all occasions of difficulties and delays, by concerting the most expeditious methods of concluding with honour and justice the negotiations depending at Soissons.

We have the happiness to see your Majesty indefatigable in the pursuits of the interests of your people, accommodating and composing the public differences, declining the temptation of military glory, and chusing rather to secure to your subjects their just rights and possessions by the milder arts of moderation and forbearance, than to plunge the nation unnecessarily into infinite and unknown expenses.

But your faithful Commons are so fully convinced that your own honour, and the honour of your kingdoms, are considerations so dear to your Majesty, and so inseparable from your royal mind, that we can, with the greatest confidence imaginable, entirely rely upon your Majesty's undoubted valour and resolution, to do yourself and the nation justice, whenever a proper occasion calls upon you for it; and we cannot in the least doubt, from your Majesty's constant and due regard to the rights, privileges, and interests of your people, but that your princely care will equally extend itself to the securing our commerce, and obtaining a just satisfaction for the many and great losses sustained by your trading subjects.

The mutual harmony and fidelity, so firmly established and subsisting between your Majesty and your allies, cannot fail to create in your Commons the highest satisfaction; and it is with pleasure we observe, that all endeavours and attempts to separate and dissolve this happy union, of such consequence to your kingdoms, and so essential to the preserving the peace and tranquillity of Europe, have proved vain and unsuccessful.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty that we will, with the greatest cheerfulness, raise the supplies necessary for answering and defraying the charges and expenses of the ensuing year, and will not fail to make the proper disposition of the growing produce of the sinking fund; and if, after all your Majesty's unwearied endeavours to procure a safe and honourable peace, rupture should become unavoidable, your Majesty may depend

For the zeal and affection of this House effectually to support your Majesty in carrying on a just and necessary war, and enable you to act with vigour, in conjunction with your allies, as future events, and the circumstances of public affairs, may require.

And, as nothing can be more injurious to your Majesty's honour, and the interest and reputation of your people, than the vile and detestable practices of those, who, by giving hopes of discontents, divisions, and difficulties, arising here at home, encourage the dilatory proceedings that have hitherto retarded the conclusion of this important transaction; we look with the utmost abhorrence upon the authors and contrivers of such base and unnatural artifices, who suggest the means of distressing their country, and clamour at the inconveniencies which they themselves have occasioned. This makes it highly incumbent upon us to give your Majesty the most unfeigned assurance, that this house will, by an unshaken duty and affection to your Majesty, and by a steady perseverance in support of your government, convince the world, that no false and groundless insinuations, no wicked designs and intrigues whatsoever, shall be able to alter or diminish that harmony and good understanding between your Majesty and your Parliament, which our inclination, duty, and interest, call upon us inviolably to preserve.

His Majesty's Answer, January 24, 1729.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for this very dutiful and affectionate address, and for the assurances you have given me, of your concurrence and support in my present engagements. You may depend upon it, that the honour and interest of my people shall be my principal care and concern in all events.

Joint Address by both Houses, March 24, 1729.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, have, upon mature deliberation, come to the following resolution, which we humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty, viz.

Resolved, by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that they do entirely rely upon

his Majesty, that he will, for the maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty, to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca.

His Majesty's Answer, March 26, 1729.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you for the confidence you repose in me. I will take effectual care, as I have hitherto done, to secure my undoubted right to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca.

Message from his Majesty, May 12, 1729.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty thinks fit to acquaint this House, that he intends, for divers weighty and important reasons, speedily to visit his dominions in Germany, and to appoint his dearest consort, the Queen, regent of this kingdom, during his Majesty's absence.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 14, 1729.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE season of the year, and the dispatch you have given to the public business, make it proper for me to put an end to this session of Parliament; which I cannot do, without expressing my satisfaction at the just regard you have shewn, upon all occasions, to my honour, and to the true interest of my people.

The prudence and temper with which you have proceeded at this critical conjuncture, have been very acceptable to me, and cannot fail of meeting with general approbation. Your several determinations upon matters of the greatest nicety and importance, have shewn you not insensible of the difficulties we labour under, without suffering yourselves to be transported and carried into any unseasonable warmths and animosities. You have considered the losses of our merchants with a becoming compassion and concern, and received their complaints in such a manner, as will best conduce to the obtaining them justice and satisfaction, and you may be assured, no endeavours shall be wanting on my part, to answer the expectations and wishes of my

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The supplies which you have granted me, and so effectually raised, in a manner the least burthenfome to my subjects, are a new proof of your zeal, affection, and readines to support me in the defence and protection of the rights and privileges of my kingdom. It is a great satisfaction to me to observe, that you have been thus able to supply the necessary charges and expenses that have unavoidably been brought and continued upon us, and, at the same time, to make a further progress in lessening and reducing the national debt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have already acquainted you, that, it being necessary for me to visit my German dominions this year, I have determined to make the Queen regent here, during my absence; and I must in a particular manner recommend it to you all, to make her administration as easy as possible, by preserving the peace and quiet of the kingdom in your several stations and countries, and by endeavouring to discountenance, and restrain, the vile and seditious practices of raising unjust clamours, and creating discontents in the minds of my people.

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And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the two and twentieth day of July next, to be then here held; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the two and twentieth day of July next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 13, 1730.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction I acquaint you, that we have at length extricated ourselves from the many difficulties and inconveniencies that attended the uncertain state of affairs in Europe, by having concluded an absolute peace with the crown of Spain.

This negotiation hath been carried on, and finished, with a perfect union, harmony, and fidelity, between me and my allies, with no other view, but to prevent the miseries and con-

as hard to know the end, as to determine the success of such a fatal event.

As this alliance is built upon the foundation, and is agreeable to the purport and intentions of former treaties, without any alterations in the principal articles, but such as tend to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed, it is very justly to be presumed, that, from this happy beginning, the great work of a general pacification will soon be perfect and complete.

But if, contrary to expectation, and in resentment of the present engagements, any new troubles, although with little prospect of success, should be raised in Europe, to oppose, or disappoint, the execution of them, I am confident, I shall not want the support and assistance of my Parliament in so just a cause, which hath the joint concurrence of so many considerable powers for the honour and credit of the present measures, and their united strength in maintenance of our mutual stipulations.

In the mean time, I can assure you, that I have made it my first care to consult the immediate interests of these my kingdoms, preferable to any other consideration, and at the hazard of all other events.

All former treaties and conventions made with Spain, in favour of our trade and navigation, are renewed and confirmed; not only a free and uninterrupted exercise of our commerce for the future is restored, but just and ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations are expressly stipulated and agreed to; in general, all rights, privileges, and possessions, in any manner belonging to me, and my allies, are solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed, and not one concession is made to the prejudice of me, or my subjects.

By this means a foundation is laid for removing all former animosities and misunderstandings between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Spain; and it is not at all to be doubted, but that, by a faithful execution of our reciprocal engagements, a perfect friendship betwixt the two nations, united by the common ties of mutual interest, may be more strongly established and cemented than ever.

And, that my subjects might reap the earliest fruits of this advantageous peace, I gave orders for the immediate reduction of a great number of my land forces, and for laying up, and discharging a great part of my fleet.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

This will make a considerable saving in the expense of the current year ; and, I hope, it will give a general satisfaction to my people, as it is a most sensible pleasure to me. The proper estimates shall be laid before you : and I make no doubt but you will grant me the necessary supplies, and enable me to make good my engagements with my allies in such manner as shall be most effectual for the public service, and most easy to your fellow subjects.

You will see, by the accounts that will be laid before you, the state, produce, and application of the sinking fund, as far as hath been hitherto directed by act of Parliament ; and you will not fail to take into your consideration the further disposition of the growing produce. You are the best judges whether the circumstances of the sinking fund, and of the national debt, will, as yet, admit of giving any ease where the duties are most grievous. I have the greatest regard for the sinking fund ; and I look with compassion upon the hardships of the poor artificers and manufactures : I leave it to your determination, what may reasonably, and with due caution, be done upon this critical consideration.

My Lords and Gentlemen, .

That we may receive the natural advantages of our present situation, I must, in the strongest manner, recommend to you a perfect unanimity among yourselves, such as may entirely defeat the hopes of our enemies, both at home and abroad. The groundless insinuations, cavils, and clamours of some few ill-designing persons, to shake the steadiness of those powers who are already my allies, or to hinder others from becoming so, will by your unanimity be rendered ineffectual ; and, I desire, that the affections of my people may be the strength of my government, as their interest hath always been the rule of my actions, and the object of my wishes.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, Jan. 14, 1730.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We cannot omit taking this first opportunity to congratulate your Majesty upon your happy return into these kingdoms.

your Majesty's absence, by the Queen, your royal consort, ruling by your authority, and governing by your example, could alone compensate for the want of your royal presence, and auspicious influence among us.

The welcome news of your Majesty's having concluded an absolute peace with the crown of Spain, effected by a perfect union, harmony, and fidelity between your Majesty and your allies, filled the hearts of all your good people with inexpressible joy and satisfaction; and we should be wanting, in duty to your Majesty, in justice to ourselves, and not answer the expectations of those we represent, if we did not approach your Majesty, upon this happy occasion, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, and with the strongest acknowledgments of your Majesty's goodness, wisdom, and resolution. your wisdom and resolution, in not suffering yourself to be diverted by any false and malicious clamours and insinuations, from steadily pursuing the great and desirable work of giving peace to your people; your goodness, in consulting the immediate interests of these your kingdoms, preferable to all other considerations, and at the hazard of all other events.

This must convince the world of your Majesty's paternal care and tender regard for your British dominions, when we see all former treaties, made in favour of our trade and commerce, and for the security of the rights, privileges, and possessions belonging to your Majesty, renewed, and confirmed; when we see the crown of Spain under new and fresh obligations to your Majesty, not only to permit to your subjects a free and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and commerce for the future, but to make just and ample restitution and reparation for all former unlawful seizures and depredations.

The extension of former engagements, without any material alterations in the principal articles from the purport and intentions of former treaties, in order to obtain these great and truly valuable advantages, without one concession made to the prejudice of your Majesty, or your subjects, is a consideration, that, to reject, had been losing the fairest opportunity to recover the ancient freedom and liberty of trade and commerce to these kingdoms; and not faithfully to fulfil, and execute, what is stipulated on your Majesty's part, to secure a reciprocal performance, from your Majesty's allies, of the engagements they have entered into, would be abandoning the particular interests and properties of your Majesty's trading subjects, and to expose the trade and commerce of this nation to all the hazards and uncertainties which they have so long laboured under.

These blessings secured to us will sufficiently compensate all inconveniencies that can attend the performance of your Majesty's

jeſty's engagements; and, as it is juſtly to be preſumed, that a general pacification and tranquillity in Europe will be the conſequence of the preſent treaty, the proſpect of ſeeing this ſoon complete, and perfected, adds greatly to our ſatisfaction.

But if, contrary to expectation, and in reſentment to your Maſteſty's juſt and prudent meaſures, any new troubles ſhould be raiſed in Europe, to oppoſe, or diſappoint the execution of the preſent engagements, we think ourſelves obliged, by the ſtrongest ties of duty, affection, and gratitude, to aſſure your Maſteſty, that we will ſtand by and ſupport your Maſteſty againſt all inſults and indignities that ſhall be offered to your Maſteſty, and that we will enable you to make good your engagements with your allies.

The immediate reduction of ſo conſiderable a part of your forces by ſea and land, upon the firſt notice of the confirmation of the peace, is another inſtance of your Maſteſty's care and attention to the eaſe and welfare of your people; and the recommending to our conſideration the ſtate of the ſinking fund, in ſo gracious and condeſcending a manner, obliges us to proceed with all poſſible caution and prudence in an affair of that nicety and importance, where the earlier diſcharge of the national debt on one hand, and the hardſhips of the poor artificers and manufacturers on the other, require the greateſt regard, and deſerve the moſt mature deliberation.

From a due ſenſe of theſe many proofs of your Maſteſty's unwearied endeavours to conſult the happineſs of your people, we think ourſelves obliged to aſſure your Maſteſty, that this Houſe will, by the beſt and moſt eaſy methods, effectually raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year; and, by a proper zeal and concern for the honour of your Maſteſty, the public tranquillity, and the good of your people, defeat the vain expectation of ſuch ill-deſigning perſons, who may flatter themſelves with the hopes of being able, by groundleſs inſinuations, cavils, and clamours, to ſhake the ſteadineſs of thoſe powers who are already allies to your Maſteſty, or to hinder others from becoming ſo.

His Maſteſty's moſt gracious Speech, May 15, 1730.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE ſeaſon of the year, and the diſpatch you have given to the public buſineſs, make it proper for me to put an end to this ſeſſion; and, I make no doubt, but the conduct and behaviour of this Parliament, as it has answered my expectations,

tions, will be equally satisfactory to all my good and faithful subjects.

The support you have given me, in enabling me so effectually to make good my engagements with my allies, will I persuade myself, have the desired effect; and, when it shall be seen, that the allies of the treaty of Seville are not ~~only~~ determined, but in a readiness, to execute their mutual engagements, it is very much to be hoped, that a general pacification will be the happy consequence of this just and powerful alliance.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I give you my thanks, in particular, for the supplies you have raised for the service of the current year. It is a great satisfaction to me, that you have had such a due regard for the ease of your fellow subjects, whose welfare and prosperity it shall always be my principal care and study to advance and promote.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am very glad, that, for the general satisfaction, you entered into a particular consideration of the state of the nation; and it is a great happiness to see, after so many unjust and unreasonable clamours, raised with all possible art, industry, and malice, that, upon mature deliberation, and the most solemn debates, you were so far from finding any thing worthy of blame or censure, that all matters, which came under your consideration, met with your approbation.

This must give all mankind a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, from a spirit of envy and discontent, continually labour, by scandalous libels, to alienate the affections of my people, and to fill their minds with groundless jealousies, and unjust complaints, in dishonour of me, and my government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of Parliament.

But I must rely upon your prudence, and your concern for the peace and happiness of your country, to discountenance all such seditious practices, and to make my people sensible, that these wicked proceedings can have no other view or end, but to create confusion and distraction among us.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the fourteenth day of July next,

next, to be then here held : and this Parliament is accordingly adjourned to Tuesday, the fourteenth day of July next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 21, 1731.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU cannot but be sensible, that the measures formerly taken, and the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, have prevented and disappointed the dangerous consequences that were so justly apprehended from the treaty of Vienna ; and we do not only see that union dissolved, which had alarmed all Europe, but the allies of the treaty of Hanover strengthened by the additional power of the crown of Spain.

This situation of affairs gave us a reasonable prospect of a general pacification, and just hopes of seeing the conditions of the treaty of Seville complied with, without the necessity of coming to extremities ; and no endeavours have been wanting, conformable to my engagements with my allies, to obtain that happy end ; but this desirable event having been hitherto delayed, the treaty of Seville lays an indispensable obligation upon all the contracting parties to prepare for the execution of it ; and we must be in a readiness to perform our part, and, by continuing to pursue the proper measures, convince our allies, that we will faithfully fulfil our engagements, and, as far as shall depend upon us, procure the satisfaction due to them, either by such means as shall be most eligible, or by such as shall be found absolutely necessary.

The present critical conjuncture seems in a very particular manner to deserve your attention, and you need not be told with what impatience the resolutions of this Parliament are every where waited for, and expected.

I am incapable of attempting to influence your proceedings by groundless fears and apprehensions, and as incapable of amusing you with vain hopes and expectations ; but, as the transactions, now depending in the several courts of Europe, are upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace, or war, may be very much affected by your first resolutions. The continuance of that zeal and vigour which you have hitherto shewn in support of me, and my engagements, must, at this time, be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to my allies, who cannot then think their interest, and the common cause, neglected, before the conditions of their treaties are accomplished, and with regard to those who may be disposed, before the season of action is come, to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal consequences of a general

ral rupture, which they will have little reason to apprehend, if they find the allies of Seville not prepared to do themselves justice.

The plan of operations for the execution of the treat of Seville by force, in case we shall be driven to that necessity, is now under consideration; and, until the proportions of the confederate forces, and the proper dispositions for employing them, shall be finally adjusted, and agreed upon, it will not be easy to determine how far the expenses necessary for the service of the ensuing year may, or may not, exceed the provisions made for the service of the last year.

In the mean time, I am persuaded, you will go on to give all possible dispatch to the public business; and, if it shall be necessary, I shall not fail to ask the further advice and assistance of my Parliament, according to the circumstances of public affairs, and as soon as any proper occasion shall require it.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I will order the proper estimates to be prepared and laid before you; and I can make no doubt, but that dutiful regard which you have always shewed to me, and my honour, and your just concern for the true interest of your country, will induce you to grant me the necessary supplies, and enable me to make good my engagements with my allies with that cheerfulness and affection which become a British House of Commons, tender and jealous of the honour of the crown, careful and solicitous for the glory and prosperity of the kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The time draws near which will admit of no further delays. If the tranquillity of Europe can be settled without the effusion of blood, or the expense of public treasure, that situation will certainly be most happy, and desirable; but, if that blessing cannot be obtained, honour, justice, and the sacred faith due to solemn treaties, will call upon us to exert ourselves in procuring by force what cannot be had upon just and reasonable terms.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, Jan. 22, 1731.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our sincere thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We

We cannot but in gratitude acknowledge your Majesty's goodness, in endeavouring to have the conditions of the treaty of Beville fulfilled and executed in such manner as might best secure a general pacification, and be conformable to your engagements with your allies.

And, out of a just sense of the blessings we enjoy, we think it our duty to declare our entire confidence in your royal care and concern for the honour and interest of your people, and our perfect reliance upon your Majesty's wisdom and justice; in doing every thing that shall depend upon you to procure the satisfaction due to your allies, by such means as shall be the most desirable, or, if they prove ineffectual, by such as shall be absolutely necessary.

We are firmly resolved to continue our utmost zeal and vigour in support of your Majesty, and your engagements; esteeming this the least part of our duty, when we consider, that those engagements are the effect of your vigilance for the welfare of your subjects.

We assure your Majesty, that we will give all possible dispatch to the public business, as it shall from time to time be brought before us, that, as your people feel the happiness of your reign, so your Majesty may feel the ease of it; and, from a dutiful regard to your honour and dignity, and a just concern for the true interest of our country, which we shall always look upon as indispensable and inseparable obligations, we have the greatest satisfaction in assuring your Majesty, that we will, with all cheerfulness, grant such supplies as shall be necessary for the service of the ensuing year, and effectually enable your Majesty to make good your engagements with your allies.

Your Majesty's goodness to your people is very apparent in your avoiding to bring any unnecessary burthens upon them; and it is the least return we can make for it, to assure your Majesty, that, in case the circumstances of public affairs shall oblige you to ask the further advice and assistance of your faithful Commons, we will, upon every occasion, discharge our duty to your Majesty, and those we represent, with that cheerfulness and affection which become a British House of Commons, tender and jealous of the honour of the crown, careful and solicitous for the glory and prosperity of the kingdom,

His Majesty's Answer, January 25, 1731.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. The zeal and affection you express for me, and the assurances you have given me of enabling me to make good my engagements with my allies, will, I am persuaded, have a very good effect at this critical and important conjuncture.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 7, 1731.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great pleasure to me, that, at the close of this session of Parliament, I am able to acquaint you, that the hopes I had conceived, and given you, of seeing very suddenly a happy period put to the troubles and disorders which had been so long apprehended, are now, by the treaty signed at Vienna, answered and accomplished.

A project of a convention betwixt the Emperor and the maritime powers, for accommodating the differences and disputes that were subsisting, having been formed, the treaty is concluded, and signed by me, and the Emperor, and is now under the consideration of the States General, the forms of that government not admitting a previous concert in a negotiation of this nature; and, as this treaty principally regards the execution of the treaty of Seville, it is likewise communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville; and I have just received advice, that the ratifications between me and the Emperor are exchanged.

The conditions and engagements which I have entered into upon this occasion, are agreeable to that necessary concern which this nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe; and, as the uncertain and violent state of affairs to which Europe was reduced, and the mischief of an immediate general war, which began to be thought unavoidable, are now removed, this happy turn, duly improved, with a just regard to our former alliances, which it shall be my care to preserve, gives us a favourable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the effectual supplies which you have granted me for the service of the present year, and for the proper disposition you have made of the public funds, towards lessening

lessening and discharging the national debt. The remarkable dispatch and unanimity which you have shewn at this critical juncture, has added very much to the credit and weight of your proceedings; and you shall find as great a readiness on my part to ease the burdens of my people, as soon as the circumstances and situation of affairs will admit of it, as you have shewn to raise the supplies necessary for the service of the public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I hope, at your return into the country, you will find all attempts to raise a spirit of discontent among my people, by unjust clamours and misrepresentations, vain and ineffectual. All malicious insinuations, to the prejudice of my measures, must surely vanish, when it shall appear, that my first and principal care has been for the interest and honour of this kingdom. Let it be your endeavour to remove all groundless jealousies and apprehensions, that the satisfaction of the nation may be as general as it is my earnest desire that their happiness may be: let all my people, let all orders of men, enjoy quietly and unenvied the rights, privileges, and indulgences, which by law they are entitled to; let no innovations disturb any part of my subjects in the possession of their legal property: let all that are zealous in support of me and my government partake in common the benefits of the present happy establishment; and let your good-will to one another be as extensive as my protection, which all my good and faithful subjects have an equal right to, and may equally depend upon.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day of July next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day of July next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 13, 1732.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great pleasure to me that I am able to acquaint you, that the expectations which I have from time to time given you, of seeing the general tranquillity of Europe restored and established, are now fully answered.

The share of credit and influence which the crown of Great Britain has had in bringing about this difficult and desirable work, and which redounds so much to the honour and interest of this nation, as it is universally confessed abroad, will, I am confident, be agreeable to my people, and acknowledged with gratitude by you.

It is well known, that, from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the several courts of Europe have been employed in finding means to execute what the principal powers had agreed to, for the succession of Tuscany and Parma in favour of an infant of Spain; but the various jarring and contending interests, hard to be reconciled and united, in effectuating a point of so much importance, the extended views and hopes of obtaining, on every side, further advantages, and the natural jealousies and distrusts arising among the several powers concerned from such opposite principles and purposes, had kept in suspense, and unexecuted, what the court of Spain had very much at heart, and occasioned such troubles and disturbances, as embarrassed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the interests of this nation.

You have from time to time been informed of the different measures and negotiations that have on all sides been carrying on during this long unsettled state of affairs; and you have enabled me to persevere in maintaining the rights and possessions of this kingdom, and in preserving the peace and balance of Europe.

The preliminary articles, and the subsequent transactions thereupon, not answering the expectations of the court of Spain, and creating a coolness and dissatisfaction among the contracting parties of the first treaty of Vienna, laid the foundation of the treaty of Seville, and thereby dissolved that union, which had raised so many apprehensions, and so long alarmed the world.

The execution of the treaty of Seville was the great difficulty that still remained; and this, unsurmountable as it was thought, I have, by your support, and by the confidence you reposed in me, been able to overcome by just and honourable treaties, without coming to extremities, and without the hazard and expense of a general rupture, or kindling a war in any part of Europe.

Parma and Placentia are now in the actual possession of the infant Don Carlos; the six thousand Spaniards are quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the Great Duke, the reversion of his dominions; and a family convention is made
between

between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving peace and friendship between those two houses during the life of the Great Duke.

For perfecting and finishing this tedious work, conducted through a series of infinite changes and vicissitudes, and encumbered with all the different views of interest and ambition, I concluded the late treaty of Vienna; wherein I have entered into no engagements contrary to former treaties, or tending either to aggrandize or reduce the power or weight of any potentate; calculated purely for preserving a due balance, and to avoid such confusion as new changes and convulsions, upon future events, would unavoidably create, and wherein Great Britain could never stand by and be an idle spectator.

When this shall be duly considered, and it shall be seen, that the wounds which have been long bleeding are entirely healed, groundless jealousies will cease, ill humours will subside, and peace and good harmony return together; all diffidence and distrust, the natural effect of repeated delays, artfully instilled, and industriously improved and aggravated, will be removed, and mutual satisfaction be the consequence of the punctual and effectual performance of all engagements on our side; which will ever be remembered with great regard and honour to this crown and nation, and leave an indispensable obligation upon those that are immediately concerned to make such returns as honour and justice call for and demand.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The estimates for the service of the current year shall be prepared and laid before you; which you will observe to be considerably less than those of former years. It is a pleasure to me to give ease to my subjects, whenever the welfare of the public will admit of it. You have seen the happy effects of your former zeal and resolution; success has attended my measures, and you reap the fruit of my endeavours and your confidence in me; and it must be a satisfaction to you to reflect, that all the expenses you have lately made are amply recompensed by preventing and avoiding far greater.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

This happy situation of affairs, I promise myself, will inspire you all with such temper and unanimity, and such a seasonable zeal for the public good, as becomes a Parliament, sensible of the great blessings they enjoy. The duty and the affections of my subjects are all the return I desire for my paternal love and concern for them. My government has no

security but what is equally conducive to your happiness and to the protection of my people; and your prosperity has no foundation but in the defence and support of my government: our safety is mutual, our interests are inseparable.

Address by the House of Commons, Jan. 14, 1732.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

It is the highest satisfaction to your faithful Commons, to see the general tranquillity of Europe restored and re-established by your Majesty's credit and influence, which reflects the greatest glory to the British crown, and, of consequence, to the British nation, the honour and interest of which are always mutual and inseparable.

We are fully persuaded, that the treaties your Majesty has entered into were made with no other view than to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and secure the possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and all the rights and privileges we are entitled to; and we acknowledge, with gratitude, your Majesty's wisdom and goodness, in procuring for us all these advantages without the expense and hazards of a war.

We are very sensible of the many difficulties your Majesty laboured under in bringing this great and glorious work to so happy a conclusion. The many obstacles, arising from various pretensions and jealousies, during the course of these transactions, unsurmountable as they have been thought, are, by your Majesty's steadiness and prudence, entirely removed; and at a time when a war seemed unavoidable, the settlement of the succession of Don Carlos to the states of Tuscany and Parma has been peaceably accomplished, and the general tranquillity of Europe preserved by the weight and credit of your Majesty's negotiations.

Thus has your Majesty extricated, not only this nation, but all Europe, out of the uncertain state we for many years laboured under, and that by means most honourable to your Majesty, consistent with all former engagements, and without the least injury to any prince or power in Europe.

And we humbly assure your Majesty, that, having the truest sense of the many blessings we have enjoyed during the course of your Majesty's reign, and how much our present happiness is owing to your paternal love and care for your people, we
will,

will, with the greatest cheerfulness, grant the necessary supplies for the service of the current year; and your Majesty will always find such returns of duty and gratitude from us, as the best of kings may expect from the most loyal subjects, fully convinced, that the only end of your Majesty's auspicious government is the protection and prosperity of your people.

His Majesty's Answer, January 17, 1732.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. I make no doubt of the continuance of your duty, affection, and confidence in me; and you will always find, that all my views tend to the honour, interest, and security, of my crown and people.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, May 10, 1732.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, having taken into our consideration the great collection of valuable records belonging to this nation, and the necessity of transmitting them down safe and entire for the use of our posterity, humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty the state in which we found them, together with the inconveniences that may arise from their remaining in their present situation.

A great part of the Cottonian library, with the variety of curious and useful matters therein contained, has, notwithstanding the late fire at Ashburnham House, by the great diligence and attention of the trustees, been preserved; and that the public may not, for want of due care, be gradually deprived of so noble and generous a benefaction, we beg leave to recommend it, in the most particular manner, to your Majesty's consideration, favour, and protection.

The several places assigned for the preservation of all these inestimable monuments of antiquity are too narrow and confined for their reception, and some of them in a very ruinous and dangerous condition.

We find also some records not deposited in their proper offices, but either remaining in private hands, or in places not assigned for public records, nor under the care of any stated officer.

Nor has the ancient method of removing records from the offices wherein they are originally formed to such places as are appointed to preserve them been duly observed, chiefly for want of room in the present offices allotted for their reception.

Great inconveniencies have arisen to the inquirers after this useful knowledge, not only from these difficulties, but also from the undistinguished and confused manner in which some of the records of this kingdom have been kept, there being no general calendars, or indexes, for the whole; which, with proper encouragement, may be completed by persons of skill and ability, and would probably bring to light many material remains of antiquity, which, from the difficulty of access, have long lain unknown and neglected.

The present short inquiry, imperfect as it is, has produced an instance of this, by discovering amongst the ancient records, that directions for works of this kind have been formerly given by your Majesty's royal predecessors.

Your faithful Commons beg leave further humbly to represent to your Majesty, that, as the public interest is concerned in providing more secure and decent repositories for the records of this kingdom, so the public faith is engaged for the better reception and preservation of the Cottonian library, so generously given for the public service.

And as there is at present no allowance to the keeper of the said library, we humbly submit it to your Majesty's consideration, whether, if a proper and reasonable stipend were granted to him, it would not engage him to perform his duty with greater care and diligence.

Having thus, with the greatest humility, laid the state of the records of this kingdom, and of the Cottonian library before your Majesty, we assure ourselves, that it will be entirely agreeable to your Majesty's gracious disposition to transmit to future ages these monuments and remains of antiquity, so necessary and useful to the knowledge and preservation of our excellent constitution, which we hope will go down to posterity, together with the family under which it now flourishes, as inseparable and perpetual blessings to this nation.

Your faithful Commons do therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to give such directions as your Majesty in your great wisdom shall think fit, for the better reception and more convenient use of the public records of this kingdom, and of the Cottonian library.

And we beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that whatever extraordinary expenses are incurred by the directions your Majesty,

Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think fit to give on this occasion, shall, with great cheerfulness and unanimity be provided for, and made good by your faithful Commons.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 1, 1732.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU having now dispatched all the public business that it was practicable for you to go through with at present, and the season of the year being so far advanced, I believe it will not be disagreeable to you, that I give you an opportunity of retiring into the country, by putting an end to this session of Parliament.

It is unnecessary for me to represent to you the happy state and situation of public affairs, both at home and abroad. You must all be sensible of what is universally seen and felt in the full enjoyment of a general peace. The concurrence of the States General in the late treaty of Vienna has perfected the establishment of the public tranquillity, as far as human prudence can foresee or provide; and a faithful observance and execution of the treaties and alliances now subsisting among the several princes and powers of Europe, free from groundless jealousies, and void of all ambitious views, will be the most effectual means to continue and preserve these blessings to us.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the provisions you have made for the defence and security of the kingdom, and for carrying on the service of the current year. It is a great satisfaction to me, to see you have turned your thoughts towards raising the necessary supplies by such methods as may be the least burthensome to my people; and as this cannot but be received in the country as a most grateful and acceptable service, I hope it will encourage you to pursue such measures for the future, as may, on all occasions, render the supplies that shall be necessary as equal and easy as is possible.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It being necessary for me to visit my German dominions this year, I have determined to leave the Queen, Regent here, during my absence; and I doubt not but it will be your endeavours to make the government as easy to her, as, I am confident it will be her care, by a just and prudent administration, to deserve your duty and regard. I recommend to you all, in
your

you several stations, to study and consult the preservation of the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of July, to be then here held : and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of July next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 16, 1733.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me, that the present situation of affairs, both at home and abroad, makes it unnecessary for me to lay before you any other reasons for my calling you together at this time, but the ordinary dispatch of the public business ; and that I may have an opportunity of receiving your advice upon such affairs as may occur to you, and shall require the care and consideration of Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I will order the proper officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the current year ; and I make no doubt but that you will, with the same cheerfulness as I have always experienced in you, effectually raise such supplies as you shall judge necessary for the honour, safety, and defence of the kingdom : and I cannot but recommend it to you, as a consideration worthy the Commons of Great Britain, that in all your deliberations, as well upon raising the annual supplies, as the distribution of the public revenues, you pursue such measures as will most conduce to the present and future ease of those you represent.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You must be sensible that it is very desirable to give all possible dispatch to the public business ; and that nothing can give more weight and credit to all your resolutions, than to avoid unreasonable heats and animosities, and not to suffer yourselves to be diverted, by any specious pretences, from steadfastly pursuing the true interests of your country : let that be your first
and

and principal care, and the people will be sensible of the benefits they shall receive from your wisdom and resolution, in preferring their ease and the public good to all other considerations.

Address by the House of Commons, January 17, 1733.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to return your Majesty our most sincere and hearty thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The situation of affairs, both at home and abroad, gives your faithful Commons the highest satisfaction, and fills their hearts with the deepest sense of gratitude to your Majesty; being fully sensible that the present happiness we enjoy is the entire effect of your Majesty's wisdom and resolution.

Such supplies as shall be necessary for the honour, safety, and defence of your Majesty and your kingdom, shall cheerfully and effectually be raised by your faithful Commons, with all possible duty to your Majesty, and a just regard and concern for those we represent.

We also beg leave to assure your Majesty, that in all our deliberations, as well in raising the supplies, as in the distribution of the public revenues, we will pursue such measures as will most conduce to the present and future ease of our fellow subjects; and such as, agreeably to your Majesty's known goodness, and gracious intentions towards your people, and the constant endeavours of your faithful Commons, shall be consistent with the honour and justice of Parliament, and with the trade, interest, and liberties of the nation.

That our proceedings may carry with them the weight and credit which ought always to attend the resolutions of the Commons of Great Britain, and that the necessary dispatch may be given to the public business, we will use our utmost endeavours to avoid all unreasonable heats and animosities; nor suffer ourselves to be diverted, by any specious pretences whatsoever, from steadfastly pursuing the true interest of our country, which, in pursuance of your Majesty's most gracious recommendation from your great example, and our own indispensable duty, shall, upon all occasions, be our first and principal care.

His Majesty's Answer, January 22, 1733.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for these dutiful assurances of your zeal and affection for me; and I make no doubt but that your resolutions to pursue such measures as will most conduce to the ease and true interest of all my subjects, will as effectually recommend you to the good opinion and esteem of my people, as they are acceptable to me.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, May 8, 1733.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having received from the Prince of Orange proposals for a treaty of marriage between the Princess Royal and the said Prince; and his Majesty having been pleased favourably to accept the instances made by the Prince, his Highness has sent over a minister, instructed and authorised with full powers to treat of and conclude the articles of marriage: his Majesty has therefore thought it proper to communicate this important affair to this House; and as he makes no doubt but this marriage will be to the general satisfaction of all his good subjects, he promises himself the concurrence and assistance of this House, in enabling him to give such a portion to his eldest daughter, as shall be suitable to the present occasion, and may contribute towards supporting with honour and dignity an alliance that will tend so much to the further security of the protestant succession to the crown of these realms, and to the protestant interest in Europe.

Address by the House of Commons, May 8, 1733.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our most dutiful thanks for being graciously pleased to communicate to us your royal intentions of concluding a marriage between the Princess Royal and the Prince of Orange.

The happy prospect of seeing this alliance entered into and concluded, with a Prince whose family has always distinguished itself in support of the protestant religion, and in defence of the liberties

liberties of Europe, gives us the greatest satisfaction : we remember, with gratitude, the great and infinite benefits procured to this nation by that illustrious house ; and we cannot but promise ourselves a further security to the protestant succession to the crown of these realms, from the renewal of that union which gave birth to, and laid the foundation of this inestimable blessing.

And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that to demonstrate our duty, zeal, and affection to your Majesty, and to testify the just sense we have of the singular merits and eminent virtues of the Princess Royal, we will enable your Majesty to give her such a portion as may conduce to her future happiness, and to the supporting her royal highness with honour and dignity.

His Majesty's Answer, May 10, 1733.

Gentlemen,

I GIVE you my thanks for this new instance of your duty and affection : nothing can be more acceptable to me than your great readiness in complying with this demand, and the personal regard you have shewn to me and my family.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 13, 1733.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE season of the year, and the dispatch you have given to the public business, make it proper for me to put an end to this session of Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the provisions you have made for the service of the current year : I have never demanded any supplies of my people, but what were absolutely necessary for the honour, safety, and defence of me and my kingdom ; and I am always best pleased when the public expenses are supplied in a manner least burdensome to my subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot pass by unobserved the wicked endeavours that have lately been made use of to inflame the minds of the people, and by the most unjust misrepresentations, to raise tumults and disorders that almost threatened the peace of the kingdom : but I depend upon the force of truth to remove the groundless jealousies that have been raised, of designs carrying on against the
liberties

liberties of my people ; and upon your known fidelity, to defeat and frustrate the expectations of such as delight in confusion. It is my inclination, and has always been my study, to preserve the religious and civil rights of all my subjects : let it be your care to undeceive the deluded, and to make them sensible of their present happiness ; and the hazard they run of being unwarily drawn, by specious pretences, into their own destruction.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of July next, to be then here held : and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of July next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 17, 1734.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE war which is now begun and carried on against the Emperor with so much vigour, by the united powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia, is become the object of the care and attention of all Europe ; and though I am no ways engaged in it, and have had no part, except by my good offices, in those transactions which have been declared to be the principal causes and motives of it, I cannot sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the future consequences of a war, undertaken and supported by so powerful an alliance.

If ever any occasion required more than ordinary prudence and circumspection, the present calls upon us to use our utmost precaution not to determine too hastily upon so critical and important a conjuncture ; but to consider thoroughly what the honour and dignity of my crown and kingdoms, the true interest of my people, and the engagements we are under to the several powers we are in alliance with, may, in justice and prudence, require of us.

I have therefore thought it proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers that are more nearly and immediately interested in the consequences of the war ; and to concert with those allies who are under the same engagements with me, and have not taken part in the war, more particularly the States

General

General of the United Provinces, such measures as shall be thought most adviseable for our common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe.

The resolutions of the British Parliament, in so nice a juncture, are of too great moment not to be carefully attended to, and impatiently expected by all, and not least by those who will hope to take advantage from your determination, whatever they shall be, and to turn them to the prejudice of this kingdom. It must therefore be thought most safe and prudent, thoroughly to weigh and consider all circumstances, before we come to a final determination.

As I shall have, in my considerations upon this great and important affair, the strictest regard to the honour of my crown, and the good of my people, and be governed by no other views, I can make no doubt but that I may entirely depend on the support and assistance of my Parliament, without exposing myself, by any precipitate declarations, to such inconveniences as ought, as far as possible, to be avoided.

In the mean time, I am persuaded you will make such provisions as shall secure my kingdoms, rights, and possessions, from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. Whatever part it may, in the end, be most reasonable for us to act, it will in all views be necessary, when all Europe is preparing for arms, to put ourselves in a proper posture of defence. As this will best preserve the peace of the kingdom, so it will give us a due weight and influence in whatever measures we shall take in conjunction with our allies: but should the defence of the nation not be sufficiently provided for, it will make us disregarded abroad, and may prove a temptation and encouragement to the desperate views of those who never fail to flatter themselves with the hopes of great advantages from public troubles and disorders.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I shall order the estimates to be laid before you of such services as require your present and immediate care. The augmentation which will be proposed for the sea service, will be very considerable; but I am confident it will be thought by you reasonable and necessary. I must particularly recommend to your care the debt of the navy, which has every year been laid before you: but from the present circumstances of the times, I believe you will think it now requires some provision to be made for it; which cannot well be longer postponed, without manifest detriment to the public service.

As these extraordinary charges and expenses are unavoidable, I make no doubt but you will effectually raise the supplies necessary

cessary for defraying of them, with that readiness and dispatch, and with that just regard to the true interest of my people, which this Parliament has hitherto shewn upon all occasions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is at all times to be wished, that the business of Parliament might be carried on free from heats and animosities ; and with that temper which becomes the justice and wisdom of the nation : at this time it is more particularly to be desired, that this session may not be protracted by unnecessary delays, when the whole kingdom seems prepared for the election of a new Parliament ; an event which employs the attention of all Europe : and I am very well pleased that this opportunity offers, of taking again the sense of my people, in the choice of a new representative ; that the world may see how much their true sentiments have been mistaken or misrepresented : those who see and hear only at a distance, may easily be imposed upon ; and from thence conceive false hopes or fears ; but I am confident a little time will effectually remove all groundless surmises : and it will be found that Great Britain is always ready to act that part which the honour and interest of the nation calls upon them to undertake.

Address by the House of Commons, January 18, 1734.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humblest thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne. We are truly sensible of your Majesty's goodness, and hear, with the deepest sense of gratitude, the concern you are pleased to express for the war unhappily begun in Europe ; and acknowledge, with the highest satisfaction, this new proof your Majesty has given us of your great wisdom, in waiting, at this nice and critical juncture, the result of the councils of those powers who are more nearly and immediately interested in the consequences of this war, before your Majesty makes any final determination for your own conduct ; not wondering that the same prudence and precaution, the same concern and circumspection that have guided and directed every step hitherto taken in your Majesty's happy and auspicious reign, should now induce you to take time to examine the facts alledged on both sides, and to concert with those allies who are under the same engagements with your Majesty, without having taken part in the war, particularly the States Gene-

ral of the United Provinces, such measures as shall be thought most adviseable for the common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe.

That your Majesty, in all your transactions in this great and important affair, will have the strictest regard to the honour and dignity of your crown and kingdom, and to the true interest of your people, is what not only your Majesty's royal assurances, but our happy experience of all your Majesty's past conduct, leave us no room to doubt.

And as we have an entire confidence in your Majesty's judgment to discern, and solicitude to procure the welfare and interests of your subjects, so your Majesty may depend upon the effectual support and ready assistance of your faithful Commons, in all such measures as your Majesty shall find it necessary to enter into, for attaining and securing these great ends.

And we beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that your Commons will make such provision for the safety of your kingdoms, as the present situation of affairs and exigency of the times require; such provisions as shall effectually secure your Majesty's kingdoms, rights, and possessions, from all insults and dangers; as shall preserve the respect due to the British nation abroad, and guard its safety at home; that not the least encouragement may be given to the desperate views of those who never fail to flatter themselves with hopes of some advantages from public troubles and disorders, and of molesting the inseparable interests of your Majesty and your people.

Such estimates and demands as your Majesty shall think fit to lay before your Commons for the public service, shall be immediately taken into our consideration, and your Majesty may depend on our known zeal for raising such supplies as shall be necessary and answerable to the present circumstances, with our usual cheerfulness and approved fidelity, and a due regard both to the ease and interest of our fellow subjects.

And that the public business may be dispatched with all proper expedition, and the present session not protracted by any unnecessary delays, we will endeavour to avoid all heats and animosities, and to proceed with that unanimity which the justice and prudence of your Majesty's mild and wise government may expect and claim, and give weight to our deliberations, and maintain the dignity of Parliament.

His Majesty's Answer, January 22, 1734.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this very dutiful, affectionate, and loyal address, and for the confidence you repose in me, which, you may be assured, shall always be employed for the honour of my crown, and the true interest of my people.

*Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons,
March 28, 1734.*

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty very thankfully acknowledges the zeal and affection which this House has shewn in the early dispatch they have already made in the necessary supplies for the public service, which his Majesty recommended to their immediate care at the opening of this session.

But the war which has broke out in Europe still unhappily continuing, his Majesty has nothing more at heart than to see that flame extinguished, and to avoid, if possible, the engaging his subjects in the hazards and expense of a war; being, at the same time, desirous neither to give any just alarm to other nations, nor to subject himself to any unprovoked insults.

In this view, and to the end that his Majesty's endeavours, in conjunction with his allies, for procuring an accommodation, may, in due time, have the desired effect, and that his Majesty may be in a condition to make good such engagements, as honour, justice, or prudence, may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and that his kingdoms may not be left exposed to any desperate attempts, during such time as it may be impossible for his Majesty to have the immediate advice and assistance of his great council, upon any emergency arising from the present posture of Europe, which may nearly concern the interest and safety of these kingdoms, his Majesty hopes that he shall be enabled and supported by his Parliament, in making such further augmentation of his forces, either by sea or land, as may be absolutely necessary for the honour and defence of his kingdoms, and in concerting such measures as the exigency of affairs may require; whatever expense shall be thereby occasioned, shall be made in as frugal a manner as is possible; and an account thereof shall be laid before the next Parliament.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 16, 1734.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I GIVE you my hearty thanks for the great dispatch you have given to the public business; and for the confidence you have reposed in me, for the honour and security of my kingdom: so short a session, at so critical and important a conjuncture, concluded with so much unanimity, and so just a regard for the true interest of the nation, will give great weight and credit to all our public transactions, and procure that respect and dependence upon the great council of this nation, which are so necessary to support the honour and interest of Great Britain, both at home and abroad.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must acknowledge, in a particular manner, the zeal and readiness which you have shewn, in raising, in so effectual a manner, the necessary supplies for the service of the year: the provision you have made for paying off great part of the debt of the navy, a debt necessarily and unavoidably incurred, and carrying a higher interest than the old national debt; and which being at a discount, increased the charge and expense in all contracts of the navy and victualling, must certainly be thought of singular service to the public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The time limited for the expiration of this Parliament drawing near, I have resolved forthwith to issue my proclamation for the dissolving of it, and for calling a new Parliament, that the inconveniencies unavoidably attending a general election may be put an end to as soon as possible: but I should think myself inexcusable if I parted with this Parliament without doing them the justice to acknowledge the many signal proofs they had given, through the course of seven years, of their duty, fidelity, and attachment to my person and government, and their constant regard to the true interest of their country.

The prosperity and glory of my reign depend upon the affection and happiness of my people, and the happiness of my people upon my preserving to them all their legal rights and privileges, as established under the present settlement of the crown in the protestant line: a due execution and strict observance of the laws are the best and only security both to sovereign and subject; their interest is mutual and inseparable, and therefore their endeavours for the support of each other ought to

be equal and reciprocal ; any infringement or encroachment upon the rights of either, is a diminution of the strength of both ; which, kept within their due bounds and limits, make that just balance which is necessary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the protection and prosperity of the people : what depends upon me, shall, on my part, be religiously kept and observed : and I make no doubt of receiving the just returns of duty and gratitude from them.

I must, in a particular manner, recommend it to you, and from your known affection, do expect that you will use your best endeavours to heal the unhappy divisions of the nation, and to reconcile the minds of all who truly and sincerely wish the safety and welfare of the kingdom : it would be the greatest satisfaction to me to see a perfect harmony restored amongst them that have one and the same principle at heart, that there might be no distinction, but of such as mean the support of our present happy constitution in church and state, and such as wish to subvert both : this is the only distinction that ought to prevail in this country, where the interest of king and people is one and the same, and where they cannot subsist but by being so. If religion, liberty, and property were never at any time more fully enjoyed, without not only an attempt, but even the shadow of a design, to alter or invade them, let not these sacred names be made use of as artful and plausible pretences to undermine the present establishment, under which alone they can be safe.

I have nothing to wish, but that my people may not be misguided : I appeal to their own consciences for my conduct, and hope the providence of God will direct them in the choice of such representatives as are most fit to be trusted with the care and preservation of the protestant religion, the present establishment, and all the religious and civil rights of Great Britain.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the fourteenth day of May next, to be then here held : and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the fourteenth day of May next.

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, January 23, 1735.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HIS Majesty hath commanded me to let you know, that he is not pleased to declare his reasons for calling this Parliament, till there be a Speaker of the House of Commons; and therefore it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, immediately repair to the place where the Commons usually sit, and there chuse a fit person to be your Speaker; and that you present him whom you shall so chuse, to his Majesty here, for his royal approbation, on Thursday, the twenty-third of this month, at two of the clock.

*Speech by Mr. Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons,
January 23, 1735.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, have, in pursuance of your Majesty's direction, and according to their ancient right, proceeded to the election of one of their members, to be presented to your Majesty, for their Speaker.

And their choice, Sir, has again fallen upon me for this important trust.

~~My~~ office, Sir, which almost in all times has been deemed too important and difficult for any person to undertake, without expressing his fears and dread of not performing his duty in it, and of the State thereby receiving detriment through his inabilities.

A caution, Sir, none can use better than they who have experienced the difficulty; nor your Majesty's power of remitting your Commons to another choice, be better exercised than where you, Sir, have experienced a former insufficiency.

My knowledge suggests the one, my tears the other.

Both make it a matter of duty in me to be an humble suppliant to your Majesty.

That, in grace to your faithful Commons, your Majesty will be pleased to send them back to reconsider what they have done, and to make choice of some other person on this occasion, more proper than I am for their service, and your royal approbation.

Then the Lord Chancellor, receiving directions from his Majesty, said,

Mr. ONSLOW, &

HIS Majesty having experienced your ability and integrity in the execution of the important office of Speaker of the House of Commons, and your zeal for his service, and for the interest of your country, commands me to let you know that he entirely approves the choice the Commons have made of you to be their Speaker : his Majesty therefore is not pleased to admit your excuse, but allows and confirms you to be Speaker.

Then Mr. Speaker said :

WHATEVER difficulties, Sir, may attend the execution of the office your Majesty has now been pleased to confirm me in, whatever my sense may be of my inability to perform it as I ought,* it is my duty to submit myself to your Majesty's commands, and to acknowledge with all gratitude, your Majesty's grace to me, and the high honour I receive in this promotion ; and to assure your Majesty as I do, of my best endeavours to discharge this great trust with impartiality and uprightness of mind, as what I am sensible will best recommend my poor services to your favourable construction, and be most likely to induce your Majesty's pardon of my failings and infirmities, which I humbly implore of your Majesty, at least that they may be imputed only to me, and in no wise to your faithful Commons ; and that your Commons in Parliament may be the better enabled to perform their duty to your Majesty and their country, I do, in their name, and on their behalf, by humble petition to your Majesty, lay claim to all their ancient rights and privileges, particularly that they, their servants, and estates, may be free from arrests and all molestations ; that they may enjoy freedom of speech for the better management of their debates, and have liberty of access to your royal person, when occasion shall require it ; and that all their proceedings may receive from your Majesty the most benign interpretation.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's further commands, said,

Mr. Speaker,

HIS Majesty is fully satisfied of the duty and affection of the House of Commons, and of their discretion and temper : his Majesty therefore very readily grants them all their privileges

lèges, in as ample a manner as they have at any time been granted or allowed by any of his royal predecessors.

As to what you have desired with regard to yourself, his Majesty will always put the most favourable construction upon your words and actions, in the execution of your duty, if you, Sir, who are so conversant in the rules and usages of Parliament, should ever stand in need of it.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 27, 1735.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present posture of affairs in Europe is so well known to you all, and the good or bad consequences that may arise and affect us, from the war being extinguished or being carried on, are so obvious, that I am persuaded you are met together fully prepared and determined to discharge the great trust reposed in you, at this critical conjuncture, in such a manner as will best contribute to the honour and interest of my crown and people.

I opened the last session of the late Parliament, by acquainting them, that, as I was no ways engaged, but by my good offices, in the transactions that were declared to be the principal causes and motives of the present war in Europe, it was necessary to use more than ordinary prudence and circumspection, and the utmost precaution, not to determine too hastily upon a critical and important a conjuncture; to examine the facts alleged on both sides; to wait the result of the councils of those powers that are more nearly and immediately interested in the consequences of the war; and particularly to concert with the States General of the United Provinces, who are under the same engagements with me, such measures as should be thought most advisable for our common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe.

We have accordingly proceeded, in this great affair, with the mutual confidence which subsists between me and that republic; and having considered together, on one side, the pressing applications made by the imperial court, both here and in Holland, for obtaining succours against the powers at war with the Emperor, and the repeated professions made by the allies, on the other side, of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles upon honourable and solid terms, I concurred in a resolution, taken by the States General, to employ, without loss of time, our joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation, before we should come to a determination upon the succours demanded by

the Emperor: these instances did not at first produce such explicit answers from the contending parties, as to enable us to put immediately in execution our impartial and sincere desires for that purpose: resolved, however, to pursue so great and salutary a work, and to prevent our subjects from being unnecessarily involved in war, we renewed the offer of our good offices in so effectual a manner, as to obtain an acceptance of them.

In consequence of this acceptance, and of our declaration made thereupon to the respective powers engaged in the war, no time has been lost in taking such measures as should be most proper, to make the best use of their good dispositions for re-establishing the tranquillity of Europe; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that things are now brought to so great a forwardness, that I hope, in a short time, a plan will be offered to the consideration of all the parties engaged in the present war, as a basis for a general negotiation of peace; in which the honour and interest of all parties have been consulted, as far as the circumstances of time and the present posture of affairs would permit.

I do not take upon me to answer for the success of a negotiation where so many different interests are to be considered and reconciled; but when a proceeding is founded upon reason, and formed from such lights as can be had, it had been inexcusable not to have attempted a work which may produce infinite benefits and advantages, and can be of no prejudice, if we do not suffer ourselves to be so far amused by hopes that may possibly be afterwards disappointed, as to leave ourselves exposed to real dangers.

I have made use of the power which the late Parliament entrusted me with, with great moderation, and I have concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark, of great importance in the present conjuncture: it is impossible, when all the courts of Europe are busy, and in motion, to secure to themselves such supports as time and occasion may require, for me to sit still, and neglect opportunities which, if once lost, may not only be irretrievable, but turned as greatly to our prejudice, as they will prove to our advantage, by being seasonably secured, and which, if neglected, would have been thought a just cause of complaint: this necessary confidence, placed in me, has given great weight to my endeavours for the public good.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the accounts and estimates to be prepared and laid before you, of such extraordinary expenses as were incurred last year, and of such services as I think highly necessary

fary to be carried on and provided for; and whatever additional charges shall be found necessary shall be reduced, as soon as it can be done consistently with the common security.

And, as the treaty with the crown of Denmark is attended with an expense, I have ordered the same to be laid before you.

I make no doubt but I shall find in this House of Commons the same zeal, duty, and affection, as I have experienced through the whole course of my reign; and that you will raise the necessary supplies with cheerfulness, unanimity, and dispatch.

The sense of the nation is best to be learned by the choice of their representatives; and I am persuaded that the behaviour and conduct of my faithful Commons will demonstrate to all the world the unshaken fidelity and attachment of my good subjects to my person and government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is our happiness to have continued hitherto in a state of peace; but, whilst many of the principal powers of Europe are engaged in war, the consequences must more or less affect us; and, as the best concerted measures are liable to uncertainty, we ought to be in readiness, and prepared against all events; and if our expenses are, in some degree, increased, to prevent greater, and such as, if once entered into, it would be difficult to see the end of, I hope my good subjects will not repine at the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace, and of universal tranquillity, or of putting ourselves in a condition to act that part which it may be necessary and incumbent upon us to take.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Jan. 28, 1735.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our humblest thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, and to acknowledge, in the most grateful manner, your Majesty's tender and affectionate concern for the welfare of your people, in steadily pursuing such measures as have tended towards peace and accommodation, rather than to involve too precipitately this kingdom, and all Europe, in a general and bloody war.

Among so many differing interests and contending powers, engaged in the present war, it is your Majesty's wisdom and good-

goodness alone which could have secured to us our present happy situation; and the crown of Great Britain could never appear with greater honour and lustre than by your Majesty's interposing your good offices between the contending parties; and, as they have received them with due respect, we cannot but hope their own prudence will help to complete so desirable a work.

It is our duty, and we beg leave to express the greatest gratitude to your Majesty for the care and concern which must have attended your unwearied endeavours, both in beginning and carrying on those good offices, which, being accepted, have brought things to so great a forwardness, that a plan, in concert with the States General, may, in a short time, be offered to the consideration of all the powers engaged in the war; which, notwithstanding the great difficulties that must attend so great a work, may serve for the basis of a general negotiation of peace, consistent with the honour and interest of all parties, as far as the circumstances of time and the present situation of affairs will permit.

If these measures, concerted for the common repose and tranquillity of all Europe, should unhappily meet with any disappointment, your Majesty's wisdom and care must be acknowledged to have deserved that success which the wisest counsels cannot always command; but, whatever the event may be, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, That this House will cheerfully and effectually raise such supplies as shall be necessary for the honour and security of your Majesty and these kingdoms, and enable your Majesty to act that part which honour and justice, and the true interest of your people, shall call upon your Majesty to undertake.

His Majesty's Answer, January 31, 1735.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address: I depend entirely upon your fidelity and affection, and your due regard to the public welfare, that I shall be supported in such measures as I may be obliged to pursue; and you may be assured that the honour and interest of my crown and people shall be the rule and guide of all my actions and resolutions.

Message from his Majesty, March 26, 1735.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having taken notice, that the hospital at Greenwich is not yet completed, and being very sensible of the usefulness of finishing that building, for the reception of a further number of seamen worn out and become decrepid in the service of their country; recommends it to the consideration of this House to make some provision for the perfecting a work which is so much to the honour of the kingdom, and has already received frequent marks of the regard of the House of Commons to so good and national a design.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 15, 1735.

My LORDS and Gentlemen,

I AM glad the business of this session of Parliament is brought to such a conclusion, that I have now an opportunity of giving you some recess, after the great pains you have taken in the service of your country: on this occasion, I must, in justice, return you my thanks for the many instances you have given me of your duty and affection to my person and government, and for the necessary provisions you have made for the public security, as far as the immediate circumstances of affairs might require.

I have considered, with great care and attention, the present situation of Europe, and duly weighed the consequences that may arise from the progress of the war, either by means of its becoming more general, or continuing only to be carried on between the powers already engaged.

An accommodation of these unhappy troubles appeared to be the best means to prevent the dangers that are to be apprehended on either side: in this view, a plan of pacification was concerted between me and the States General, with great impartiality, and not without reasonable grounds to hope for success, although it hath not had the desired effect.

But all further resolutions to be taken in this important and critical conjuncture, must be principally determined by future events: this makes it impossible for me at present to take the previous advice and concurrence of my Parliament, in such measures as may become absolutely necessary to be entered into: but you may be assured that my constant concern for the public welfare, the liberties of Europe, and in particular for the felicity and security of these kingdoms, will never suffer
me

me to take any steps but such as the honour and interest of my crown and people shall call for and justify; and in the pursuit of these great and desirable ends I do, with the best-grounded confidence, promise myself your zealous and affectionate support.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my hearty thanks for the supplies you have, with so much cheerfulness and dispatch, granted for the service of the current year; which have been so effectually raised, and accompanied with so seasonable an augmentation of our forces by sea and land, that I shall be in a condition to make use of them in the most advantageous manner for the public service, as any occasion that may happen to arise shall require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The conduct and prudence of this Parliament, in a time of so great difficulty, cannot be enough commended; the posture of affairs before us required all possible resolution, joined with caution, neither to be unwarily involved in the present disturbances, nor to remain unprovided against those dangers which are too obvious to stand in need of any explanation, and may either directly or remotely affect us.

As I think it necessary this summer to visit my dominions in Germany, it is my intention to appoint the Queen Regent here, during my absence, of whose just and prudent administration you have, on the like occasion, had experience: let me earnestly recommend it to you to render the burden of this weighty trust as easy to her as possible, by making it your constant study and endeavour, as I am sure it is your inclination, to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and to discountenance and suppress all attempts to raise groundless discontents in the minds of my people, whose happiness hath always been, and shall continue, my daily and uninterrupted care.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command,
said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the twelfth day of June next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the twelfth day of June next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 15, 1756.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE happy turn which the affairs of Europe have evidently taken, since the end of the last session of Parliament, must, I am persuaded, give you all, as it does me, the greatest satisfaction.

I acquainted you then, that a plan of pacification, concerted between me and the States General of the United Provinces, had been proposed to the parties engaged in the war, which had not the effect to prevent the opening of the campaign: the armies took the field, and the war was carried on, in some parts, in such a manner as to give very just apprehensions, that it would unavoidably become general, from an absolute necessity of preserving that balance of power, on which the safety and commerce of the maritime powers so much depend.

This consideration determined me to persevere, jointly with the States, in repeating our most earnest instances to the contending parties to agree to an armistice, and to enter into a negotiation for obtaining a general peace, upon the basis of the plan we had proposed to them.

Whilst affairs continued in this state of deliberation, the heat and fury of the war abated; and the Emperor, and the most Christian King, in consequence of their repeated professions of a sincere disposition to put an end to the war by an honourable and solid peace, concerted and agreed upon certain preliminary articles to answer that most desirable end: an armistice is since agreed to by all the parties engaged in the war: and the contracting powers, in regard to the good offices employed by me and the States, have communicated to us, by their respective ministers, the preliminaries, desiring our concurrence for effectuating a general pacification upon the terms thereby stipulated.

It appearing, upon due examination, that these articles do not essentially vary from the plan proposed by me and the States, nor contain any thing prejudicial to the equilibrium of Europe, or to the rights and interests of our respective subjects, we have thought fit, in pursuance of our constant purpose to contribute our utmost towards a general pacification, to declare, by a joint resolution, to the courts of Vienna and France, our approbation of the said preliminaries, and our readiness to concur in a treaty to be made for bringing them to perfection.

These

These preliminaries have been likewise communicated to the Kings of Spain, and of Sardinia; and, although those princes have not as yet, in form, declared their final resolutions upon them, there is great reason to believe, that the love of peace, their avowed dispositions for putting an end to the troubles of Europe, and the amicable interposition of common friends, will prevail upon them to agree to what has been thus concerted, upon reasonable security given them for the peaceable possession and enjoyment of the countries allotted to them:

In these circumstances, my first care was to ease the burdens of my people, as soon and as far as the present posture of affairs would permit: I have therefore ordered a considerable reduction to be made of my forces, both by sea and land; and, if the influence of the crown of Great Britain, and the respect due to this nation, have had any share in composing the present troubles in Europe, or preventing new ones, I am persuaded you will be of opinion, that it will be necessary to continue some extraordinary expense, until there be a more perfect reconciliation among the several powers of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the current year; and I make no doubt but my desire to make the charge of the public as low as possible, will find in you the same readiness to grant the necessary supplies with cheerfulness and unanimity.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am willing to hope, this pleasing prospect of peace abroad will greatly contribute to peace and good harmony at home. Let that example of temper and moderation, which has so happily calmed the spirits of contending princes, banish from among you all intestine discord and dissension. Those, who truly wish the peace and prosperity of their country, can never have a more favourable opportunity than now offers, of distinguishing themselves, by declaring their satisfaction in the progress already made towards restoring the public tranquillity, and in promoting what is still necessary to bring it to perfection.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Jan. 16, 1736.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We

We are truly sensible of your Majesty's early endeavours to put an end to the war; and can never enough admire the steady application with which you pursued that great work, by the joint interposition of the good offices of your, Majesty and the States General.

And it is with the warmest gratitude we acknowledge your Majesty's particular care and circumspection in all your proceedings, not to involve this nation unnecessarily in the war, when; at the same time, your Majesty shewed you were not insensible of the imminent danger that threatened the liberties of Europe, from a longer continuance of it upon so unequal a foot; a conduct wherein your Majesty plainly proved you equally consulted the immediate interests of your people, and that balance of power in Europe, upon which the safety and commerce of this nation so much depend; at once saving this nation from all the present calamities of war, and trying to avert the future necessity of its being at last obliged to take its share and hazard in them.

We cannot but be sensible of your Majesty's wisdom and impartiality in forming the plan of pacification, proposed by your Majesty and the States General to the powers engaged in the war; which, although not immediately accepted by the contending parties, nor answering the desired effect, by preventing the opening of the campaign, has been so far adopted, that the most material and essential parts of it have been agreed to by the princes originally and principally concerned in this rupture, and recommended by them to their allies, as preliminary articles to a general pacification.

Upon this happy turn the affairs of Europe have taken, we most heartily congratulate with your Majesty; and when we consider the assurances your Majesty has been graciously pleased to give us, that these preliminaries do not essentially vary from the plan of pacification concerted by your Majesty and the States General, and the ready approbation your Majesty and the States General have given of them; a just confidence in your wisdom, and the experience we have of your constant and paternal care of the true interest of your people, through the whole course of this great and intricate work, leave us not the least room to entertain a doubt, but that the preliminary conditions of this pacification, so founded, and so approved, will give general satisfaction; in which persuasion we are further confirmed, by the great probability there appears to be of their being accepted and agreed to by all the powers engaged in the war.

The early regard your Majesty has been graciously pleased to shew to the welfare of your people, in taking the first oppor-

tunity, on this great and fortunate event, to lighten the burden of their expenses, by making a reduction of your forces, both by sea and land, is such a mark of your care in consulting their interest, and of your tender concern for their ease, that we should be as unjust to our own gratitude, as to your Majesty's goodness, if we fail to testify the one, and acknowledge the other, in the strongest and most dutiful manner: and as we look upon this, added to all the other measures of your glorious and happy reign, as a proof that the estimates for the present year will be proportioned to the situation of affairs, and the purposes to which they shall be found necessary; so we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will cheerfully and effectually raise such supplies, as the posture of our present happy circumstances shall require, and sufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and the honour and interest of your Majesty's subjects and dominions.

And, if such motives could want any additional circumstance to excite us to fulfil our duty to your Majesty and our country, the reflection on the good effects the extraordinary supplies granted the last year to your Majesty must have had in contributing to bring this long-laboured work to so happy an issue, joined to the consciousness of the influence your Majesty's councils must ever have in the affairs of Europe, whilst a loyal Parliament shews itself determined to support the resolutions of a wise and cautious prince, cannot fail to operate with their due weight, in making us persevere in our endeavours to give a lustre to your Majesty's reign abroad, equal, if possible, to the happiness we enjoy from it at home.

His Majesty's Answer, January 19, 1736.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. I am very well pleased that my endeavours to restore the public tranquillity have met with your approbation; and you may be assured my future care shall be employed to the utmost of my power, to render the peace of Europe perfect and lasting, and to make you a flourishing and happy people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 20, 1736.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE dispatch you have given to the public business, and the advanced season of the year, make it proper to put an end to this session of Parliament.

I acquainted you at your first meeting, that preliminary articles had been concluded between the Emperor and the most Christian King; since which time, a further convention, concerning the execution of them, hath been made, and communicated to me by both these courts; and negotiations are carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle the general pacification.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the provisions you have made for the service of the current year: you can never better recommend yourselves to my esteem, and to the good opinion of those you represent, than by raising the supplies necessary for the support of my government, and for the service of the public, in a manner the most effectual, and the least burdensome to my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is a great concern to me, to see such seeds of dissension sown among my good people, as, if not timely prevented, may prove very prejudicial to the peace and quiet of my kingdoms: it is my desire, and shall be my care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state, as by law established, perfect and entire, and not to countenance any attempts to the prejudice of either: good harmony, and mutual affection among all the protestants of this nation, have been the great security of the present happy establishment, from the Revolution to this time: by this united strength, they will be able to resist the secret and open attempts of our common enemies; but, divided, they may become a prey to them: my protection shall be impartially dispensed to all my subjects, in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights; let it be your care, by your conduct in your several stations, to make my endeavours for your common happiness effectual.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It being necessary for me to visit my dominions in Germany again this year, I have resolved to appoint the Queen Regent here during my absence: the experience you have already had

of her just and prudent administration, will, I doubt not, engage you all to make the weight of the public affairs as easy to her as her wise conduct will render the government agreeable to you: and this I recommend to you in a particular manner.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the 29th day of July next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 29th day of July next.

Speech by the Lord Chancellor, February 1, 1737.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WE are commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that as it is not convenient for his Majesty to be present here this day in his royal person, he has been pleased, by letters patent under the great Seal, to authorize his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and several lords therein mentioned, to do every thing in the name of his Majesty, which ought to be done on the part of his Majesty, in this Parliament, as may more fully appear by the letters patent.

Then the said letters patent being read, which were to the above purport, the Lord Chancellor, as one of the commissioners, made the following speech to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN pursuance of the authority given us, by his Majesty's commission under the great seal, amongst other things, to declare the causes of his holding this Parliament, we are, by his Majesty's command, in the first place, to observe to you, that his Majesty acquainted you last year, that he had, in conjunction with the States General, given his approbation of certain preliminary articles concerted and agreed upon between the Emperor and France, for restoring the peace of Europe; and that a further convention, concerning the execution of them, had been communicated to him by both those courts; and that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle the general pacification.

We

We are now commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles; the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity is far advanced: however, it is his Majesty's opinion, that common prudence calls upon us to be very attentive to, and observe the final conclusion of, this new settlement of such considerable parts of Europe: it is to be hoped, that a general and lasting tranquillity will follow this restitution of peace; and that the renewal of friendship and alliances, for the preservation of it, among the several princes and powers of Europe, will remove all dangers and apprehensions of any new troubles and disorders; but his Majesty apprehends, that an indolent security, and too great a disregard to future events, may occasion mischiefs more easy to be prevented than to be remedied; and that it would be very unadvisable to leave ourselves in so defenceless a condition, as to encourage any enterprises which the enemies to the public peace may have vainly suggested, and flattered themselves with the hopes of.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His Majesty has ordered the proper officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the current year. As soon as the circumstances of the times would permit, his Majesty was pleased to make such a reduction of some part of the public expenses, for the ease of his people, as was consistent with the peace and safety of his kingdoms, the security of our commerce, and the honour and interest of the nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us to acquaint you, that he hath seen, with the greatest satisfaction, the unwearied application of this Parliament in framing good laws, for advancing the prosperity and securing the welfare of his loving subjects; and that it hath been one of his Majesty's principal cares to enforce them, by a due execution, with the strictest regard to the rights and properties of his people; no invasion whereof can, with any colour, be suggested by the most malicious enemies of the present establishment: whilst this hath been our condition, his Majesty cannot but observe, that it must be matter of the utmost surprise and concern to every true lover of his country, to see the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the ex-

execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom: these disturbers of the public repose, conscious that the interests of his Majesty and his people are the same, and of the good harmony which happily subsists between him and his Parliament, have levelled their sedition against both; and, in their late outrages, have either directly opposed, or, at least, endeavoured to render ineffectual some acts of the whole legislature: his Majesty, in his great wisdom, thinks it affords a melancholy prospect, to consider to what height these audacious practices may rise, if not timely suppressed; and that it deserves no small attention, that they may go on to affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole: his Majesty apprehends it to be unnecessary to enlarge upon a subject of this nature; and therefore hath commanded us barely to mention it to you, who, by the constant tenor of your conduct have shewn, that you consider the support of his authority, and the security of his government, as inseparable from the preservation of the public tranquillity and your own safety.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Feb. 2, 1737.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our most humble thanks for the speech delivered, by your Majesty's command, to both Houses of Parliament.

We see, with great satisfaction, the happy prospect of the final conclusion of the general pacification of Europe: and, when we remember your Majesty's unvaried endeavours to prevent this nation from being involved in the calamities of a destructive war; and your constant application in contributing, to the utmost of your power, towards the great work of restoring peace, from the tender care and concern which your Majesty has always shewn for the future peace and prosperity of your people, as well as for the common welfare of mankind, we make no doubt but that your Majesty will continue to co-operate with your good allies, that the conclusion of the peace may be attended with a general and lasting tranquillity.

Duty and gratitude to your Majesty, and a due regard to our own interests and security, will engage us not to neglect any necessary precautions which may best conduce to enable your Majesty to disappoint and defeat all groundless hopes and

expectations which the deluded enemies of the public peace may have vainly suggested and flattered themselves with.

And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will cheerfully and effectually raise the supplies necessary for the service of the current year; and support your Majesty in all such measures as shall be found requisite to preserve the peace and safety of the kingdom, the security of our commerce, and the honour and interests of your Majesty and your dominions.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Your faithful Commons cannot, without a just indignation, observe the spirit of faction and sedition which has lately manifested itself in traducing and misrepresenting the legislature, in contemning all authority, and in open defiance of the laws of the land.

It is with the highest sense of duty and gratitude we acknowledge your Majesty's goodness, not only in your ready concurrence to all such wholesome laws as have been from time to time prepared by your Parliament, but in your constant care to enforce them by a due execution, with the strictest regard to the rights and properties of your people, and without the least colour or shadow of any design or attempt to stretch or violate the known laws of this realm.

We cannot sufficiently express our abhorrence of the many wicked and detestable practices which the disturbers of the public repose have secretly fomented, and openly carried on, in tumultuously resisting and obstructing the execution of the laws, and violating the peace of the kingdom.

And we, your faithful Commons, do assure your Majesty, that being fully persuaded that the preservation of the public tranquillity, and our own safety, are inseparable from the security of your government, we will support your royal authority, in suppressing and subduing all seditious and riotous attempts that threaten the very being of our happy constitution, and the utter subversion of those liberties which have been made the specious pretence for committing these outrageous disorders.

Message from his Majesty, May 24, 1737.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty hath been pleased to direct, that letters patent be prepared for granting 50,000*l.* per annum to the Princess of Wales, for her jointure, in case she shall survive the Prince; but, it not being in his Majesty's power to extend this

provision to the Princess beyond his own life, his Majesty hopes that you will think it reasonable to enable him to make this provision for the Princess certain and secure to her, during the term of her own life.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 21, 1737.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM come to put an end to this session of Parliament, that you may be at liberty to retire into your several countries, and, in your proper stations, to promote the peace and welfare of the kingdom.

I return you my thanks for the particular proofs you have given me of your affection and regard to my person and honour; and hope the wisdom and justice which you have shewn, upon some extraordinary incidents, will prevent all thought of the like attempts for the future.

The conduct of this Parliament has been so uniform in all your deliberations upon public affairs, that it would be as unjust not to acknowledge it, as it is unnecessary to enumerate the several particulars.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

Your care, as well in raising the supplies necessary for the service of the current year, as in doing it in the manner the least grievous and burdensome to my people, is a fresh instance of your equal concern for the support of my government, and for the true interest of your country.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You cannot be insensible what just scandal and offence the licentiousness of the present times, under the colour and disguise of liberty, gives to all honest and sober men, and how absolutely necessary it is to restrain this excessive abuse by a due and vigorous execution of the laws; defiance of all authority, contempt of magistracy, and even resistance of the laws, are become too general, although equally prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown, and liberties of the people, the support of the one being inseparable from the protection of the other. I have made the laws of the land the constant rule of my actions; and I do with reason expect, in return, all that submission to my authority and government, which the same laws have made the duty, and shall always be the interest, of my subjects.

And

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the fourth day of August next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the fourth day of August next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, January 24, 1738.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IHAVE called you together for the necessary dispatch of the public business, which, I hope, will be carried on with that prudence and expedition which becomes the wisdom of Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the service of the current year to be laid before you; and the readiness which I have always found in you to make the necessary provisions for the honour, peace, and security of my crown and kingdoms, leaves me no room to doubt of the same zeal, affection, and due regard for the support of my government, and the public safety,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I hope you are met together in a disposition to lay aside all heats and animosities, which may unnecessarily protract this session. I am determined that the affairs of the public shall suffer no delay or interruption from me upon any account whatsoever.

Address by the House of Commons, January 25, 1738.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our most humble and grateful thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

To speak our utmost sense of the great loss your Majesty and these kingdoms have lately sustained, would be to revive and aggravate what we wish to alleviate and dispel; but we hope your Majesty will pardon the intrusion of our sincere con-

dolence, when you reflect on the double duty by which we are bound, as affectionate subjects to your Majesty, and as representatives of the people of Great Britain, not to pass over in silence, this object of your distress, and their universal mourning.

When we reflect on the amiable private character of that great Princess, on her personal and domestic merit, as an indulgent and instructive parent, a mild and gracious mistress; or, with regard to your Majesty, as uniting in one all the different characters of the most pleasing as well as constant, companion; the most able, as well as the most faithful friend; the most tender, as well as the most observant wife; when we reflect on these circumstances, we mourn her loss as the greatest with which your Majesty and your royal house could have been afflicted: but when we turn our thoughts to her great and public virtues, her love of justice, her attachment to the laws and principles of this wise and happy constitution, her extensive charities, her boundless benevolence, her succour to distress, her favour to merit, her lenity to all; when we consider these parts of her high character, it is no longer for particular and personal causes that we grieve, it is a national loss we lament.

If a due submission to superior authority, and a due exercise of power, when committed to her hands, are the strongest marks of excellence in both parts of government; and if these justly claim praise and admiration, how can we sufficiently praise or admire her conduct, either in the presence or absence of your Majesty? In the first, we saw the most constant compliance with your will; in the last, the true representation of him, with whose delegated authority she was vested; for all her acts were great, and wise, and good; alternately we beheld her submission in this character, and felt her mildness in the other: and, great as the distance may seem from command to subjection, the transition to her was easy; whose abilities were equal to any situation, and whose temper could conform to all; as resigned to the duties of a Queen-consort, as capable of the high office of guardian of the realm; as ready to submit, as able to command; and equally an example to all sovereigns when she ruled, and to all subjects when she obeyed.

And though your Majesty's just and great concern on this occasion would, perhaps, receive no extenuation from the comfort your faithful Commons might vainly try to administer, yet, that nothing may be wanting on our parts, which may contribute to the making your Majesty's government the source of our prosperity, as easy to yourself as it has ever been to your subjects, we do assure your Majesty, that we will not only carefully avoid all heats and animosities, but will, with the
greatest

greatest readiness, effectually raise the supplies necessary for the service of the current year; and, with a zeal and affection becoming the representatives of a grateful people, make all necessary provisions for the honour, peace, and security of your crown and kingdoms; demonstrating to all the world, that the support of your Majesty's government, and the public safety, are constantly our care; and that we desire nothing more than the preservation of our wise and excellent constitution, in the same happy, firm, and united situation, in which it was delivered down to us from our ancestors, and your Majesty's great predecessors.

But whilst, by these means, we endeavour to prevent any additional disquiet from approaching your royal person, we must beg leave to lay again before your Majesty the anxious grief of your whole people, together with their humble and most earnest wishes, that your Majesty's known resolution may aid time in alleviating your sorrow for that loss which nothing can repair, and in restoring to your Majesty that tranquillity of mind, which can alone free us from the most solicitous fears for a life, on which the happiness of your royal family; and of this afflicted nation, so immediately depends.

Answer by his Majesty, January 27, 1738.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and very affectionate address; I am so sensibly touched by this convincing proof of your particular regard to me, that I am not able, in this distress, to command myself sufficiently to express the just sense I have of your affection and concern for me upon this occasion.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 20, 1738.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great satisfaction I observe, that the temper and moderation which I recommended to you, at the opening of this session, have been so well preserved through the general course of your proceedings; and that, from a due regard to me and my honour you have avoided all unnecessary occasions of heats and animosities, and made the interest of your country the principal object of your care and consideration.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the supplies which you have so cheerfully and effectually raised for the service of the current year. The provision you have made to answer all emergencies which may become necessary, in vindication of the honour and interest of my crown and people, is a great proof of your zeal and concern for the welfare and prosperity of the nation; and shall be employed by me, in such a manner as may best conduce to those ends and purposes for which you have so readily consented to this extraordinary expense.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Agreeably to what hath appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both Houses of Parliament, I have given orders to repeat, in the strongest and most pressing manner, my instances at the court of Spain, for obtaining satisfaction for the many injuries and losses sustained by my trading subjects in America, as well as an effectual security of their rights for the future; and, I hope, from the justice and equity of the Catholic King, to procure such satisfaction and security, as may preserve the peace, and establish a free and uninterrupted exercise of navigation and commerce, mutually, between the subjects of both crowns, pursuant to our treaties, and the law of nations.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-seventh day of July next, to be then here held; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the ~~twenty-seventh~~ day of July next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 1, 1739.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IHAVE, upon all occasions, declared how sensibly I have been affected with the many hardships and injuries sustained by my trading subjects in America. I have the honour of my crown, and the true interest of my people, too much at heart, to see either of them suffer any prejudice or diminution, without pursuing the most proper and advantageous methods for their real security and preservation.

These

These considerations alone were sufficient to incite me to exert my utmost power, in vindicating and protecting our undoubted rights and privileges of navigation and commerce; and nothing could add to my own zeal in to just a cause, but the due regard I always have to the petitions and complaints of my subjects, and the advice of my Parliament. The wisdom and prudence of your resolutions upon this great and national concern determined me to begin with the more moderate measures; and to try once more, what effect and influence my friendly endeavours and pressing instances would have upon the court of Spain, towards obtaining that satisfaction and security which we were intitled to demand and expect: and your assurances, to support me in all events, enabled me to proceed with proper weight and authority.

Thus supported by the concurrent advice of both Houses of Parliament, I lost no time in making preparations to do myself and my people justice, if the conduct of the court of Spain had laid us under that necessity; and, at the same time, I did, in the strongest manner, repeat my instances for obtaining such justice and reparation for the many injuries and losses already sustained, and such an effectual security for the future, as might prevent the consequences of an open rupture.

It is now a great satisfaction to me that I am able to acquaint you, that the measures I have pursued have had so good an effect, that a convention is concluded and ratified between me and the King of Spain; whereby, upon consideration had of the demands on both sides, that prince hath obliged himself to make reparation to my subjects for their losses, by a certain stipulated payment; and plenipotentiaries are therein named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which have hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas; and for settling all matters in dispute in such a manner as may for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint, by a strict observance of our mutual treaties, and a just regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each other. I will order the convention, and the separate articles, to be laid before you.

It hath been my principal care to make use of the confidence you reposed in me, in this critical and doubtful conjuncture, with no other view, but the general and lasting benefit of my kingdoms; and if all the ends which are to be hoped for, even from successful arms, can be attained without plunging the nation into a war, it must be thought, by all reasonable and unprejudiced persons, the most desirable event.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper estimates to be prepared and laid before you, for the service of the current year. I heartily wish that the posture of affairs would have permitted me to retrench the public expenses, for which I am obliged to demand the present supplies: and I make no doubt, but your experienced zeal and affection for me and my government, and the proper concern you have always shewn for the public good, will induce you to grant me such supplies as you shall find necessary for the honour and security of me and my kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot but earnestly recommend it to you, not to suffer any prejudices or animosities to have a share in your deliberations at this important conjuncture; which seems, in a particular manner, to call upon you to unite, in carrying on such measures as will be most conducive to the true interest and advantage of my people.

Address by the House of Commons to the King, Feb. 2, 1739.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We acknowledge your Majesty's great goodness, in the constant regard your Majesty has been pleased to express to the petitions and complaints of your subjects, and the advice of your Parliament, and in pursuing such measures for the honour and dignity of your crown, and the true interest of your people, as your Majesty in your great wisdom judged ~~to be~~ most proper and advantageous.

We congratulate your Majesty on the success of your royal endeavours, in concluding a convention with the King of Spain, whereby reparation is stipulated to be made and paid to your Majesty's injured subjects; and plenipotentiaries are appointed for regulating all those grievances and abuses which have hitherto interrupted our commerce and navigation, and for removing all future causes and pretences of complaint.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that your faithful Commons will effectually support your Majesty in accomplishing and bringing to perfection this great and necessary work, in such a manner as may answer the just demands and expectations of your Majesty and your people.

And

And your Majesty may be assured, that your faithful Commons will grant to your Majesty such supplies as shall be necessary for the honour and security of your Majesty and your kingdoms; and that we will endeavour to avoid all heats and animosities in carrying on the public business at this critical and important conjuncture.

His Majesty's Answer, February 5, 1739.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address; and you may be assured, that I will use my best endeavours to bring this important affair to a speedy and happy conclusion.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, May 3, 1739.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty being restrained by the laws now in being from making provision for his younger children, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, in such manner as his royal predecessors have usually done; and being desirous that competent provisions may be made for the honourable support and maintenance of his dearly beloved son the Duke of Cumberland, and of his dearly beloved daughters the four young Princesses, his Majesty hopes that he shall be enabled, by act of Parliament, to grant an annuity of 15,000*l.* per annum to the Duke of Cumberland, and his issue, and an annuity of 24,000*l.* per annum to the four Princesses; to take effect after his demise: and recommends the consideration thereof to this House.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, May 10, 1739.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty being truly solicitous for the peace and welfare of these kingdoms, and desirous to contribute, as far as in him lies, towards preserving the public tranquillity, and the balance of power in Europe, hath concluded with the King of Denmark a treaty, agreeable to that which expired in 1737; and has ordered the same to be laid before this House, that he may be enabled to make good the engagements which he hath thereby entered into.

And,

And as events may happen during such time as it may be impossible for his Majesty to have the immediate advice and assistance of his great council, upon any emergency, arising from the present posture of affairs in Europe, which may nearly concern the honour, interest, and safety of these kingdoms; his Majesty hopes he shall be enabled and supported by his Parliament, in making such further augmentation of his forces, either by sea or land, as may become absolutely necessary; and in concerting such measures as the exigency of affairs may require; and whatever expense shall be thereby occasioned, shall be made in as frugal a manner as is possible; and an account thereof shall be laid before this House the next session of Parliament.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, June 14, 1739.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE dispatch you have given to the public business that has been under your consideration makes it proper to put an end to this session of Parliament, and to give you that recess which the season of the year requires.

You have so fully declared your sentiments, as well with regard to the past conduct of Spain, as to the measures that might become necessary to be pursued, in consequence of any part which that court might afterwards take, and enabled me to act in all events as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms shall require, that no inconvenience can arise from the immediate want of your further assistance, during the recess of Parliament. And I shall so entirely rely upon the assurances you have given me, with so much zeal and unanimity, and upon your effectually supporting me in following the concurrent advice of both Houses of Parliament, that I will not be wanting in my endeavours to vindicate and maintain our undoubted rights, and to answer the just expectations of my people.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the necessary provisions you have made for the service of the current year in so ample a manner. The extraordinary supply which you have granted me towards augmenting my forces, by sea and land, is such a proof of your affection and confidence in me, and of your constant attention to the service of your country, that I cannot enough commend this reasonable care of the welfare and safety of the kingdom.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am persuaded it is unnecessary for me to recommend to your serious consideration, the fatal consequences that may threaten a nation divided within itself, inflamed, and misled by ~~all~~ the wicked arts and insinuations that malice and falsehood can suggest. It is too obvious, what advantages our common enemies wait to take from the heats and animosities, that, under groundless pretences, are industriously fomented and spread throughout the kingdom. Let all who profess themselves zealous assertors of the rights and privileges, laws and liberties of their country, and of the protestant religion, under the present establishment, unite in the defence of these inestimable blessings: let the honour, prosperity, and safety of the kingdom become one common cause, and reconcile all civil discords and divisions; that, by your unanimity, you may disappoint the only hopes and vain expectations of our enemies.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the ninth day of August next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the ninth day of August next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, Nov. 15, 1739.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present posture of our affairs has obliged me to call you together, at this time, sooner than has been usual of late years, that I may have the immediate advice and assistance of my Parliament at this critical and important conjuncture. I have, in all my proceedings with the court of Spain, acted agreeably to the sense of both Houses of Parliament; and therefore I can make no doubt, but I shall meet with a ready and vigorous support in this just and necessary war, which the repeated injuries and violences committed by that nation upon the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms, and their obstinacy, and notorious violation of the most solemn engagements, have rendered unavoidable.

I have augmented my forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power given me by Parliament; which I have done with all the moderation that the security and defence of my dominions,

nions, the protection of our trade, and the necessary means of distressing and annoying our enemies in the most sensible parts, would admit : but, as these services will be various and extensive, they must inevitably be attended with great expenses, and some inconveniencies ; which, I assure myself, will be sustained with satisfaction and cheerfulness, in pursuing such measures as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms, and the general resentment of an injured and provoked nation, have called upon me to undertake.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you estimates for the service of the ensuing year, and likewise accounts of the extraordinary expenses that have been made this year, in pursuance of the power given me by Parliament. And as, in the prosecution of this war, a number of soldiers to serve on board the fleet may be requisite, I have judged it proper that a body of marines should be raised ; and have directed the estimates for this purpose to be likewise prepared, and laid before you : and I cannot doubt, from your known affection to my person and government, and your zeal for the safety, prosperity, and glory of these kingdoms, but you will grant me such effectual supplies, and with such dispatch as may forward and give spirit to our preparations, and enable me to carry on the war with vigour.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The heats and animosities, which, with the greatest industry, have been fomented throughout the kingdom, have, I am afraid, been one of the chief encouragements to the court of Spain to hold such a conduct towards us, as to make it necessary to have recourse to arms ; and the unhappy divisions amongst my subjects are the only hopes of the enemies to my government : but, whatever views and projects they may form upon this rupture, and what advantages soever Spain may vainly promise itself from any circumstances in the present situation of affairs, it is in your power, by the blessing of God, to defeat the one, and disappoint the other. Union among all those who have nothing at heart but the true interest of Great Britain, and a becoming zeal in the defence of my kingdoms, and in support of the common cause of our country, with as general a concurrence in carrying on the war as there has appeared for engaging in it, will make the court of Spain repent the wrongs they have done us ; and convince those who mean the subversion of the present establishment, that this nation is determined and able both to vindicate their injured honour, and to defend themselves

themselves against all our open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad.

Address by the House of Lords to his Majesty, Nov. 16, 1739.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our sincere and humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The great regard which your Majesty hath expressed for the sense of both Houses of Parliament in your proceedings with the court of Spain, is a continuance of that royal goodness and concern for the true interests of your people, which we have so often experienced; and your Majesty's desire to have the advice and assistance of your Parliament, as early as possible, in this important conjuncture, is a fresh proof of your real confidence in your faithful subjects.

The justice and necessity of the war which your Majesty has been pleased to declare against Spain, must be as demonstrable to all the world, as the violent and intolerable methods practised by that nation to interrupt and distress the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms are notorious; and it is the highest aggravation of this offensive and inexcusable conduct, that it has been obstinately pursued, in breach of the most solemn engagements, and in defiance of the highest obligations of friendship and good offices. But since Great Britain has been thus unavoidably called forth to arms, we esteem it our peculiar felicity, that we have a prince upon the throne, who with paternal tenderness joins in the just resentment of an injured nation; and whose magnanimity and steadiness are equal to the glorious cause in which he is engaged.

On this occasion, the unfeigned tender of our lives and fortunes is no more than is due to your Majesty and our country; and we do from the bottom of our hearts give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that we will zealously concur in all such measures as may forward your preparations, and enable you to carry on the war with that spirit and vigour which truly become the British name.

Your Majesty's goodness in acquainting us from the throne, that you have augmented your forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power given you by Parliament, with all the moderation that was consistent with those desirable ends, which you, in your royal wisdom, have pointed out to us, as an instance of your Majesty's gracious disposition to avoid bringing any unnecessary

cessary burdens upon your people : and though we cannot flatter ourselves, that a state of war will not be attended with great expenses, and some inconveniencies ; yet, when it is undertaken, not to gratify the views of restless ambition, but to assert and maintain the honour and just rights of your Majesty's crown and kingdoms, we doubt not, but those powerful motives will induce all your subjects to undergo, with cheerfulness, whatever is necessary in the prosecution of it.

It gives us inexpressible concern, that there should be any occasion for your Majesty to repeat your gracious admonitions against those heats and animosities which have been fomented throughout the kingdom. As we cannot but most seriously lament the unhappy divisions thereby occasioned ; so nothing shall be wanting on our part to heal them, by promoting that good harmony and unanimity which are so necessary at this juncture : and we trust in God, that any hopes or views formed by our enemies upon such circumstances, will be found utterly vain and groundless ; since all your Majesty's subjects must be convinced, that the security of our religion and liberties, and the safety and prosperity of these kingdoms, do entirely depend on the preservation of your sacred person and government, and of the protestant succession in your royal house.

In this common cause, interest, as well as duty, will make us unite ; and we do, with the greatest zeal and firmness, assure your Majesty, that we are determined, at the hazard of all that is dear to us, to support it against all your enemies, both at home and abroad ; imploring the Divine Providence to give success to your arms, and make them the happy means of procuring a safe and honourable peace.

His Majesty's Answer, November 16, 1739.

My Lords,

I THANK you for this address, so full of duty and affection to me, and of seasonable assurances of your vigorous support. The satisfaction you express in the measures I have taken, is very agreeable to me ; and you may depend on my endeavours to carry on the war in such a manner as may best answer the necessary ends proposed by it, and the just expectations of my people.

Address

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, Nov. 16, 1739.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and to express our entire satisfaction in your Majesty's declaration of war against the crown of Spain; a war, which the repeated violences and depredations committed by the Spanish nation upon the trade and commerce of these kingdoms, the notorious violation of their most solemn engagements, their obstinate refusal of making reparation for past injuries, and of giving security against the like for the future, have rendered just and unavoidable.

It is with the highest sense of duty and gratitude we acknowledge your Majesty's wisdom and paternal care of your people, in making use of the power granted to your Majesty by Parliament for the security and defence of these kingdoms, for the protection of our trade, and for the distressing and annoying our enemies in the most sensible and effectual manner; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that nothing shall divert or deter us from sustaining, with satisfaction and cheerfulness, any extraordinary expenses and inconveniencies that must inevitably attend the various and extensive services which your Majesty shall find necessary to undertake, in vindicating the honour of your crown, in asserting the rights of your people, and in procuring justice to an injured and provoked nation.

And we beseech your Majesty to accept the strongest and most affectionate assurances, that, in defence of your Majesty's kingdoms, and in support of the common cause of our country, we will raise such effectual supplies, and with such cheerfulness and dispatch as will forward and give spirit to your Majesty's preparations, and enable your Majesty to carry on the war with vigour.

And your dutiful Commons being truly sensible of the fatal consequences of intestine heats and animosities, will, with a zeal becoming the representatives of the people in Parliament, endeavour to compose those unhappy divisions which have too long prevailed among your Majesty's subjects; and we do assure your Majesty, that nothing shall be wanting on our part to restore to the nation that union and harmony which may effectually defeat and disappoint all the vain projects, hopes, and expectations of your Majesty's open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad.

His Majesty's Answer, November 19, 1739.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. The unanimous support of my faithful Commons, in this just and national cause, will add the greatest weight to my warlike preparations ; and, by the blessing of God, be the surest means of procuring success to my arms, and justice to my injured people.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, Feb. 12, 1740.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty, in further prosecution of the just and necessary war in which he is engaged, having under his consideration certain measures which will occasion some extraordinary expenses, not comprehended in the estimates laid before this House, hopes, from the known zeal of his faithful Commons, that he shall be enabled to carry on the same in the most effectual manner.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, Mar. 6, 1740.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having received proposals for a marriage between the Princess Mary and Prince Frederick of Hesse, son of Prince William, Landgrave of Hesse, brother to the King of Sweden, has been pleased favourably to accept and agree to the same ; and has thought proper to communicate his intentions to this House : and as his Majesty can make no doubt, but that this alliance with so considerable a protestant family, will be to the general satisfaction of all his good subjects, he promises himself the concurrence and assistance of this House, in enabling him to give such a portion to his daughter, as may be suitable to the honour and dignity of his crown and family.

Address by both Houses to his Majesty, March 17, 1740.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, do congratulate your Majesty on the glorious
success

success of your Majesty's arms in the West Indies, under the command of Vice-admiral Vernon, by entering the port and taking the town of Porto Bello, and demolishing and levelling all the forts and castles belonging thereto, with six ships of war only.

This enterprize, so wisely concerted, and so bravely conducted, cannot fail of giving the utmost joy to all your Majesty's faithful subjects, since it affords the most reasonable hopes and expectations, that, by the blessing of God upon your Majesty's councils and arms, it may be attended with other important advantages, and highly contribute to the obtaining real and effectual security of those just rights of navigation and commerce belonging to your Majesty's subjects; for the preservation of which your Majesty entered into this necessary war.

His Majesty's Answer, March 19, 1740.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you for your dutiful congratulations on this success, which is so much for the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms. The satisfaction you express in the measures I have taken is very agreeable to me.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 29, 1740.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal which you have shewn for the support and prosecution of the just and necessary war in which I am engaged, is a fresh proof of your concern for the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms. As this great and national undertaking is the principal object of our attention and expectations, so the justice of our cause, and the success which hath hitherto attended my arms, give us the most reasonable hopes, that, by the continuance of the Divine assistance, we may see a happy issue of it.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you for the effectual supplies which you have granted me for the service of the current year. The best return I can make, is to assure you, that they shall be duly employed to the purposes for which they were given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have formerly recommended to you union amongst yourselves, as being highly conducive to the carrying on this great work

work with honour and advantage, and to the more speedy obtaining of all possible justice and satisfaction from the crown of Spain, for the many grievous injuries suffered by my subjects, and effectual security for the freedom of our commerce and navigation for the future. I do now earnestly exhort you to promote and extend that union in your respective countries. Let the support of the common cause of the nation prevail to attain this desirable end. Our enemies must already have been made sensible, in some degree, of the weight of our just resentment. They see my kingdoms in such a posture of defence, as must render all attempts from them, without encouragement from amongst ourselves, vain and desperate. They see the trade and navigation of my subjects protected, as far as the nature and circumstances of a maritime war will possibly admit; and at the same time, the most valuable branches of the Spanish commerce greatly interrupted, and subjected to many difficulties and losses. From these happy effects of my early endeavours, and your ready concurrence, at the first entrance into the war, I cannot but hope that the preparations which I am now making for carrying it on in the most proper places, and in the most vigorous and effectual manner, will be blessed with success equal to our just expectations.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the third day of June next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the third day of June next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 18, 1740.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you at the close of the last session of Parliament, that I was making preparations for carrying on the just and necessary war in which I am engaged, in the most proper places, and in the most vigorous and effectual manner. For this purpose, strong squadrons were got ready, and ordered to sail upon important services, both in the West Indies and Europe, with as much expedition as the nature of those services and the manning of the ships would admit: a very considerable body of land forces were embarked, which is to be used

by a great number of my subjects raised in America ; and all things necessary for transporting the troops from hence, and carrying on the designed expedition, were a long time in readiness, and waited only for an opportunity to pursue the intended voyage.

The several incidents which have happened in the mean time, have had no effect upon me but to confirm me in my resolutions, and to determine me to add strength to my armaments, rather than to divert or deter me from those just and vigorous measures which I am pursuing for maintaining the honour of my crown, and the undoubted rights of my people.

The court of Spain, having already felt some effects of our resentment, began to be sensible that they should be no longer able, alone, to defend themselves against the efforts of the British nation : and if any other power, agreeably to some like extraordinary proceedings, should interpose and attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against my declared enemies, the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms must call upon us to lose no time in putting ourselves into such a condition, as may enable us to repel any insults, and to frustrate any designs formed against us in violation of the faith of treaties. And I hope any such unprecedented steps, under what colour or pretence soever they may be taken, will inspire my allies with a true sense of the common danger, and will unite us in the support and defence of the common cause.

The great and unhappy event of the death of the late Emperor opens a new scene in the affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers may be immediately or consequentially concerned. It is impossible to determine what turn the policy, interest, or ambition of the several courts may lead them to take in this critical conjuncture. It shall be my care strictly to observe and attend to their motions, and to adhere to the engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe ; and, in concert with such powers as are under the same obligations, or equally concerned to preserve the public safety and tranquillity, to act such a part as may best contribute to avert the imminent dangers that may threaten them.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered estimates to be prepared and laid before you for the service of the ensuing year. It is always with regret that I ask any extraordinary aids of my people ; but what I have already mentioned, must be sufficient to satisfy you, that some augmentations will be necessary, not only for carrying on the present war with vigour, but also to put ourselves in a con-

dition of being prepared for such events as may arise in this new and uncertain state of Europe. I therefore depend on your experienced zeal and affection for me and my government, your concern for your own safety and the support of the common cause, to grant me such effectual supplies as may be requisite for these great ends.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The scarcity of corn which has happened in many countries of Europe, has induced several powers to make extraordinary provisions to obviate the ill effects of that misfortune; and though in many parts of this kingdom the harvest has proved more favourable, yet common prudence has called upon us to provide, as far as may be, against the approach of such a calamity. Besides, in our present circumstances, it would be an inexcusable neglect to suffer our enemies to be supplied with any kind of provisions from my dominions, and that even at the hazard of my own subjects being distressed. Let me therefore earnestly recommend it to you, to consider of some good law to prevent this growing mischief.

The difficulties which have been found in manning the fleet, by the usual methods hitherto practised, demonstrate the want of some parliamentary remedy. I must therefore press it upon you to lose no time in making such provisions in this respect, as, whilst we are engaged in a war in defence of the commerce and navigation of this kingdom, may enable the public to avail itself of those great numbers of seamen, which make so valuable a branch of our strength.

The importance of these considerations is so apparent, that I need use no arguments to convince you of the necessity of the utmost unanimity and dispatch in your proceedings.

Address by the House of Lords, November 19, 1740.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The resolutions which your Majesty is pleased to express, for carrying on this just and necessary war in the most proper places, and in the most vigorous and effectual manner, is so agreeable to your royal wisdom, as well as to the united desires of your people, that it fills our hearts with the most grateful sentiments. As the West Indies has been the scene of the most outrageous

depredations and violences, committed by the Spaniards upon your Majesty's subjects, we hope and trust, that by the blessing of God on your Majesty's councils and arms, this nation will, in those parts more especially, obtain that just satisfaction for past injuries, and effectual security for their navigation and commerce for the future, which have hitherto been refused, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties.

We must ever acknowledge it, amongst the many instances of your Majesty's firmness and true greatness of mind, that you have not suffered any incidents whatsoever to divert or deter you from these measures: and we doubt not but your enemies will soon be convinced, that the security of your Majesty's government at home must be strengthened, in the affections and support of your people; whilst your squadrons are sent to distant parts of the world, as well for maintaining their undoubted rights and interests, as the honour of your imperial crown.

Under this deep sense of our obligations to your Majesty, permit us to offer at your royal feet the strongest assurances, that if any other power should attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against your declared enemies, such an extraordinary proceeding would not fail to create in us the highest and most becoming indignation, and to determine us to concur in all proper measures for vindicating and defending your Majesty's dignity and honour against any insults, and for frustrating any design formed against us.

We are truly sensible that the death of the late Emperor is an event which calls for the vigilant attention of all those who sincerely wish well to the common safety and tranquillity; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will zealously stand by and support you, in adhering to the engagements you are under, for maintaining the balance and liberties of Europe on that important occasion, as well as in the vigorous prosecution of the present war.

To repeat the unfeigned professions that we have so often made, of our unalterable fidelity and affection to your Majesty's sacred person and government, and our zeal of the continuance of the protestant succession in your royal house, may seem unnecessary, when it is demonstrably our essential interest, as well as our duty, to persevere in these principles. But we should be wanting to those warm impressions which we feel in ourselves, if we did not, in this conjuncture, declare to your Majesty and the whole world, the fixed and unshaken purpose of our hearts to defend and support this glorious cause at the expense of our blood and treasure; and at the same time, express our sincere and ardent wishes, that all your enterprises

enterprises for maintaining the honour of your Majesty's crown and the rights of your people, may be blessed with the most prosperous success.

His Majesty's Answer, November 19, 1740.

My Lords,

I THANK you for this most dutiful and affectionate address. Nothing can be more agreeable to me, than the zeal you express for the vigorous prosecution of this just and necessary war, the support of my dignity and honour, and the preservation of the balance and liberties of Europe; all which I have entirely at heart.

Address by the House of Commons, November 10, 1741.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on your safe and happy return to these your regal dominions; and to return our sincere thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

Your faithful Commons, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, cannot but acknowledge your Majesty's great regard for the honour and interest of these kingdoms, in equipping such strong squadrons of men of war, and embarking a body of land forces, to be joined and strengthened by a considerable number of your Majesty's subjects raised in America, in order to carry on the war in those parts in the most vigorous and effectual manner.

We at the same time beg leave to express our most dutiful sense of your Majesty's firmness and resolution, in not suffering yourself to be diverted or deterred by any incidents from pursuing the just and vigorous measures in which your Majesty is engaged, for maintaining the honour of the crown, and the undoubted rights of your people: and we assure your Majesty, that this House will stand by and support your Majesty against all attempts made in violation of the faith of treaties, or tending to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against your Majesty's declared enemies.

Your dutiful and loyal Commons will, with the utmost cheerfulness, grant your Majesty such effectual supplies as shall be necessary, not only for carrying on the present war with vigour, but also to put your Majesty in a condition of being prepared

prepared for such events as may arise from the new and uncertain state of affairs in Europe.

Your Majesty's tenderness and concern for the ease and welfare of your subjects, in recommending to the consideration of Parliament the great distress that may arise from the scarcity of corn, calls upon us in the strongest manner to lose no time in taking the most proper and effectual methods of avoiding those great and dangerous mischiefs which so apparently threaten us, and of not suffering our enemies to be supplied with any kind of provisions from any of your Majesty's dominions.

We will also take such measures as shall be thought most reasonable and practicable to enable your Majesty effectually to man your royal fleets for the defence of the kingdom, for the security of the trade and navigation of your Majesty's subjects, and for carrying on the war with vigour.

His Majesty's Answer, November 21, 1740.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address, and for the assurances you have given me of supporting me in the prosecution of this just and necessary war; and you may depend upon it, that the supplies you shall grant me shall be employed in the most effectual manner, to vindicate and support the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 8, 1741.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AT the opening of this session, I took notice to you of the death of the late Emperor, and of my resolution to adhere to the engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe, on that important occasion. The assurances I received from you in return to this communication, were perfectly agreeable to that zeal and vigour which this Parliament has always exerted, in the support of the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms, and of the common cause.

The war which has since broke out and been carried on in part of the Austrian dominions, and the various and extensive claims which are publicly made on the late Emperor's succession, are new events that require the utmost care and attention, as they may involve all Europe in a bloody war, and in consequence expose the dominions of such princes as shall take part

part in support of the pragmatic sanction, to imminent and immediate danger. The Queen of Hungary has already made a requisition of the twelve thousand men expressly stipulated by treaty ; and thereupon I have demanded of the King of Denmark, and of the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, their respective bodies of troops, consisting of six thousand men each, to be in readiness to march forthwith to the assistance of her Hungarian Majesty. I am also concerting such further measures as may obviate and disappoint all dangerous designs and attempts that may be formed or carried on in favour of any unjust pretensions, to the prejudice of the house of Austria. In this complicated and uncertain state of things, many incidents may arise during the time, when, by reason of the approaching conclusion of this Parliament, it may be impossible for me to have your advice and assistance, which may make it necessary for me to enter into still larger expenses for maintaining the pragmatic sanction. In a conjuncture so critical, I have thought it proper to lay these important considerations before you, ~~and to desire~~ the concurrence of my Parliament, in enabling me to contribute in the most effectual manner to the support of the Queen of Hungary, the preventing by all reasonable means the subversion of the house of Austria, and to the maintaining the liberties and balance of power in Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must recommend it to you to grant me such a supply as may be requisite for these ends ; and the just concern and readiness which I have constantly found in you to make all necessary provisions for the public good and our common security, leave me no room to doubt of the same good disposition and affection in this instance.

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My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am persuaded I need say no more to recommend these considerations to you, which so necessarily arise from the present situation of affairs : I shall therefore only add, that whatever expenses may be incurred on this occasion, shall be made in as frugal a manner as possible ; and an account thereof shall be laid before the next Parliament.

Address

Address by the House of Lords, April 10, 1741.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects; the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and for your Majesty's great attention and care for the preservation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe, in which the tranquillity and security of these kingdoms are so nearly interested.

We cannot but express our great concern that a war has broke out and is carried on in part of the Austrian dominions; and we are highly sensible of your Majesty's royal wisdom, in the resolution you have been pleased to declare, for the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction, and the assistance of the Queen of Hungary.

We assure your Majesty, that in case it shall become necessary to enter into further expenses in so just a cause, your Majesty may depend on our cheerful and zealous concurrence, in enabling your Majesty to contribute in the most effectual manner to the support of the Queen of Hungary; and to the preventing, by all reasonable means, the subversion of the house of Austria, the ancient and natural ally of the British crown.

We think ourselves obliged upon this occasion, to renew the professions of our most dutiful and inviolable fidelity; and to give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that if any part of your dominions, although not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, should be attacked or insulted by any prince or power whatsoever, in resentment of the just and necessary measures which your Majesty hath taken, or shall take, for maintaining the pragmatic sanction, we are determined to exert ourselves to the utmost in defending and protecting such dominions from any such attacks or insults,

His Majesty's Answer, April 13, 1741.

My Lords,

I THANK you very kindly for this most seasonable and dutiful address. The true concern you shew for the assistance of the Queen of Hungary, and the support of the house of Austria, is very agreeable to me.

The assurance you give me in relation to my territories abroad is a strong proof of your affection to me; and you may depend
on

on my making no other use of the confidence you repose in me, than to enable me to act with vigour in maintaining the pragmatic sanction, and in the preservation of the balance and liberties of Europe, and of our common interest and security.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, April 9, 1741.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, and to express our dutiful sense of your Majesty's just and due regard for the rights and interest of the Queen of Hungary, and for maintaining the pragmatic sanction. We cannot but entirely concur with your Majesty in the prudent measures which your Majesty is pursuing, for the support of the common cause, and for the preservation of the liberties and the balance of power in Europe: we acknowledge your Majesty's wisdom and resolution, in not suffering yourself to be diverted from steadily persevering in your just purposes of fulfilling the engagements which your Majesty has entered into with the house of Austria: and do assure your Majesty, that in justice and in vindication of the honour and dignity of the British crown, this House will effectually stand by and support your Majesty against all insults and attacks which any prince or power, in resentment of the just measures which your Majesty has so wisely taken, shall make upon any of your Majesty's territories or dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain: and we beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that in any future events which may arise from this uncertain state of things, and which may make it necessary for your Majesty to enter into still larger expenses, your faithful Commons will enable your Majesty to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary, to the preventing by all reasonable means the subversion of the house of Austria, and to the maintaining the pragmatic sanction, and the liberties and balance of Europe.

His Majesty's Answer, April 13, 1741.

Gentlemen,

I GIVE you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. Your great readiness in enabling me to make good my engagements with the Queen of Hungary, and the assurances you give

give me, not to suffer my foreign dominions to be insulted, on account of the measures I am pursuing for the support of the pragmatic sanction, are such evident proofs of your just concern in maintaining the liberties and balance of power in Europe, and of your great regard to my honour and interest, that you may depend upon all suitable returns from me for this particular mark of your affection and confidence in me.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 25, 1741.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE speed and dispatch with which you have gone through the public business, during the course of this session, are undeniable proofs of your steady regard to the welfare of your country; and consequently the most acceptable testimonies of your duty and affection to me. The powerful assistance which you have given me for carrying on the just and necessary war in which I am engaged, is the best means of reducing our enemies to reason; and the vigour and earnestness which you have so seasonably shown for the defence of the House of Austria, and the maintenance of the balance and liberties of Europe, must give the greatest encouragement to our friends. These are the methods to secure to this nation that weight and influence abroad, which its natural strength and situation entitle it to.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It is with particular satisfaction I acknowledge your readiness and application in raising the supplies for the service of the current year; which you have done with so just a regard to the present exigencies of the public, as shews you to be the true representatives of my faithful Commons.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot part with this Parliament without publicly returning you my thanks for the many eminent instances you have given me of your fidelity and affection to my person and government; your fixed resolution to maintain the protestant succession in my family; and your unshaken adherence to the true interest of your country. You have, with the most becoming spirit and firmness, exerted yourselves in vindicating and defending the honour of my crown, and the undoubted rights of navigation and commerce belonging to my subjects; and enabled me to revenge those wrongs and insults, which, contrary to the faith of treaties, had been committed against
both.

both. In so critical a conjuncture you have supported the national credit, and strengthened the hands of my government to a degree exceeding the expectations of those who wished well to us, and to the manifest disappointment of such as envied our prosperity. At the same time, you have demonstrated to all the world, that Great Britain is in a condition, not only to defend herself, but also to afford a due support to her allies, and the common cause of Europe. As such a conduct must give a lasting reputation to this Parliament, so it will be the subject of emulation to those which shall come after it.

I will immediately give the necessary orders for calling a new Parliament. There is not any thing I set so high a value upon, as the love and affection of my people; in which I have so entire a confidence, that it is with great satisfaction I see this opportunity put into their hands of giving me fresh proofs of it, in the choice of their representatives.

On the present establishment depends the continuance of our excellent constitution in church and state; and in this constitution consists the security of the present establishment: nothing can hurt the one, that will not, in proportion, undermine and weaken the other. For my part, the uniform preservation of both, and the maintenance of the religious and civil rights of all my subjects, have been, and ever shall be, my constant care. Those who distinguish themselves by persevering in these principles, shall always find my countenance and favour; and, by invariably pursuing these wise and honest measures, we may entertain the best grounded hopes, that, under the protection of divine Providence, the happiness of Great Britain will be perpetuated to posterity.

Then the Lord.Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the twelfth day of May next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the twelfth day of May next.

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Dec. 4, 1741.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

THE Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, have, in pursuance of your Majesty's commands, and according to their ancient right to make choice of one of their members

members to be their Speaker, once more elected me to this high and painful office ; but how properly for me, for themselves, and for the public, is now with your Majesty to judge : and to your royal judgment, Sir, I do, with all humbleness and resignation, submit myself ; being well assured, that, should your Majesty think fit to disapprove of this their present choice, your Commons will have no difficulty to find some other person among them, to be presented to your Majesty on this occasion, to whom none of those objections can be made, which I fear may too justly, from my imperfections, arise in your royal breast, upon my being again the subject of your Majesty's consideration for this important charge.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's directions, said,

Mr. Onslow,

THE King has had so many eminent proof of your ability and zeal for the service of himself, and of your country (which is always the same) in the high station to which you are now a third time called, that his Majesty has commanded me to let you know, that he entirely approves the choice which his faithful Commons have made ; and therefore allows and confirms you to be their Speaker.

Then Mr. Speaker said,

SINCE your Majesty has been pleased to ratify the choice your Commons have made of me to be their Speaker, it is my duty, Sir, to submit myself to your royal determination, and to return your Majesty my humblest thanks for this mark of your royal grace and favour to me ; and to assure you, Sir, of my best endeavours to discharge, as I ought, this great trust, which the Commons have committed to, and your Majesty has now confirmed upon me : and, for my encouragement therein, suffer me, great Sir, to hope for your Majesty's pardon of my failings and infirmities ; at least, that your Majesty would not impute them in any wise to your faithful Commons : and, that they may be the better enabled to perform their duty to your Majesty, and their country, I do, in their name, and on their behalf, by humble petition to your Majesty, lay claim to all their ancient rights and privileges ; particularly, that they, their servants, and estates, may be free from all arrests and molestations ; that they may enjoy freedom of speech in all their debates, and have liberty of access to your royal person,

when occasion shall require it ; and that all their proceedings may receive from your Majesty the most favourable construction.

The Lord Chancellor, receiving further directions from his Majesty, said,

Mr. Speaker,

THE King has an entire confidence in the prudence and temper of this House of Commons, as well as in their duty and affection to his person and government ; and his Majesty does most readily grant to them all their privileges, in as full and ample manner as they have at any time been heretofore granted or allowed by his Majesty, or any of his royal predecessors.

As to the suit which you, Sir, have made on your own behalf, your former conduct is the clearest evidence how little you stand in need of it ; but, for your greater encouragement and support in the execution of so important a trust, his Majesty, agreeable to his wonted goodness, has commanded me to assure you, that he will always put the most favourable construction both upon your words and actions.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 4, 1741.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is always a great satisfaction to me to meet you assembled in Parliament ; and especially at this time, when the posture of affairs makes your counsel and assistance so necessary ; and when, by means of the new elections, I may have an opportunity of knowing the more immediate sense and disposition of my people in general, from their representatives, chosen during a season which has been attended with great variety of incidents of the highest consequence and expectation ; and during the course of the war in which we are engaged against the crown of Spain : a war, in itself just and necessary, entered into by the repeated advice of both Houses of Parliament ; and particularly recommended to me to be carried on in America, which has been my principal care. I can, therefore, make no doubt, but that you are met together fully sensible of our present situation ; and prepared to give me such advice as shall be most conducive to the honour and true interest of my crown and kingdoms.

You cannot but have observed, with an attention suitable to the occasion, the impending dangers that threaten Europe, and
more

more immediately such parts of the continent as shall withstand or resist the formidable powers which are confederated for the subversion or reduction of the house of Austria. The apprehension of these things was communicated to the last Parliament; when both Houses expressed their great concern for the troubles which were then broke out in the Austrian dominions; and came to the strongest resolutions in favour of the Queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction, and for the preservation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe. And had other powers, that were under the like engagements with me, answered the just expectations they had so solemnly given, the support of the common cause had been attended with less difficulty.

I have, pursuant to the advice of my Parliament, ever since the death of the late Emperor, exerted myself in the support of the house of Austria. I have endeavoured, by the most proper and early applications, to induce other powers, that were equally engaged with me, and united by common interest, to concert such measures as so important and critical a conjuncture required; and where an accommodation seemed to me to be necessary, I laboured to reconcile those princes, whose union would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischiefs that have happened, and the best security for the interest and safety of the whole.

Although my endeavours have not hitherto had the desired effects, I cannot but still hope, that a just sense of the common and approaching danger will produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations. In this situation it is incumbent upon us to put ourselves in a condition to improve all opportunities that shall offer for maintaining the liberties of Europe; and to assist and support our friends and allies, at such times, and in such manner as the exigency and circumstances of affairs shall require; and to defeat any attempts that shall be made against me and my dominions, or against those whom we are most nearly concerned for, and in honour and interest engaged to support and defend.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered estimates to be laid before you for the service of the ensuing year; and I must desire you to grant me such supplies as the circumstances of affairs require; which, you may depend upon it, shall be duly applied to the purposes for which they shall be given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have, during the course of my reign, had so much experience of the duty and affection of my Parliaments to my per-

son and government, and of their zeal for the good of their country, and the support of the common cause, that I do, with the greatest reason, rely upon the continuance of them in the present conjuncture. There never was a time in which your unanimity, vigour, and dispatch, were necessary to so many great ends as those which are now before you. I will do my part; let it appear, by your proceedings and resolutions, that you have that just and hearty concern for them which their importance requires.

Address by the House of Lords to his Majesty, Dec. 5, 1741.

* Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and, at the same time, to present unto your Majesty our sincere and joyful congratulations on your safe and happy return into this kingdom.

The just and necessary war, in which your Majesty is engaged against the crown of Spain, is of such high importance to the trade and navigation of your subjects, and to the welfare of your kingdoms, that it is with the utmost thankfulness we observe the great concern which your Majesty has been pleased to express for carrying it on; which, we hope, by the Divine blessing upon your Majesty's arms, will be attended with success equal to the justice of your cause, and the ardent wishes of your people.

Your Majesty has so truly represented the impending dangers to which Europe is exposed, in the present critical conjuncture, as must awaken, in every one, an attention suitable to the occasion: and we cannot but be fully sensible of the evil consequences arising from the designs and enterprizes formed and carrying on for the subversion or reduction of the house of Austria, which threaten such apparent mischiefs to the common cause.

In this situation it becomes us, with hearts full of gratitude to your Majesty, to acknowledge your royal goodness in expressing so earnest a desire to receive, and so high a regard for the advice of your Parliament: your Majesty, secure of the loyalty and affections of your people, may rely upon that with the best-grounded confidence; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will not fail to take the important points which you have been pleased to mention to us into our most serious consideration, and, in the most dutiful manner, to offer

to your Majesty such advice as shall appear to us to be most conducive to the honour and true interest of your crown and kingdoms.

We have a due sense how much the present posture of affairs calls upon us for that unanimity, vigour, and dispatch, which your Majesty has so wisely recommended to us; and we do most unfeignedly give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that we will vigorously and heartily concur in all just and necessary measures for the defence and support of your Majesty, the maintenance of the balance and liberties of Europe, and the assistance of our allies.

As duty and affection to your Majesty are in us fixed and unalterable principles, so we feel the impressions of them, at this time, so strong and lively in our breasts, that we cannot omit to lay hold on this opportunity of approaching your royal presence to renew the most sincere professions of our constant and inviolable fidelity: and we do, with a zeal and firmness never to be shaken, promise your Majesty, that we will, at the hazard of all that is dear to us, exert ourselves for the defence and preservation of your sacred person and government, and the maintenance of the protestant succession in your royal house, on which the continuance of the protestant religion, and the liberties of Great Britain, doth, under God, depend.

His Majesty's Answer, December 5, 1741.

My Lords,

I HEARTILY thank you for this very loyal and dutiful address. The zeal which you have declared for my defence and support, and for the maintenance of the liberties of Europe, and the assistance of our allies, gives me great satisfaction. You may depend upon my constant regard to the advice of my Parliament, and my steady adherence to the true interest of my crown and kingdoms.

Address by the House of Commons, December 9, 1741.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon your safe and happy return to these your kingdoms; and to return our sincere thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and, at the same time, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, cannot but

acknowledge your Majesty's regard and attention to the honour and interest of this nation.

The great and impending dangers that threaten Europe, under the present critical and perplexed situation of affairs, have been represented by your Majesty to your Parliament, for their advice and assistance, with such paternal concern, and such affection to your people, such confidence in your faithful Commons, and such anxiety for the general good of Europe, as cannot fail to excite in us a due sense of your Majesty's goodness and condescension; and therefore we assure your Majesty, in the strongest manner, that this House will, as often as these momentous affairs shall come under our consideration, give your Majesty such advice as becomes dutiful and faithful subjects, and such assistance and support as shall be most conducive to the honour and true interest of your crown and kingdoms.

And, in order to answer these necessary purposes, we will grant such effectual supplies as shall enable your Majesty not only to be in a readiness to support your friends and allies, at such times, and in such manner, as the exigency and circumstances of affairs shall require; but, to oppose and defeat any attempts that shall be made against your Majesty; your crown, and kingdoms, or against those who, being equally engaged with your Majesty by the faith of treaties, or united by common interest, and common danger, shall be willing to concert such measures as shall be found necessary and expedient for maintaining the balance of Europe.

His Majesty's Answer, December 11, 1741.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address, and for the assurances you have given me at this critical and important conjuncture. I shall always have the greatest regard to the advice of my Parliament, and I make no doubt but you will act therein in such manner as shall be most conducive to the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms; and give me your support and assistance in carrying on such measures as shall be judged to be necessary and expedient.

The humble Address of the Archbishop, the Bishops, and the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled; presented to his Majesty on Friday, the 11th Day of Dec. 1741.

May it please your Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy, of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, beg leave, with the general voice of your people, to present our most humble and unfeigned congratulations on your Majesty's safe and happy return to these your British dominions.

It is with the utmost joy and satisfaction, that we embrace every opportunity of openly professing to your Majesty, and to all the world, our deep sense of the manifold and great blessings we enjoy under your auspicious government; of the free and equal course of all public justice; of the full and undisturbed possession of our civil rights and liberties; with all those other benefits which daily accrue to us from your watchful care, and active zeal for the safety, honour, and prosperity of your kingdoms.

But that which chiefly affects the hearts of your faithful clergy is, your firm and invariable resolution to support and defend our holy religion, as by the laws of your realm now happily established in the church of England; which, on all occasions, your Majesty hath so fully and publicly declared, and of which we have such convincing and undeniable experience, that with all possible thankfulness we rest assured, that through the Divine assistance we shall transmit to posterity, complete and entire, the same primitive faith, the same apostolic form of church government, and in all other respects the same excellent constitution, which hath hitherto been found the chief bulwark of the reformation.

These sentiments, which fill our own breasts with unspeakable joy and gratitude, we think it our indispensable duty, with our utmost care and diligence, to impress on the minds of all those whom divine Providence hath placed under our inspection: and we do earnestly beseech the Almighty, by whom Kings rule, that all your designs and undertakings for the public good may be crowned with success; that your reign over us may be long and glorious; that the whole and every part of it may be as happy to yourself, and to your royal family, as it is beneficial to us, and all the rest of your people; and that there may never be wanting one of your royal descendants to fill the throne of these kingdoms till time shall be no more.

His Majesty's Answer, Dec. 11, 1741.

My Lords, and the rest of the clergy,

I THANK you very kindly for this affectionate and loyal address. You may depend upon my constant care to maintain and support the church of England, as by law established; and to preserve to my people the full enjoyment of all their religious and civil rights.

His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, April 1, 1742.

GEORGE REX.

IT is always with the utmost reluctance that his Majesty asks any extraordinary supplies of his people; but as his faithful Commons have, with the greatest zeal and unanimity, expressed their concern for the support of the house of Austria, and for restoring the balance of power in Europe; and as the late events, in favour of the Queen of Hungary, afford a reasonable prospect of success, his Majesty makes no doubt but this House will, at this time, readily grant him such a supply as may enable him to concert proper measures, and form such alliances with other powers, as may be necessary for attaining those desirable ends which they have in so particular a manner recommended to him.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, April 2, 1742.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty received, with the greatest satisfaction, the assurances given him by this House, at the beginning of the session, of the just sense they have of the dangerous situation of affairs in Europe, arising from the designs and enterprizes carrying on for the subversion of the house of Austria, and of their zeal and earnestness in promoting all just and necessary measures for the maintenance of the balance of power, and for the assistance of his allies. His Majesty firmly depends on their unalterable perseverance in the same sentiments; and as the late events in favour of the Queen of Hungary afford a reasonable prospect of success, he makes no doubt but that he shall have the ready concurrence and support of this House, in concerting such measures, and forming such alliances with other powers, as may be most effectual for the preservation of the house of Austria, and for restoring the balance of power in Europe.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, July 15, 1742.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS session of Parliament has been drawn out into so unusual a length, and the season of the year is so far advanced, that I am persuaded you are all very desirous of a recess.

I acquainted you at the beginning of the session with my endeavours to bring about an accommodation between those princes whose union was most necessary in this critical conjuncture. The treaty lately concluded between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, under my mediation, and so highly to the honour of Great Britain, must undoubtedly produce the best consequences to the common cause.

The successes which have attended the Austrian arms in Germany, the conjunction of the King of Sardinia's forces with those of the Queen of Hungary in Italy, the present favourable disposition of the States General, and of the other great powers, are, under God, chiefly owing to the generous assistance afforded by this nation to its ancient and natural allies.

These happy events cannot fail to give encouragement to our friends, and to establish the reputation of our strength, and our just influence abroad.

If for the further support and defence of the Queen of Hungary, and to restore and secure the balance of power, so particularly recommended to me by my Parliament, it should become necessary for me to contract new engagements, or to enter into further measures, I rely upon your zeal and perseverance in so just a cause to enable me to make them good.

In the midst of these extensive transactions I have been, and shall continue to be, attentive to the prosecution of the war against Spain with the utmost vigour; which is of the greatest importance to the trade and navigation of my subjects; the encouragement and protection whereof shall be one of my principal cares.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The zeal, unanimity, and dispatch, with which you have given such large supplies for the service of the current year, demand my particular thanks; and are fresh proofs of your duty to me, and of your concern for the true interest of your country. The success with which these supplies have been raised must convince all the world of the established credit of this nation.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have the justest confidence in the affections of my people; which I shall not fail to cultivate by a constant care of their rights and liberties, and by promoting their prosperity and happiness. Let it be your endeavour, in your respective countries, to make these my good intentions rightly understood; to calm and heal all animosities and divisions; to support my authority and government; and to preserve the peace and good order of the kingdom.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the sixteenth day of September next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the sixteenth day of September next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 16, 1742.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present important conjuncture of affairs will, I am persuaded, be thought a sufficient reason for calling you thus early together.

I have, in pursuance of the repeated advice of my Parliament, taken such a part as appeared to me most conducive to the support of the House of Austria, and to the restoring and securing of the balance of power. In this view: I ordered a considerable body of troops to be sent from hence into Flanders; and, at the close of the last session, I foresaw, and pointed out to you, that it might be incumbent upon me to enter into further measures for the same great and desirable ends. The augmentation of our strength in the Low Countries became a necessary step; for which purpose I sent, in concert with my allies, 16,000 of my Electoral troops thither, with the Hessians in the British pay, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause in all events; and I doubt not but I shall have your assistance in the support of these necessary measures.

The magnanimity and firmness of the Queen of Hungary, notwithstanding so many numerous armies sent against her; the resolute conduct of the King of Sardinia, and his strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions; the

the stop which has been hitherto put to the ambitious designs of the court of Spain and Italy; (to which the operations of my fleet in the Mediterranean have so visibly contributed) the change of affairs in the North, which has appeared by the public requisition made by Sweden, of my good offices for procuring a peace between Russia and that crown; and the defensive alliances agreed upon, not only between me and the Czarina, but also between me and the King of Prussia, are events which could not have been expected, if Great Britain had not shewn a seasonable spirit and vigour in the defence and assistance of its ancient allies; and in the maintenance of the liberties of Europe, as well as of its own true and lasting interest.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper estimates for the service of the ensuing year to be prepared, and laid before you; and also an account of the expense of those particular services, which I have already mentioned, and which you will find to have been concerted in as frugal a manner as the nature of them would admit. I am persuaded that you will readily grant me such supplies, as shall be found necessary for the security and welfare of the nation; requisite for the support of the common cause, and adequate to the present emergency.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The importance of your deliberations at this time is so evident, that I will say nothing to enforce it: the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms; the success of the war, wherein I am engaged against Spain; and the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, will greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of your resolutions. Let it be your care to avoid every thing that may either delay or weaken them; and to convince the world, that you are determined to make a right use of the present opportunity.

Address to his Majesty by the Lords, November 17, 1742.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our sincere and humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The support of the House of Austria, and the restoring and securing the balance of power, are of so great moment, as well to the essential interest of this nation in particular, as to the liberties

liberties of Europe in general, that we esteem it our peculiar felicity, in this critical and dangerous conjuncture, to have a Prince upon the throne, who not only shews the most gracious regard to the advice of his Parliament upon this important subject, but takes all opportunities to confirm and animate them in the pursuit of it. We acknowledge, with hearts full of gratitude, your Majesty's royal wisdom and effectual care in carrying on this great work, which has appeared in nothing more than in sending so considerable a body of your forces into the Low Countries, and in strengthening them afterwards with your electoral troops, and the Hessians in the British pay. By this step, so honourable to your Majesty and so advantageous to your allies, your Majesty has demonstrated that you prefer this glorious cause to all other considerations, and has formed such an army, as may at once defend and encourage those powers who are well intentioned, and give a real assistance to the Queen of Hungary: and we beg leave to assure your Majesty of our cheerful and zealous concurrence and support in this necessary measure.

The good effects which the vigour exerted by Great Britain, under your Majesty's authority and influence, in assisting its ancient allies and maintaining the liberties of Europe, hath already had upon the affairs of the Queen of Hungary, upon the conduct of several powers, and the state of Europe in general, are visible to all the world. It is with the utmost satisfaction we observe them; and rely on your Majesty's known care and attention to the public welfare, to pursue and improve them: and we cannot but entertain well-grounded hopes, that so great an example, and a steady perseverance in the same measures, will inspire the like spirit and resolution into other powers, equally engaged by treaties and common interest, to take the like part.

Your Majesty has laid before us so just a representation of the importance of our deliberations at this time, as cannot fail to make an impression upon all true lovers of their country, equal to the dignity and weight of it. Permit us on our parts, to give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that we have the honour and safety of your Majesty, the true interest and prosperity of your kingdoms, the security and advancement of their commerce, the success of the war against Spain, and the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, entirely at heart. These shall be the constant objects of our proceedings and resolutions, from which we will never depart, being firmly determined to support your Majesty in all just and necessary measures for attaining those great and desirable ends,
and

and to stand by and defend your Majesty and your government, against all your enemies.)

His Majesty's Answer, November 17, 1742.

My Lords,

THE duty and affection which you express in this address for my person and government, are accompanied with so great zeal for the common cause and the true interest of my kingdoms, as gives me the utmost satisfaction. I thank you heartily for it; and doubt not but your vigorous support, so early and unanimously given, will have the best effects both ~~at home~~ and abroad.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Nov. 17, 1742.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our sincere thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that we have seen the constant attention your Majesty has been graciously pleased to give to the advice of your Parliament; and as we think that the support of the house of Austria, and the restoring and securing the balance of power in Europe, are inseparable from the true interest of these kingdoms, we desire, in the strongest manner, to express our grateful sense of the early care taken by your Majesty, in forming such an army in the Low Countries, as might be of service to those great and desirable ends: and as we are satisfied that a force sufficient for that purpose could not have been so readily assembled, as by your Majesty's sending a body of your own Electoral troops, together with the Hessians, to join the British and Austrian forces in those parts, we are determined cheerfully and effectually to support your Majesty in all such necessary measures.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on the happy and unexpected turn of the affairs in the North: we assure your Majesty, that we are fully convinced that it is by the vigour and spirit shewn by your Majesty in defence of your allies, that the Queen of Hungary has been principally encouraged to bear up amidst extreme difficulties, notwithstanding the numerous armies sent against her: and we are persuaded that the same spirit and vigour have enabled the King of Sardinia to act a part so useful to the common cause, to which the vigilance and activity

activity of your Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean have so remarkably contributed.

Your faithful Commons assure your Majesty that they will, with the greatest alacrity and readiness, grant such supplies as shall be found necessary for perfecting the great work in which your Majesty is engaged, for prosecuting with vigour the just and necessary war with Spain, and for maintaining the honour and security of your Majesty and your kingdoms.

Your faithful Commons, in all their deliberations, will endeavour to make manifest to the world, that they have nothing so much at heart as the honour of your Majesty, the support of your government, and the true interest of your Majesty's crown and kingdoms.

His Majesty's Answer, November 22, 1742.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for this dutiful and affectionate address, and for the great marks of confidence you repose in me.

The extraordinary supplies that I am obliged to ask of my people have become necessary for supporting that cause, which is inseparable from the true interest of my kingdoms.

You may be assured I shall with for nothing more than an opportunity to ease my subjects of all those extraordinary charges, which the present exigency of affairs may require.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 1, 1742.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM very glad of the occasion, which my coming hither at this time gives me, of expressing to you the great satisfaction I take, in seeing to good a progress already made in the business of this session.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The readiness and dispatch with which you have thus early provided so considerable a part of the supplies for the ensuing year, deserve my particular thanks: and I make no doubt, but the same zeal for the common cause will induce you to enable me to concert proper measures, and to enter into or make good such alliances and engagements with other powers, as may be necessary for the support of the Queen of Hungary, and restoring the balance of power.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I look upon this good beginning as a sure pledge of your steadiness in pursuing the true interest of Great Britain; which is and ever shall be my only view.

The humble Address of the Archbishop, the Bishops, and the Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled; presented to his Majesty on Saturday, the third day of March, 1743.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, animated with unfeigned and affectionate loyalty, humbly beg leave to declare, in the strongest manner, the just indignation we feel on the efforts made by France, in favour of a popish Pretender, solemnly renounced and abjured by this nation.

This wicked and daring attempt excites in the breast of every true Englishman and protestant, the utmost detestation; and in the most sensible manner affects all your Majesty's clergy of the church of England, who, should it prove successful, must unquestionably fall an early sacrifice to the implacable and certain, though occasionally dissembled, rage of popish superstition: it is big with every evil which can undo a free people, subvert the principal bulwark of the Reformation, and thereby at length destroy the whole protestant interest; and it is heinously aggravated by the intended introduction of a French army, first to ravage and lay waste our dear country, and having made England a scene of blood and devastation, then to reduce it to the wretched condition of a French province.

Such an alarming circumstance adds horror to our resentment, and places the faithless and ambitious enemies of your Majesty's crown and people in the most odious and detestable light. Vain delusion, to imagine that Englishmen and protestants can so lightly part with the most valuable blessings, purchased at an immense expense of their blood and treasure; and patiently become the slaves of France!

After devout thanks to Almighty God, we are bound in justice to offer the most grateful acknowledgments to your Majesty for the entire preservation of the church of England in all its rights and privileges: and we beg leave unanimously to assure your Majesty, that, influenced by every motive which duty or gratitude can suggest, we shall constantly endeavour, as well by our own example, as by our labours with the people committed to our charge, to recommend and enforce, upon all occasions,

cations, especially in the present important juncture, the most zealous loyalty and dutiful regard to your Majesty's royal person and government: and we firmly trust that very few, if any, of our fellow subjects, not insatuated by the delusions of popery, can be prevailed upon to sacrifice, with equal guilt and folly, the religion, freedom, and happiness of their country, to the enslaving and pernicious views of our natural and constant enemies.

We earnestly pray and assuredly hope, that the same good Providence, greatly propitious to the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe, which very lately covered your sacred head in the day of battle, and blessed your Majesty with a signal and ever-memorable victory, will not suffer any weapon formed against you to prosper; but will still preserve your royal person in safety, health, and glory; and long, very long continue to a loyal and thankful people, the many great and invaluable blessings of your Majesty's wife and happy reign, and transmit the same, in your august and royal house, to our latest posterity.

His Majesty's Answer, March 3, 1743.

My Lords, and the rest of the Clergy,

I THANK you for this dutiful and loyal address: the just concern you express for the preservation of our happy constitution in church and state, against all attempts to overturn it, is very acceptable to me; and I doubt not but your sentiments and example will animate my subjects to unite zealously in the support of it. You may be firmly assured of the continuance of my care and attention to maintain the church of England as by law established.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 21, 1743.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal, prudence, and dispatch with which you have carried on the public business during the course of this session give me the greatest satisfaction.

That this nation and the common cause may reap the most beneficial fruits of your vigorous resolutions, I have, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, ordered my army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian Majesty, and for her support and assistance; and to oppose any dangerous measures that might affect the

the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, upon just and solid foundations. I have continued a strong Squadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the West Indies, in order to carry on the great work of distressing our enemies the Spahiards, and reducing them to safe and honourable terms of peace; as well as of maintaining the rights of navigation and commerce belonging to my subjects: and from the former of these squadrons, my allies in Italy have found, and still continue to receive, a most useful and advantageous support.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the ample supplies which you have granted for the service of the current year, and which, you may be assured, shall be applied to those great ends for which they were given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have a firm confidence in your good affections; and it is the fixed purpose of my heart to promote the true interest and happiness of my kingdoms. In return for this, I expect on your part, that you will exert your best endeavours in your respective stations to render my government easy, and to preserve the peace and quiet of the nation.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the seventh day of June next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the seventh day of June next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, December 1, 1743.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE your last Meeting, I have, pursuant to your advice, and in consequence of your support, exerted my endeavours for the preservation of the house of Austria, and the maintenance of the balance and liberties of Europe. It has pleased God to give success to our arms, in conjunction with those of the Queen of Hungary, and her auxiliaries. The dominions of that Princess have been entirely evacuated by her enemies; and the

powerful armies which had marched to their assistance, have been obliged to retire out of the empire. In this conjuncture it is a great satisfaction to me to acquaint you, that I have been joined by a body of troops of my good friends and allies the States General.

In further prosecution of these measures, the definitive treaty between me, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia, has been happily concluded, which shall be laid before you. The advantages which cannot fail to result from this alliance to the common cause are apparent; and it will be particularly conducive to the interests of my kingdoms, by dis-appointing the ambitious views of the crown of Spain, with which we are engaged in so just and necessary a war. As I make no doubt but you will proceed upon these foundations with firmness and constancy, we may reasonably hope to see the public tranquillity re-established, and a general and honourable peace obtained. These are my views, to which my utmost attention and resolution shall not be wanting: but, in order to bring about these great ends, measures of vigour are necessary; and to enable me to concert and carry on such measures, I do, with a just confidence, rely on your zealous, cheerful, and effectual support.

The marriage of my youngest daughter with the Prince Royal of Denmark cannot but give satisfaction to all my good subjects, as it tends to cement and strengthen the protestant interest in Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates to be laid before you for the service of the ensuing year; and desire you to grant me such supplies, as shall be requisite for the honour and security of the nation, and adequate to the exigencies of the public:

In doing this, let me particularly recommend it to you, to enable me to concert proper measures, and to enter into and make good such alliances and engagements with other powers, as may be necessary for the support of the Queen of Hungary, and restoring the balance of power.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have had such experience of your duty and affection to me, and of your zeal for the good of your country, that it would be superfluous to add any thing to press these important considerations upon you. Union and harmony amongst ourselves, and vigour and dispatch in your proceedings, are indispensably necessary in such conjunctures. Let nothing obstruct or divert your steadiness and application to the great ends which I have laid

laid before you; and be assured, that nothing can ever divert me from pursuing your true and lasting interest.

Address by the House of Lords to his Majesty, December 21, 1743.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The anxious concern which filled the breasts of all your faithful subjects, upon the dangers to which your sacred person has been exposed, redoubles our joy on your safe and happy return into this kingdom. Our first thanks are due to Almighty God for the preservation of your invaluable life; our next to your Majesty, to whose magnanimity and unwearied labours for the good of the common cause we stand so highly indebted. On this occasion, permit us to offer our sincere congratulations to your Majesty on the success of your arms, in the support of the house of Austria, and the defence of the liberties of Europe.

A strict union between your Majesty, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia, is so necessary in the present posture of affairs, that we take great satisfaction in seeing it established; and we beg your Majesty to accept our thanks for communicating to us the conclusion of the definitive treaty for that purpose. The just and necessary war in which your Majesty is engaged against Spain, is of so great importance, that the disappointment of the ambitious designs of that crown cannot but be particularly advantageous to these kingdoms.

We acknowledge, with the utmost gratitude, your Majesty's goodness in declaring to your Parliament your wise and salutary views to bring about a general and honourable peace by vigorous measures. In so glorious a cause, animated by so great an example, the arms and the hearts of Great Britain will always attend upon you; and we do, with a resolution and firmness becoming your House of Peers, assure your Majesty of our zealous and cheerful concurrence and support in the necessary means to this great and desirable end.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on the auspicious marriage of her royal highness the Princess Louisa with the Prince Royal of Denmark; and on the increase of your royal family by the birth of a prince. Every event which adds strength to your illustrious house, is an addition of security to your

your kingdoms; since on the stability of the protestant succession, the continuance of our religion, laws, and liberties, does, under God, depend. ¶

The gracious manner in which your Majesty has recommended to us union and harmony at home, is a fresh instance of your paternal tenderness towards your people. It shall be our constant endeavour in all our proceedings to promote and augment these good dispositions, which are so peculiarly necessary in this conjuncture; and we beseech your Majesty to accept the strongest assurances of our inviolable duty and fidelity to your Majesty; and that we will steadily pursue such measures as may most effectually conduce to the honour and safety of your Majesty, the security and prosperity of our country, and the maintenance of the balance and liberties of Europe.

His Majesty's Answer, December 2, 1743.

My Lords,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. The assurances you give me of your vigorous support will have the best effect abroad: and you may depend on my making use of that confidence which you repose in me, for the honour and true interest of my crown and kingdoms.

Address by the House of Commons, December 2, 1743.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on your safe and happy return into this kingdom; and, with hearts full of gratitude, we acknowledge the goodness of divine Providence to this nation, in protecting your Majesty's sacred person amidst the imminent dangers to which your invaluable life has been exposed, in defence of the common cause, and of the liberties of Europe. Your Majesty's regard and attention to the advice of your Parliament, in exerting your endeavours for the preservation of the house of Austria, require our warmest acknowledgments; and it is with the highest satisfaction we reflect on the success of your Majesty's arms, in the prosecution of this great and necessary work, with so much glory to your Majesty, and honour to this nation.

As the interests of this kingdom and those of the United Provinces are inseparable, nothing could be more welcome to your Majesty's faithful Commons, than your Majesty's having been joined by a body of the troops of the States General.

We beg leave to declare our satisfaction in your Majesty's having concluded a definitive treaty between your Majesty, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia; an alliance which must naturally contribute to the advantage of the common cause, and to the disappointing and distressing the crown of Spain, with which this nation is engaged in so just and necessary a war.

It is with the sincerest joy that we congratulate your Majesty on the happy marriage of the Princess Louisa with the Prince Royal of Denmark, which tends to unite and strengthen the protestant interest in Europe.

We likewise beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on the increase of your royal family by the birth of a prince; as it is an additional pledge and security for the continuance of the protestant succession in your royal house.

Your faithful Commons beg leave to assure your Majesty that they will, with the greatest zeal, unanimity, and dispatch, grant to your Majesty such effectual supplies as shall be found requisite for the honour and security of this nation, and as may enable your Majesty to concert such alliances, and pursue with vigour such measures as may be necessary for the re-establishing the public tranquillity, and procuring a safe and honourable peace.

His Majesty's Answer, December 5, 1743.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address.

The unanimous support of my faithful Commons will add great weight to my endeavours for the public service, and be the surest means of bringing the great work which by your advice I am engaged in, to an honourable and happy conclusion.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, Jan. 31, 1744.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty, in his speech at the opening of this session, acquainted his Parliament of the marriage of his youngest daughter with the Prince Royal of Denmark; which could not but give satisfaction to all his good subjects, as it tends to cement

ment and strengthen the protestant interest in Europe ; and his Majesty having agreed to give his daughter a portion of forty thousand pounds, promises himself the concurrence and assistance of this House, in enabling him to perform the said agreement.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, Feb. 14, 1744.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity to assure you of my entire satisfaction in the dispatch and unanimity of your proceedings in this session of Parliament, and in the zeal you have shewn for the common cause, and for the honour and true interest of Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the readiness and cheerfulness with which you have already provided so considerable a part of the supplies: and I make no doubt but the same zeal and good disposition will induce you to enable me to make good the alliances I am already engaged in, and to concert such other measures, in this important conjuncture, as shall be judged necessary for the support of the Queen of Hungary, and for carrying on the present war with vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable peace.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have, in conjunction with the Queen of Hungary and the States General, concluded a treaty with the King of Poland, which I will order to be laid before you. Let me earnestly recommend to you the continuance of the same steadiness and harmony in your deliberations, which cannot fail to give great encouragement to my allies, and to add great weight to our efforts.

Message from his Majesty to both Houses, February 15, 1744.

GEORGE REX.

HIS Majesty having received undoubted intelligence, that the eldest son of the Pretender to his crown is arrived in France, and that preparations are making there to invade this kingdom, in concert with disaffected persons here ; and that such invasion is to be supported by the squadron of French men of war which has been cruising several days in the British channel ; his Majesty has judged it proper to acquaint the House of

Lords.

Lords with an intelligence of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of these kingdoms; and his Majesty doubts not, from the experienced zeal, duty, and affection of the House of Lords, that they will strengthen his hands, and concur in all such measures as shall be necessary for disappointing and defeating so dangerous an attempt; and for the security of his person and government, and the religion, laws, and liberties of these kingdoms.

Joint Address by both Houses of Parliament, February 15, 1744.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for having been graciously pleased to acquaint us, that you have received undoubted intelligence of the Pretender's Eldest son being arrived in France, and of the preparations which are making there to invade this kingdom, in concert with disaffected persons here.

As this mark of your Majesty's just confidence in us demands our most grateful acknowledgments, so we cannot but look upon such a design with the utmost indignation and abhorrence.

Loyalty, duty, and affection to your Majesty, concern for ourselves and our posterity; every interest and every motive that can warm or engage the hearts of Britons and protestants, call upon us, on this important occasion, to exert our utmost endeavours, that, by the blessing of God, your enemies may be put to confusion; and we do, with the greatest sincerity and firmness, give your Majesty the strongest assurances that we will, with the warmest zeal and unanimity, take the most effectual measures to enable your Majesty to frustrate and defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt, and to secure and preserve your royal person and government, and the religion, laws, and liberties of these kingdoms.

And we beg leave to declare to your Majesty, and to the whole world, that it is the fixed resolution and purpose of our hearts, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, to support and defend your Majesty, and your undoubted right and title to the crown of these realms, and the protestant succession in your royal house, in opposition to, and defiance of, the Pretender and his adherents, and all other your Majesty's enemies.

His Majesty's Answer, February 20, 1744.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you heartily for this zealous and affectionate address. I make no doubt but the vigour and unanimity which you have expressed on this occasion, will, by the blessing of God, enable me to defeat the evil designs of our enemies; and you may be assured, that no care or precaution has been, or shall be wanting on my part, for the defence and welfare of my kingdoms.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, April 3, 1744.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE preparations which were so long carried on in France to invade this kingdom, in favour of a popish Pretender, have at last been followed with a declaration of war by that crown against me. The duty, affection, and zeal for me and my family, which have been so fully and cordially expressed in the unanimous resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, and in the loyal and sensible addresses of all my good subjects, ought to have convinced our enemies how ill-grounded any hopes of success were, with which they might have vainly flattered themselves in such an attempt. To me it is the truest satisfaction, and must be the greatest security to my government, that just at the time of entering into this war, I have had such solemn assurances and pledges of the fidelity and good affections of my people.

Whatever colours may be endeavoured to be put on these injurious proceedings of the court of France, I can appeal to the whole world for the rectitude and equity of my conduct, always steadily directed to the defence of the ancient allies of my crown, conformably to treaties to the preservation of the balance and liberties of Europe, and the maintenance of the commerce and essential interests of my kingdoms, pursuant to the advice of my Parliament, without invading the rights of any other power.

Under those circumstances I have declared war on my part against the French King, and have made the proper requisitions to my allies, particularly the States General of the United Provinces, (whose firm friendship I have so lately experienced) to join with me, and perform their engagements on this important occasion.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I take this opportunity to thank you, for the readiness and dispatch with which you have already granted me large supplies, and that on terms so advantageous to the public, although we were then actually menaced with an invasion. It would give me the utmost concern to see our expenses increased by this new event; but if you shall find any thing further necessary for the support of the honour of my crown, and your own security in the present conjuncture, I depend on your wonted zeal to provide for it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In so just a cause I rely on the Divine protection, and on your vigorous and effectual support and assistance. Let the enemies of our peace, who have long aspired at the universal monarchy of Europe, and envied the liberty and flourishing condition of my kingdoms in particular, see, that Great Britain, in conjunction with her allies, is able to withstand and defeat their destructive projects. I will do my part. I have no interest at heart but your's; and in that common interest let us all unite.

Address to his Majesty by the House of Lords, April 4, 1744.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

As the preparations lately made by the court of France to invade this kingdom, in favour of a popish abjured Pretender, raised in us the utmost resentment and abhorrence; so the disappointment which, through the good providence of God, and your Majesty's vigilance, that pernicious design has met with, fills our hearts with the truest joy and satisfaction.

A proceeding so notoriously contrary to the faith of many treaties, could have been aggravated by nothing but the declaration of war published by the French King against your Majesty: a declaration containing insinuations so injurious to your Majesty's royal dignity, and to the honour of the British name and nation, that the indignation which we feel in ourselves makes us not doubt but it will have the same just effect on the minds of all your faithful subjects.

Our zeal for your Majesty, your royal family, and government; our ardour for the service and support of your Majesty,
and

and our country, at the expence of our blood and treasure, could not have been augmented by any circumstances but the measures now taken by France, unprovoked by any thing but your Majesty's endeavours to defend the ancient and natural allies of your crown, to preserve the liberties of Europe, and to maintain the commerce and essential interests of your kingdoms.

If Great Britain could be wanting to your Majesty in so just a cause, it must be wanting to itself. You may therefore firmly rely on the utmost efforts of your people, to make good the solemn assurances which they have so dutifully and so affectionately given you, and effectually to stand by and assist your Majesty in prosecuting the war against France with the greatest vigour.

We acknowledge your Majesty's goodness in acquainting us, that upon this event you have made the proper requisitions to your allies, particularly to the States General of the United Provinces, between whom and this nation the strictest ties do happily subsist. We humbly beseech your Majesty to continue those instances in the strongest manner; not doubting but the same friendship which that great protestant republic has so lately shewn for this kingdom, and their just sense of our common interest and common danger, will induce them to join with your Majesty, and to fulfil their engagements on the present occasion.

— Your Majesty's gracious and paternal declaration, that you have no interest at heart but that of your kingdoms, cannot fail to excite in all your subjects the warmest gratitude, and to cement that confidence between King and people, which is so necessary in this conjuncture. Permit us, on our part, to assure your Majesty, from the bottom of our hearts, that we look upon the defence and support of your Majesty, and of the protestant succession of your illustrious house, as the only security, under God, of our religion, laws, and liberties; and that, in this national and glorious cause, all true Britons and protestants will zealously and steadfastly unite.

His Majesty's Answer, April 4, 1744.

My Lords,

I GIVE you my hearty thanks for this address, so full of that duty and zeal which I have always experienced from you. The unanimity with which it passed adds greatly to the satisfaction I receive from it. I rely upon you to make good your assurances;

assurances; and you may depend on my endeavours to carry on this war in such a manner as may be most for the advantage of my kingdoms.

Address by the House of Commons to his Majesty, April 4, 1744.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, ~~have~~ ^{do} return your Majesty our most hearty thanks for your Majesty's gracious speech from the throne; and to express our utmost indignation and resentment, that after an attempt the most perfidious to surprise your Majesty's kingdoms, by a sudden invasion in favour of the Pretender, the French King should publish a declaration of war, couched in terms injurious to the honour and dignity of your Majesty's crown, person, and government, and avowedly founded upon your Majesty's having supported, pursuant to your engagements, an ally oppressed by the French King, contrary to his faith, solemnly pledged and dearly bought.

We congratulate your Majesty on the ready assistance your Majesty has lately received from the States General.

We beg leave also to return your Majesty our sincere thanks for having asserted the honour of this nation, in declaring war against the French King; and for having, on this important occasion, been graciously pleased to make the proper requisitions to your Majesty's allies, and particularly the States General, united in one common and invariable interest with this nation; and we cannot doubt but that by your Majesty's steadily pursuing the said instances, they will, from their known regard to treaties, and their just sense of the impending danger, co-operate with your Majesty in the most vigorous and effectual measures for checking the ambitious views of France, and preserving the liberties and balance of Europe.

Your faithful Commons do humbly assure your Majesty, that in the prosecution of this unavoidable war, whatever further expenses shall be found necessary for the support of the honour of your Majesty's crown and the security of this nation, your Majesty may depend upon their most ready and effectual assistance, such as they think becomes a free and grateful people, in defence of their liberties against that power which has long aspired at the universal monarchy of Europe, and whose ambitious views and destructive projects have hitherto been defeated, by the blessing of God on the arms of Great Britain and her allies.

His

His Majesty's Answer, April 6, 1744.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for these repeated assurances of your zeal and affection.

Your unanimity on this occasion will, I make no doubt, have a very good effect upon our allies.

You may depend upon my endeavours to make this war as little burdensome to my people as possible.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 12, 1744.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT put an end to this session without returning you my hearty thanks for the many demonstrations you have given me, during the course of it, of your good affections, and of your zeal for the support of my government.

The great preparations made by France on the side of the Austrian Netherlands, must convince all Europe of the ambitious and destructive views of that crown, in beginning the present war. It shall be my care, in conjunction with my allies, to pursue the most proper measures to disappoint them, and to prosecute the war in such a manner as may be most effectual for procuring a safe and honourable peace. My good friends the States General have already, in pursuance of my requisition, agreed to furnish the succours stipulated by our treaties: and I have received the strongest assurances of their just sense, not only of the common danger, but also of the inseparable connection of their interests with those of this kingdom, which I shall not fail to improve for the general good of the common cause.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The great readiness and regard to the public service which you have shewn, in granting the supplies for the current year, are highly acceptable to me. You may depend upon it that they shall be strictly applied to the ends for which they were given, and in such manner as may be most for the honour and advantage of Great Britain.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let me earnestly recommend to you, in your several stations, to be vigilant in preserving the peace and good order of the kingdom.

kingdom. I promise myself you will seriously consider, that in the present conjuncture you are particularly called upon, by all the motives of duty and interest, to stir up and cultivate in the minds of my people, an hearty and more than ordinary zeal for the maintenance and defence of ~~our~~ ^{our} holy religion and excellent constitution, against the malicious designs of our enemies.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,
 My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-first day of June next, to be then here held : and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-first day of June next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, November 27, 1744.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is always a great satisfaction to me to meet you in Parliament, and it is particularly so in this conjuncture, as the present posture of affairs abroad requires your most serious consideration. The events of the last summer have been so various, and some things have fallen out during the course of it, so much to the disadvantage of the common cause, the consequences whereof remain still undecided, that great attention must be given to them, and proper measures taken for preventing or removing the ill effects of them.

I have, in pursuance of your repeated advice, exerted my endeavours for the support of the house of Austria, and in the prosecution of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged. The Queen of Hungary, though attacked and invaded by powers from whom she had the least reason to expect such a conduct, has shewn the greatest constancy and resolution ; and the King of Poland, pursuant to his engagements with her, hath sent a very considerable force to her assistance. The King of Sardinia, with a magnanimity and firmness superior to the greatest difficulties, has, with the assistance of my fleet, resisted the combined forces of France and Spain sent against him ; and at last happily defeated an enterprise formed for his destruction, and for the reduction of Italy, as well as most of the ports in the Mediterranean, under the power of the house of Bourbon. Though our success has not been answerable to our wishes, yet the vast expectations and designs of our enemies,

mies, built upon new intrigues and alliances, and an additional strength, have not hitherto taken place, and will I hope, by the blessing of God, and the mutual united vigour of Great Britain and her allies, be disappointed. In conjunction with them, and with their effectual assistance and your support, I am determined to carry on the war in such a manner as may be most conducive to that important end which is my sole aim, a safe and honourable peace; it being my firm resolution never to abandon my allies, and to procure the utmost security to the religion, liberties, and commerce of my kingdoms.

For this purpose I have always insisted, and am still endeavouring with my allies, particularly my good friends the States General et the United Provinces, to fix the certain proportions of forces and expense to be furnished by each of the confederates, in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the service of the ensuing year to be prepared and laid before you, and desire you to grant me such supplies as shall be requisite for the security and welfare of the nation, and for carrying on such measures as it shall be necessary for Great Britain to pursue in the present extraordinary crisis. I am deeply sensible of, and concerned for, the burdens which lie upon my good subjects; and you may be assured that no endeavours shall be wanting on my part, to ease them in every instance, where the consequences of doing so do not endanger their own true interests.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have laid before you my views and intentions; your concurrence with me in a steady pursuit of them will best manifest your zeal for the common cause, lay the surest foundation for the real support of our allies, and for the security and prosperity of your country: and nothing can add so much to the weight and efficacy of your resolutions, as unanimity and dispatch.

Address by the House of Lords to his Majesty, Nov. 28, 1744.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Our zeal for your Majesty, the love of our country, and our anxious regard for the welfare and liberties of Europe, have

have made us look, with the utmost concern, on those events which have fallen out, during the last summer, to the disadvantage of the common cause: and our surprise is no less, when we consider the part which has been taken by some powers, so contrary to their own true and essential interest. The necessity of taking proper measures to prevent or remove the ill effects of these events is apparent; and no endeavours shall be wanting in us to obviate them.

We have seen, with the utmost satisfaction, not only your Majesty's magnanimity and zeal in the prosecution of the just and necessary war wherein we are engaged, but also the constancy and firmness shewn by the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia under the greatest difficulties. The disappointment of an enterprize, formed for the destruction of the latter, as well as for reducing Italy under the dominion of the house of Bourbon, is of great importance to this nation; since, if such a design had succeeded, it must have been attended with fatal consequences to the trade and navigation of your Majesty's subjects in the Mediterranean.

We acknowledge, with the greatest thankfulness, your Majesty's wisdom and goodness in declaring to your Parliament, that you are determined to carry on the war, in conjunction with your allies, and with their effectual assistance, in such a manner as may be most conducive to a safe and honourable peace. In making this desirable end your sole aim, your Majesty shews a just sense of true glory, and a tender regard, not only for your own subjects, but extended to the rest of Europe.

As your Majesty's resolution, never to abandon your allies, must be an additional encouragement to them strictly to perform their engagements with your Majesty, so your paternal care to procure the utmost security to the religion, liberties, and commerce of your kingdoms, cannot fail to excite in the hearts of all your faithful subjects, the warmest affection and duty to your sacred person, and zeal for your defence and support.

It is with real satisfaction we receive your Majesty's declaration, that you are actually endeavouring with your allies, particularly the States General of the United Provinces, the ancient and natural friends of this nation, to adjust the proportions of forces and expence to be borne by each of the confederates in the war. Such a concert will be the basis of great utility and advantage to the common cause.

We are truly sensible of your Majesty's goodness in laying before us these your salutary views and intentions; and we do, with the greatest zeal and firmness, assure your Majesty, that

that we are fully determined to support you in the steady prosecution of them, and in carrying on such measures as it shall be necessary for Great Britain to pursue in this critical conjuncture.

May the Divine Providence prosper your Majesty's councils and arms with success equal to the justice of your cause. For our part, we beg leave to give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that we have the honour and safety of your Majesty, the security and true interests of your kingdoms, and the happy issue of this just and necessary war, entirely at heart; and will, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, stand by, and defend your Majesty, your royal family, and government, against the ambitious and destructive designs of France, and of any other power that shall attempt to attack or disturb them.

His Majesty's Answer, Nov. 28, 1744.

My Lords,

I HEARTILY thank you for this dutiful and affectionate address. The zeal which you have so seasonably expressed for my person and government, for carrying on this just and necessary war, and for the vigorous support of my allies, give me the greatest satisfaction: and your unanimity in doing this cannot fail to add greatly to the good effects of it, both at home and abroad.

Address by the House of Commons, Nov. 28, 1744.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

It is with the deepest concern we reflect upon what has happened, during the last summer, to the disadvantage of the common cause; and, as we cannot but be extremely apprehensive of the consequences of these events, we assure your Majesty, that we will not only give the greatest attention to them, but exert our utmost endeavours to prevent or remove the ill effects of them.

We cannot sufficiently applaud the constancy and resolution of the Queen of Hungary under so many trials; nor can we less admire the magnanimity and firmness of the King of Sardinia, whose excellent conduct, supported by your
Majesty's

Majesty's assistance, has obstructed and defeated the ambitious designs of the house of Bourbon in Italy.

Your faithful Commons, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, acknowledge your Majesty's prudent and tender regard to the condition of your subjects, as well as your continued endeavours to concert and stipulate with your allies, particularly the States General, whose interests are inseparably connected with those of Great Britain, the proportion of forces, and expence to be borne by the respective confederates in this war; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, to the utmost of our power, assist and support your Majesty in carrying on this just and necessary war against the enemies of these kingdoms, and the disturbers of Europe, till a safe and honourable peace shall be obtained.

And as your Majesty has been graciously pleased to lay before your Parliament your royal views and intentions, your Majesty may depend upon your faithful Commons, for their ready and cheerful assistance to maintain the honour and dignity of your crown, effectually to support your wishes, and to contribute whatever shall be found necessary or expedient to bring about, with honour, a just and reasonable settlement of the present embroiled state of Europe.

His Majesty's Answer, Nov. 30, 1744.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for this loyal and affectionate address.

Your unanimity, on this occasion, cannot fail of having great weight both at home and abroad: you may be assured, whatever supplies you shall find necessary to grant shall be managed with the utmost œconomy, and applied to the support of my allies, and of the true interests of my people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, Jan. 14, 1745.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AT the opening of this session of Parliament I did not think it proper to lay any thing before you for your consideration, but what immediately related to the present unnatural rebellion and our security at home. The daring attempts which the rebels have since made upon this part of my kingdom has been happily disappointed; and as their precipitate flight before a small number of my troops, must greatly dispirit their followers, so that inviolable duty and loyalty, which have been

so universally and steadily shewn by my faithful subjects, and shall never be forgotten by me, must convince them how vain and ill-grounded their hopes were of any addition of strength from such an enterprise. I have not only sent a considerable body of our national forces into Scotland, and ordered the Hessian troops in my pay to be landed there, but have also made such a disposition of the rest of my forces by land, as well as by sea, that I hope, by the blessing of God, this rebellion will, in a short time, be extinguished, and our enemies, who have so long menaced us with an invasion, be deterred by the seasonable preparations made for our defence.

The election of the Emperor, which I very zealously promoted, was an event of great importance, not only to the support of the house of Austria, but to the liberties of Europe in general. I did also, during the course of the last year, exert my earnest endeavours to bring about an accommodation between the Empress, the King of Poland, and the King of Prussia; and laid a proper foundation for it by the convention made by me and the King of Prussia. This great work being at length perfected under my mediation, by the treaty lately concluded at Dresden, the interior tranquillity of Germany, amongst the princes of the empire, is now restored. My next care has been, and shall continue to be, applied to improve this accommodation to the best advantage, by procuring an immediate succour to be sent to Italy; and such a strength, for the defence and security of the United Provinces, as may preserve that republic, the ancient and natural ally of this kingdom, and one main support of the protestant cause, from the destruction with which it is threatened, as well as to attain a safe and honourable peace. The States General have made the most pressing instances to me to assist them in this difficult conjuncture. The imminent dangers to which they are at present exposed, which do so nearly affect the safety of Great Britain, as well as the very being of Holland, call for our most serious attention: for the interests of the two nations are so united, that whatsoever brings ruin upon the one, must, in consequence, be attended with the most fatal mischiefs to the other. These reasons have induced me to assure the States that I will, to the utmost of my power, according to the circumstances of my own dominions, co-operate with them towards opposing the further progress of our enemies in the Netherlands, and procuring a proper security for the republic against the ambitious and destructive designs of France. In order to this necessary end, measures are now actually concerting between me and the States for furnishing this assistance, on my part, as early and effectually as possible; and for their making

making such an augmentation of their present forces, as their own immediate preservation, and the necessity of affairs, absolutely require.

The great advantages which we have received from our naval strength, in protecting the commerce of my subjects, and intercepting and distressing that of our enemies, have been happily experienced by the former, and severely felt by the latter. I am therefore determined to be particularly attentive to this important service, and to have such a fleet at sea early in the spring, as may be sufficient to defend ourselves, and effectually to annoy our enemies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It is with much regret that I find myself obliged to ask any further aids of my people. I am so sensible of the burdens they endure, that nothing could give me so sincere a pleasure as to lighten them; but the considerations I have laid before you are so necessary to our own preservation, that, I doubt not, you will grant me such a supply as shall be sufficient for these purposes. The proper estimates shall soon be laid before you; and I earnestly recommend it to you to take the most effectual methods to maintain the public credit in this conjuncture.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have fully opened to you my views and intentions, which are so essential to the honour of my crown, and the true interest and well-being of my kingdoms, that I depend on your vigorous support, and the utmost unanimity and dispatch in your proceedings,

Address by the House of Lords, Jan. 15, 1745.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The great care which your Majesty has taken for suppressing the present wicked and unnatural rebellion, and for defending this kingdom against an invasion, is a fresh instance of your paternal goodness and concern for your people; the continuance of whole religious and civil rights is involved in the preservation of your Majesty, and of the protestant succession in your royal house.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on the success of your arms, in disappointing the attempt of the rebels upon this part of Great Britain. As your troops, led on and animated by the bravery and example of his Royal Highness the Duke, could not fail to strike terror into the rebels; so your Majesty's gracious acknowledgment of the inviolable and active loyalty of your faithful subjects must be the most encouraging motive to them steadily to persevere in the same principles. We comply therefore with every call of interest, as well as of duty, when we give your Majesty the warmest assurances of our most zealous and vigorous support, totally to extinguish this rebellion in every part of the united kingdom, and cordially to defeat the designs of the Pretender, and all those who shall presume to assist or abet him.

It is with gratitude we acknowledge your Majesty's great wisdom and regard for the public welfare, in exerting your powerful influence to promote the election of the Emperor, and to bring about an accommodation between the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the King of Prussia. We look with much satisfaction on the completion of this great work; in consequence of which an immediate succour may be sent to Italy, your Majesty's faithful ally, the King of Sardinia, be timely supported, and a strength procured for the defence and security of the Low Countries.

We are most sensibly affected with the imminent dangers to which the United Provinces are exposed. We consider their preservation and security as of the highest importance to the safety of these kingdoms, whose interests have been closely connected with those of that protestant republic ever since its first foundation. We therefore beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will vigorously support you in taking proper measures for their defence, and in making good such necessary engagements as your Majesty will enter into, for co operating with them, towards opposing the further progress of our enemies in the Netherlands; and procuring a proper security for the States General against the ambitious and destructive designs of France, and for attaining a safe and honourable peace.

Your Majesty's prudence and tender concern for your people appear in nothing more than in the regard you express for the circumstances of your own dominions. We cannot doubt, but this consideration will have its due weight with your allies; and that the States will make such an augmentation of their forces, and all such further efforts, as their own immediate danger and the present exigency of affairs require.

The advantages which Great Britain has received, and the losses and distress which her enemies have felt from our naval strength,

strength, are visible to all the world. Your Majesty's resolution, therefore, to be particularly attentive to this important service, and to have a strong fleet at sea early in the spring, gives us the greatest satisfaction.

Your Majesty's gracious declaration, that you have fully opened to us your views and intentions, is an additional ground for that just confidence which we repose in you: and we do, in the most solemn manner, assure your Majesty, that the menaces thrown out, and the preparations made by our enemies, have had no other effect upon our minds, but to increase our indignation against their destructive projects and attempts; and to augment and heighten our zeal and ardour in the cause of your Majesty and our country.

His Majesty's Answer, January 15, 1745.

My Lords,

I RETURN you my thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address. The just sense you express of the situation of affairs, and of the proper conduct to be pursued in order to extinguish the rebellion, support our friends, and defeat the designs of our enemies, gives me great satisfaction. I rely on your vigorous support; and you may depend on my firmly adhering to such measures as shall be most for the honour of my crown, and the true interest of my kingdoms in our present circumstances.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, February 14, 1745.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity to assure you of my entire satisfaction in the dispatch and unanimity of your proceedings in this session of Parliament, and in the zeal you have shewn for the common cause, and for the honour and true interest of Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the readiness and cheerfulness with which you have already provided so considerable a part of the supplies; and I make no doubt, but the same zeal and good disposition will induce you to enable me to make good the alliances I am already engaged in, and to concert such other measures, in this important conjuncture, as shall be judged necessary for the support of the Queen of Hungary,

and for carrying on the present war with vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable peace.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have, in conjunction with the Queen of Hungary and the States General, concluded a treaty with the King of Poland, which I will order to be laid before you. Let me earnestly recommend to you the continuance of the same steadiness and harmony in your deliberations; which cannot fail to give great encouragement to my allies, and to add great weight to our efforts.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, May 2, 1745.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal, unanimity, and dispatch of your proceedings, having brought the public business to a happy conclusion, and the season of the year being so far advanced, it is necessary that I should put an end to this session of Parliament.

It is a particular satisfaction to me to be able to acquaint you, that since the beginning of it, the posture of affairs abroad has received a very considerable alteration to the advantage of the common cause. The late successes of the Austrian arms in Germany, and the conclusion of an accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the Elector of Bavaria, have laid the best foundation for a further happy progress. By these events, the influence of France in the empire is much weakened and diminished; and a way is opened to restore that strength and power to our ancient and natural allies, which will tend greatly to the re-establishment and security of the balance of Europe.

The resolutions which have been taken by my good friends the States General of the United Provinces for exerting their efforts, in concert with me, and the engagements they have entered into for settling the proportions of forces and expense, cannot fail to give spirit and vigour to the operations of our armies. From these good beginnings, I hope, by the blessing of God on the justice of our cause, this campaign will be attended with such success, as to defeat the ambitious and destructive projects of the House of Bourbon, formed against the liberties of Europe, and particularly levelled against my kingdoms. In this view I am determined, in conjunction with my allies, vigorously to prosecute this just and necessary war, in order to the procuring a safe and honourable peace.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my hearty thanks for the ample supplies which you have so cheerfully granted for the service of the current year; and which, you may be assured, shall be strictly applied to those great and national ends for which they were given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I entirely rely on your duty, fidelity, and good affections, of which I have had so many convincing proofs. Let it be your care to cultivate and promote the same good dispositions in your several countries, to support my government, and to preserve the peace and good order of the kingdom; as it shall ever be mine to advance and secure your lasting prosperity and happiness.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the 20th day of June next, to be then here held: and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 20th day of June next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech, Oct. 17, 1715.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE open and unnatural rebellion which has broke out, and is still continuing in Scotland, has obliged me to call you together sooner than I intended; and I shall lay nothing before you at present, but what immediately relates to our security at home, reserving all other considerations to a farther opportunity. So wicked and daring an attempt, in favour of a popish Pretender to my crown, headed by his eldest son, carried on by numbers of traitorous and desperate persons within the kingdom, and encouraged by my enemies abroad, requires the immediate advice and assistance of my Parliament to suppress and extinguish it. The duty and affection for me and my government, and the vigilant and zealous care for the safety of the nation, which have with so much unanimity been shewn by my faithful subjects, give me the firmest assurance that you are met together, resolved to act with a spirit becoming a time of common danger, and with such vigour, as will end in the confusion of all those who have engaged in or fomented this rebellion.

I have, throughout the whole course of my reign, made the laws of the land the rule of my government, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of my people, the main end and aim of all my actions. It is therefore the more astonishing that any of my protestant subjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits resulting from thence, and have heard of the imminent dangers these kingdoms were wonderfully delivered from by the happy Revolution, should, by any arts and management, be deluded into measures that must, at once, destroy their religion and liberties, introduce popery and arbitrary power, and subject them to a foreign yoke.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I rely on your affection to me, and your care and concern for our common safety, to grant me such a supply as may enable me entirely to extinguish this rebellion, effectually to discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels, and to restore the peace of the kingdom; for which purpose, I will order the proper estimates to be laid before you. Amongst the many ill consequences of this wicked attempt, the extraordinary burden which it must bring upon my faithful subjects very sensibly affects me. But let those answer for it whose treason has occasioned it, and my people be convinced what they owe to those disturbers of our peace, who are endeavouring to make this kingdom a scene of blood and confusion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The many evident proofs this Parliament has given of their duty, fidelity, and affection to me, and of their steady adherence to the present happy establishment, and the true interest of their country, make me repose myself entirely on the zeal and vigour of your proceedings and resolutions. I am confident you will act like men, who consider that every thing dear and valuable to them is attacked; and I question not, but by the blessing of God we shall, in a short time, see this rebellion end, not only in restoring the tranquillity of my government, but in procuring greater strength to that excellent constitution which it was designed to subvert. The maxims of this constitution shall ever be the rules of my conduct. The interest of me and my people is always the same and inseparable. In this common interest let us unite; and all those, who shall heartily and vigorously exert themselves in this just and national cause, may always depend on my protection and favour.

Address

Address by the House of Lords, October 18, 1745.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

As we felt the utmost concern upon the breaking out of the unnatural rebellion which is still carrying on in Scotland, so our joy on your Majesty's safe and happy return into this kingdom, agreeable to the ardent wishes of your people, is proportionably augmented. We want words to express the just indignation and abhorrence which rise in our breasts at so wicked, traitorous, and desperate an attempt, in favour of a popish pretender to your crown, whose groundless claim we have unfeignedly abjured, and whose principles and designs we do, from the bottom of our hearts, detest. And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that this rash and presumptuous enterprise shall have no further effect upon our minds, but to excite in us such a spirit of resolution and unanimity, in this critical conjuncture, as, by the Divine assistance, may not only suppress this rebellion, but confound and extinguish for ever all future hopes of the Pretender and his adherents.

The many evident proofs of true loyalty and affection to your Majesty, and zeal for your government, which have been already shewn by your faithful subjects, with an union and cheerfulness never known before, unless at the happy revolution wrought by our great deliverer King William the Third, are clear demonstrations that this nation is determined to preserve the structure built upon that glorious foundation. Vain, indeed, must be the expectations of those who can imagine we would part with it. As your Majesty has been pleased graciously to accept and approve these beginnings, we beseech you to look upon them as an earnest of the united zeal and vigour of your Parliament in the cause of your Majesty and their country.

It is with hearts full of the sincerest gratitude, that we acknowledge your Majesty's paternal regard for the laws of the land, our constitution in church and state, and the rights of your people; and it is with the deepest conviction that we declare to your Majesty, and the whole world, that the continuance of these blessings does, under God, entirely depend on the maintenance of your Majesty's undoubted title to the crown of these realms, the support of your throne, and the preservation of the protestant succession in your royal house.

Whoever

Whoever can entertain a thought of exchanging those just rules of government, bounded by the laws and maxims of this free constitution, for the exercise of tyranny and arbitrary power, learned in the most despotic courts of Europe, and of parting with the purest religion in the world, for the superstition and persecuting spirit of popery, must be the most abandoned of mankind.

Warmed with these moving sentiments, and unshaken in these principles, we give your Majesty the strongest assurances; that, in defence of your sacred person, and of all those invaluable interests which we have already described, we are steadfastly resolved to unite, and to hazard our estates and lives; that from this revolution we will never depart, but will heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as may most effectually conduce to extinguish this rebellion; to deter any foreign power from presuming to support it; to restore the tranquillity of your Majesty's government; and to add strength to that excellent constitution which this flagitious attempt is intended to subvert.

May the divine Providence guard and protect your Majesty's precious life; give success to your councils and arms against all your enemies, and stability to your throne.

• *His Majesty's Answer, October 18, 1745.*

My Lords,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for the affectionate and warm assurances of duty and loyalty which you have unanimously given me in this address. Your concern for the preservation of our excellent constitution in church and state is as agreeable to me, as the zeal you express for me and my government. I entirely rely upon both; and doubt not but, by the blessing of God, and your assistance, this unnatural rebellion will be defeated, and the peace and tranquillity of my kingdoms restored.

• *Address to his Majesty by the House of Commons, Oct. 18, 1745.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne; and to congratulate your Majesty upon your happy, safe, and seasonable return to these your kingdoms.

“We

We cannot sufficiently express our abhorrence and detestation of the unnatural rebellion now raging in North Britain.

Permit us to give your Majesty the strongest assurances of our duty and affection to your person and government; and to declare, that we will, with vigilance, zeal, and unanimity, show a spirit and vigour becoming this time of danger: in order to make these sentiments effectual, your faithful Commons will grant such supplies, and put such strength into your Majesty's hands, as, we trust in God, and hope, from your Majesty's wisdom, cannot fail to defeat the attempts of those who have already made one part of the united kingdom, and would make the other, a scene of blood, rapine, and confusion.

With hearts full of gratitude we acknowledge, that under your Majesty's royal protection, we have lived in an uninterrupted and secure enjoyment of our religion, laws, and liberties.

As all these are now wickedly and openly attacked, and we are bound by every consideration, human and divine, to exert ourselves in defence of your sacred person and government.

Your Majesty may safely rely on the zeal and vigour of your faithful Commons, who are resolved to act like men, sensible of the blessings we enjoy, and determined to preserve those blessings to ourselves and our posterity.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on the general concurrence of your subjects in these sentiments of duty to your Majesty, and zeal for your service; which happy union, we doubt not, will, by your Majesty's wisdom, be improved to the future glory and welfare of your crown and people, and to the utter confusion and disappointment of the rebels.

Answer by his Majesty, October 22, 1745.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address.

The zeal and vigour which you have with so much unanimity declared on this occasion, will, I trust in God, enable me to put a speedy end to this rebellion: whatever strength you shall place in my hands, you may be assured shall be employed only to promote the good and happiness of my people, and to secure to them the perpetual enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties.

Speech

Speech by the Speaker of the House of Commons, on presenting the Money Bill to His Majesty, May 2, 1745.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR faithful Commons do now attend your Majesty with their last bill of supply for the public service of the present year

As their supplies, Sir, are equal to your Majesty's demand, so your Commons have made these grants to your Majesty, as they judged them to be adequate also to the nature, the importance, and the necessity of the services.

What your Commons have given, the manner of their gift, and the latitude allowed in the disposition of great part of it, are so many marks of the sense they have of the cause it is for, of the confidence they repose in your Majesty for the due application of it, and of the desire they had also, that our enemies might conceive no hopes from our unexpected disadvantages and most unaccountable disappointments the last year, that this nation was either unwilling, or yet unable, to maintain its own rights and rank, or those of its allies, against the disturbers of Europe, their ambition and perfidy.

This is, and always has been, the only object of your Commons in this war; and although it has been pursued by this country against one of our enemies, at an expense beyond our proportion of the danger, compared with that of other states; in places, and in a manner not the most natural to the situation of this country, or where its principal and genuine, and less expensive strength can be exerted; yet your faithful Commons, Sir, have enabled your Majesty to take this large share in the war upon the continent,—to be indeed the life and chief spirit of the whole; that the inability of some powers, and the slowness of others, might not make the common cause to become desperate, and thereby give the common enemy the advantage of effecting, without controul, that superiority which must be tyranny, so long meditated, and now again attempted, and in which, if obtained, the independency of Great Britain may sooner or later be involved and destroyed.

It is this, Sir, and this alone, that can justify to the people, the imposing upon them the many millions they have already paid in the course of this particular quarrel.—God grant that our condition, in the further progress of it, may not call for a repetition of the same expense. His aid we implore, and we rely on your Majesty's wisdom and conduct, and on the expected great consequences of some late very important advantages, that the great armament your Commons have again provided

vided for, and the large subsidies they have enabled your Majesty to give to foreign powers, may have that success this year, how much soever it failed in the last, as to bring our proud enemies to reason, and give your Majesty the glory of bringing to your country what we are satisfied is most desired by your royal heart, as it is certainly most wanted by your subjects, a speedy, an honourable, and a lasting pacification.

To the obtaining of which most desirable end has the attention of your Commons been most earnestly applied, recommended to them by your Majesty, in the strongest and most affectionate manner, and prosecuted by them with most distinguished zeal and unanimity.

It was their first and principal care: and when that was done, they applied themselves with the same serious attention to many other very national concerns, more than has usually been the production of one session. Among others, there are bills prepared for your Majesty's royal assent—to regulate elections of shire—~~to secure the qualification of justices of the peace—to~~ give further encouragement to the linen manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland—to pursue the suppressing of excessive and deceitful gaming, that corrupts the mind and morals in the highest as well as the lowest of a people.

There are other bills, Sir, to prevent two very growing and reproachful evils to the public—the running in of goods and merchandise to avoid payment of the legal and accustomed duties; and the extravagant use and consumption of French cambrics: both of them enriching our dangerous rival in trade and power. The first of them grown to an enormity beyond the controul of all law, and carried to the most daring and impudent defiance of all government; the other to an expense and clear loss to the nation of two hundred thousand pounds a year; of no necessity, of no particular convenience, but the result of humour and fashion only; and to our double shame be it spoken, almost the only fashion we do not take from that people of whom we purchase this commodity.

Some part of the session, Sir, has been employed by your Commons, not unusefully, we hope, to the public, in the most interesting discussion of all others to this nation.

The honour of the British flag is most justly deemed the chief honour of the British empire. It has made us the envy and the terror of all other nations. Our annals, and those of our enemies too, bear testimony of its glory in all ages. Some of our countries equal, perhaps exceed us in other species of military strength, not in bravery, though in numbers; but the naval power of this island was never exceeded or equalled by any,

any, and is now far superior to the maritime force of any other country whatsoever. In the Mediterranean seas, last year, we were confessedly superior to the united fleets of France and Spain, consisting of the flower and chief strength of both their navies; but to the astonishment of the world the enemy escaped almost with triumph, when Providence had thrown them almost into our hands; and the noblest occasion was thereby lost of establishing the greatness of the British navy against all pretence of rivalry, and of deciding perhaps in favour at once, the fate of the whole war.

"Under these circumstances, Sir, unbecoming and unpardonable would it have been in your Commons, not to have made this foul miscarriage the subject of their ancient, constitutional, and necessary power of inquiry into every public service. They entered into it, and pursued it with an impartiality and with a solemnity that became their justice and their dignity; worthy of the great national importance it is of, and worthy the royal justice to which they have now appealed. To you, Sir; your people in Parliament have deferred this great cause of their country, to give it an examination in legal course of trial, without distinction of persons or degrees; that this stain upon the honour of the kingdom, this disgrace that raises indignation in the breast of every true Briton, may in some measure be done away, by doing right to the valour and conduct of those who have done well, and by perpetuating, through exemplary punishment, the infamy of the timorous and the treacherous, and of those who in any manner thus fatally to their country, have transgressed the rules, and broken the discipline of war.

Connected in some sort with this inquiry, the late practice of courts martial in the sea service hath fallen under the observation of your Commons: in one of which they have found such defects and misbehaviour as are a reproach to the justice of the nation; and if generally practised, must end in the total overthrow of all military discipline at sea. Towards remedying which so great evil and indeed scandal to the state, a bill awaits your Majesty's royal assent, to prevent it in some degree; with our hopes that hereafter a more extensive reformation of these courts will be made by Parliament, that the privilege of being tried by persons of the same profession, as a means of protecting the innocent, may not be converted into the base means of protecting the guilty, because they are of the same profession; or for other reasons not less dangerous or dishonourable.

The bills I have in my hands to present to your Majesty, severally intituled,

